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THE FINANCE OF IRISH GOVERNMENT

A RETROSPECT AND A PROSPECT

THE subject of this article would be of interest and importance at any time, but it borrows special importance from the circumstances of the time we live in. The air is full of rumours of impending change in the framework of Irish government. I have before now expressed my belief in the necessity for this change; as, indeed, have Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Balfour; and to-day, among impartial and reasonable men, the only debatable questions are, the direction the change should take and the extent to which it should be carried. With these questions I am not at present concerned, although, in passing, I may observe that no responsible advocate of change proposes to repeal the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland, or to touch the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament over all things Irish. What I am now concerned with is the important effects which change of the kind contemplated must have upon the finances of Irish Government. Hitherto insufficient attention has been paid by the public at large to this aspect of the Irish question. But, as

it is of supreme importance to the future of both Ireland and Great Britain, I propose to present a brief view of the finance of Irish government past and present, and to make suggestions for the future, in the hope that the country may be thereby assisted in forming a clear conception of the adequacy and justice of whatever financial proposals may be made in the coming Government of Ireland Bill.

Over the origin and early development of Irish finance I will pass lightly, but some reference to it is necessary. Up to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the finance of Irish government was restricted to the execution of the King's orders touching the disposal of what were called the hereditary revenues. These were derived from many sources, the most important being Crown rents arising from the religious and political confiscations in Tudor and Stuart days; quit rents which arose from the confiscations of 1641; hearth money, imposed in Charles the Second's time; and many customs duties and excise licences. Over those revenues, the Irish Parliament, which very seldom sat before the Revolution of 1688, exercised no control; and so long as the King was content with those hereditary revenues, he disposed of them as he chose. As a rule, the bulk of the money was spent in supporting a military force in Ireland, in paying pensions, which were not always given for public services, and in defraying what we now call the Civil Charges.

With the dawn of the eighteenth century new necessities arose. The hereditary revenues proved insufficient to meet the heavy charges falling on Ireland for the support of the great wars waged in the reigns of Queen Anne and her successors. Consequently, the Irish Parliament was appealed to for supplies. At the outset, those appeals met with loyal responses; but, as the years passed on, and the appeals were frequently renewed, criticism and opposition were aroused. The condition of Ireland at the time was wretched, and was yearly becoming worse. Her trade was being ruined by the Navigation Laws; her industry was being destroyed by Great Britain's commercial legislation; her capacity to bear taxation was being undermined in every direction. In those circumstances, the growing demands for fresh supplies were met in Ireland with more insistent claims for relief from the commercial and industrial restrictions which were impoverishing the country. The powerful arguments of Molyneux and the scathing pen of Swift came in aid of this Parliamentary opposition. In face of the common danger, the strife of centuries between Protestant and Catholic gradually waned, and, before George the Third had been long on the throne, had been replaced by a patriotic spirit which made the good of Ireland the common ambition of Irishmen without distinction of creed. The out-

issue of the prolonged struggle was the birth of a truly national spirit, the rise of the Irish Volunteers, the concession to Ireland in 1779 of freedom of trade and industry, and the establishment of the independent Irish Parliament in 1782.

With the establishment of that Parliament, the finance of Irish government, in the true sense, may be said to begin. The Parliament inherited a net annual revenue from all sources of 1,350,000*l*. (round figures), an annual expenditure of 1,567,000*l*., and a debt (funded and unfunded), of 1,917,000*l*. The expenditure was pretty evenly divided between the military charges and the pensions on the one hand, and ordinary civil charges on the other.

Potentially, Grattan's Parliament had, from the outset, effective control over Irish finance, but in the beginning its activities were directed more to carrying out administrative reforms and improving the material condition of the country, than to effecting a radical alteration in financial practice, whereby powerful interests would be antagonised. But while devoting its attention to the improvement of the country's condition, the Parliament specially concerned itself with the reduction of debt and establishment of equilibrium between income and expenditure.

This policy was successful. The deficits between expenditure and income were gradually reduced, until, in 1787, they disappeared altogether, while the public debt, which had increased by some 300,000*l*. between 1782 and 1787 owing to the public works that had been prosecuted, remained stationary from the latter year until 1792. So good was the state of public credit in Ireland that in 1788 the rate of interest on the National Debt was reduced from 6 to 5 per cent.

Meanwhile, the internal condition of the country was improved almost beyond recognition; order was well maintained; great public works were planned and carried into execution; commerce and industry were stimulated and assisted. Prosperity was rapidly growing. On this subject Lecky makes the following comments in his *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* :

Of the causes of this prosperity two at least of the most important are sufficiently obvious, while others may give rise to dispute. The abolition of the trade restrictions by which Irish prosperity had been so long cramped and stunted was at once followed by a great increase in nearly every branch of commerce, and especially in the Irish trade with the West Indies, while the abolition of the more oppressive portions of the Penal Code brought back much capital which had been invested on the Continent, and caused Irish wealth, industry and energy to flow freely in Irish channels. A few years of external and internal peace, light taxes, and good national credit followed, and enabled the country to profit largely by these new advantages. In the opinion, however, of the best Irish writers and politicians of the eighteenth century, very much was also due to the great impulse which

was given to agriculture by the corn bounties of 1784, and to the large Parliamentary grants for carrying out public works and for instituting and encouraging different forms of manufacture.

Of the corn bounties and the extreme importance that was attached to them I have already spoken. Whatever may be thought of them, there is at least, I think, no question that the great corn trade which had arisen in the last sixteen years of the century was an important element of Irish wealth, and it was mentioned in Parliament that about three years after the bounties on exportation had been granted the exports of corn already attained the annual value of 400,000*l*.

Large grants were also made for fisheries, canals, harbours, and other public works, and a system of bounties for encouraging particular manufactures was extensively pursued. This system is exceedingly alien to modern English notions; but in judging it, we must remember that it prevailed—though on a proportionately smaller scale—in England and in most other countries; that in Ireland it was originally a partial counterpoise or compensation for many unjust and artificial restrictions imposed on the different branches of native industry; and also that it was pursued in a country where the elements of spontaneous energy were incomparably weaker than in England. In my opinion, English economical writers have usually generalised much too exclusively from the conditions of English life, and have greatly underrated the part which Government must play in industrial enterprises in countries where industry is still in its infancy, where capital has not been accumulated, and where industrial habits have not been formed.

These results were secured without a decrease in the contributions to Great Britain for common purposes—indeed, the contributions were substantially *increased*. Still they were not obligatory, but discretional; and in so far, they were regarded by the British Cabinet as precarious. It was Pitt's desire to secure from Ireland a fixed contribution or a contribution regulated by fixed principles to the general expenses of the Empire, and it was with this object in view, as well as with the object of establishing commercial reciprocity between the two countries, that he proposed to the Irish Government his twelve Commercial Propositions.

The Irish Parliament, though generally willing to meet Pitt's wishes, desired to restrict the obligatory contribution to those years in which expenditure did not exceed income. This limitation or condition was not acceptable at Westminster: and the further negotiations were so far influenced by the commercial jealousy with which Great Britain still regarded Ireland that they resulted in counter-proposals which were destructive of much of the commercial independence which had been conferred upon Ireland in 1779.

Therefore, the negotiations failed, and, undoubtedly, the failure confirmed in the minds of English statesmen the idea of a legislative Union, as the only way of assuring, beyond reach of doubt, that help from Ireland in the hour of England's need, and that control by England over Ireland's commerce, on which so much store was placed.

The policy of administrative reform and of material improvements having advanced so far, the Irish Parliament turned its attention to the system of finance. It was time that it did so, because the Irish Executive Government had been seeking to regain in influence what it had lost in prerogative; and had employed the revenues for that purpose. In this it was encouraged by the great Irish families, who formed an aristocratic oligarchy strongly opposed to popular liberties and never sympathetic to the principles of Grattan and his friends, who maintained that, subject to the preservation of the connexion with Great Britain, Ireland should be governed according to Irish wishes and Irish interests.

To check the hostile intentions of the Irish Ministers and Executive, the Parliament imposed a limitation on the grant of pensions; acquired control over the hereditary revenues by granting in lieu of them a fixed Civil List to the King; took steps to reduce the enormous expense of the collection of the revenue—the fruitful means of jobbery; and it excluded placemen from Parliament—though on this point its intentions were frustrated. The general effect was to bring the country's finances completely under Parliamentary control, but at the cost of increased ill-will between the Parliament and the Irish Executive.

At the time I am speaking of—the year 1793—the total Irish revenue, including miscellaneous receipts, amounted to 1,837,692*l.*, and the total expenditure, including cost of collecting the revenue, to 1,855,223*l.* Practically, there was equilibrium between income and expenditure. The revenue, it is true, was 500,000*l.* more than in 1782; but the increase was largely due to the greater productivity of the then existing taxes, owing to the increased prosperity of the country. The expenditure was 300,000*l.* more than it had been ten years before; but, if regard be had to the extraordinary improvement in the condition of the country, the increase will excite no surprise. The debt, funded and unfunded, was only 2,252,657*l.*, which bore a much smaller proportion to the wealth of the country in 1793 than did the lesser debt of ten years before to the country's wealth at that time. These figures bear eloquent testimony to the success of the Irish Parliament's financial administration during the preceding ten years.

From that time forward the Parliament's difficulties increased. The opposition of the Irish Ministry and Executive to the grant to Catholics of the full Parliamentary franchise which Protestants were, then, willing to concede, created unrest in the country. Adverse seasons depressed trade and reduced the revenue. In February 1793 France issued her declaration of war against England, and Ireland, ever the loyal supporter of England's military honour, readily contributed in money and men to the

war's expenses. Thenceforth expenditure and debt grew rapidly. In 1795 the annual expenditure had risen to 3,268,000*l.*; in 1797 it was 5,185,000*l.*, and the debt 10,135,000*l.* Then came the Rebellion of 1798, which the English Cabinet did so much to provoke[1]; and in 1799 the expenditure was 7,250,000*l.* and the debt 28,000,000*l.* During the last five years of the Irish Parliament's existence, the country was overwhelmed in the disasters which preceded the Union.

The Act of Union enormously aggravated the financial difficulties under which Ireland was labouring when the Act was passed, though Castlereagh confidently assured Parliament that it would bring relief to the country. While taking away the country's legislative independence, the Union left her separate financial system untouched. After the Union, as before it, each country retained her own system of taxation, her own local expenditure, and her own public debt. But the Union effected one great change: for the voluntary contributions to Imperial purposes which Ireland made to England during Grattan's Parliament it substituted the obligation of contributing, to the common purposes of the Empire, a sum which bore to Great Britain's similar contribution the proportion of 1 to $7\frac{1}{2}$, or 2 to 15.

The basis of that proportion was found in two comparisons: the first comparison was between the average value of the imports and exports of the two countries during the three years preceding the Act of Union; and this comparison yielded a proportion of 7 to 1.

The second was between the value of the malt, beer, spirits, wine, tea, tobacco and sugar consumed in the two countries in the same period; and this comparison yielded the proportion of $7\frac{3}{4}$ to 1—the mean was taken at $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, or 15 to 2.

The fairness of this proportion was vehemently challenged at the time, and impartial men will now allow that the *data* adopted

[1] 'The English Cabinet had determined to resist the emancipation of the Catholics, contrary to the dominant sentiments of the Irish Protestants, and it therefore directed its Irish representatives to endeavour to kindle an anti-Catholic feeling in Ireland, and exert its enormous influence to organise an Irish party of resistance . . . Such instructions in the existing state of Ireland meant nothing less than a revival of the old religious warfare. They meant that while the United Irishmen were seeking to obliterate the distinction between Protestant and Catholic, the English Government in order to perpetuate a system of proscription, were endeavouring to make that distinction indelible and to stimulate and manipulate Protestant jealousies.'—Lecky, *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii. pp. 328-9. These words have a singular appropriateness and significance at the present time when, ostensibly under the auspices of the great Unionist Party, an attempt is being made in Great Britain as well as in Ireland to defeat Ireland's claim for a subordinate Legislative Assembly for purely Irish affairs, by fanning into flame the dying embers of religious fanaticism. The attempt shows an unsuspected survival in the twentieth century of the savagery of the political methods of the eighteenth.

were far too superficial for such a great adjustment. But Pitt and Castlereagh (quite honestly, I believe) thought the proportion fair; and Lecky suggests that 'if the Peace of Amiens had been a permanent one, it is possible that the proportion might not have been excessive.' It is useless to speculate on what might or might not have been. Instead of peace, came the great Napoleonic wars; the proportion proved disastrous in actual practice; and in fifteen years it brought Ireland to the verge of bankruptcy.

At the date of the Union the total revenue of Ireland was ,328,290*l.*, and her public debt was 27,792,975*l.*; in 1816, the revenue had been increased to 7,301,644*l.*, while the debt had grown to 134,596,677*l.* (of which nearly 23,000,000*l.* was redeemed but undischarged debt).[1]

During these fifteen years the financial administration of Ireland was synonymous with the imposition of fresh taxation, and the raising of loans to make good the annual deficits between the revenue and the obligatory payment. The sums which Ireland paid in connexion with the common purposes of the United Kingdom during the sixteen years, 1801-1817, are stated to have exceeded 150,000,000*l.*, but it must be remembered that, as nearly two-thirds of the sum was the proceeds of loans, which in 1817 were amalgamated with the British National Debt, the responsibility of Ireland so far became little more than nominal.

In regard to fiscal amalgamation, the Act of Union contained two separate conditions, both of which needed fulfilment before amalgamation could be legally effected. The first condition was, that the debts of both countries should stand to each other in the same proportion as their contributions—that is, as 15 to 2; and the second condition was that the Parliament of the United Kingdom should be satisfied that the respective circumstances of the two countries permitted of their contributing indiscriminately to the further expenditure of the United Kingdom by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each. If these conditions co-existed, then Parliament should be competent to declare that all further expenses and charges of both countries should be met indiscriminately by equal taxes imposed on each country. It has been pointed out that no such inquiry as the Act of Union seemed to demand was made by the Imperial Parliament previous to the amalgamation of the two Treasuries, and that, in fact, the second condition did not exist in 1816. But the first condition did exist, although, contrary to Pitt's expectation, it came into existence by an enormous increase of the Irish debt, instead of by a decrease of the English one. Its existence was deemed sufficient to justify

[1] See Appendix to the Report of the House of Commons Select Committee on Irish Taxation, 1864–5, pp. 317–428.

the Government in putting an end to the Irish fiscal system, and in bringing Great Britain and Ireland under the uniform rule of liability to indiscriminate taxation, and of enjoyment of indiscriminate expenditure. This bilateral contract has a peculiar importance for us to-day.

The procedure by which the fiscal amalgamation of 1817 was effected may have been irregular, but the bankruptcy of Ireland—a direct consequence of the burden laid upon her by the Union—could be most readily avoided by the complete amalgamation of the fiscal systems of the two countries. That amalgamation was effected; and Ireland was relieved from the necessity of bearing alone the enormous pressure of that debt which she had incurred for the benefit of the United Kingdom. From that time the separate Irish Exchequer disappeared, and with it the last vestige of Irish financial independence.

The financial history of Ireland, so far as I have sketched it, embraces five periods. The first period covers the time when the charges of Irish government were met from the hereditary revenues alone. During that period the Irish Government was merely a disbursing authority, and nothing like a financial system, in our meaning of the words, existed, or could exist.

The second period covered three-quarters of the eighteenth century. During it the financial policy of the Irish Government seemed to aim at ear-marking, for particular Irish civil purposes, as much of the hereditary revenues as possible; and in that way increasing the amount to be met by supplies, which were more under Parliamentary control.

The third period covers the first ten years of Grattan's Parliament, if precision be insisted on, but, speaking roughly, it may be regarded as extending to the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam in 1795. It was the halcyon period of Irish political and financial history—a period of astonishing prosperity and progress.

The fourth period covers the last five years of the century, when Ireland, sunk in political disaster and manifold distress, abandoned all efforts at economy, doubled her revenue, and increased her debt sevenfold. The period was one of financial chaos.

The fifth period covers the interval of sixteen years between the legislative and the fiscal union. The taxable capacity of the country was strained to breaking-point: taxation, already heavy in 1800, was more than doubled within the following fifteen years. Yet it was far in the wake of expenditure, which called for constant loans, raised on most onerous terms, until the annual interest on the stock equalled, or nearly equalled, the entire revenue of the year.

The final outcome is, that throughout Ireland's troubled history up to 1817, only for the first thirteen years of Grattan's Parliament

can there be said to have existed any true 'Finance of Irish Government.'

From 1817, when Ireland ceased to have even nominal fiscal independence, until the present time, the revenue collected in Ireland has been merged in the revenues of the rest of the United Kingdom, and disposed of, without regard to its place of origin, at the dictation of the Treasury in Whitehall. The Irish Government has prepared and submitted estimates for the information of the Imperial Treasury, has offered advice as to the objects on which the money should be spent, has persistently begged for a larger share of it, and has rendered an account of its disbursements to the auditing authorities. But a controlling influence in the framing or adoption of financial policy it has not exercised for more than a century. Still, there are a few words to be said on the financial policy pursued in Ireland by the Treasury Board since the fiscal union, before I come to the facts of the present day.

The forty years following the fiscal union formed part of England's transition period from the agricultural to the industrial state. A fiscal system suitable for the agricultural stage of economic development is very different from that adapted to the industrial stage. Tariffs beneficial to the one are oppressive to the other. As industrialism advanced in England, the tariffs which impeded its progress were altered, and greatest among these alterations was the remission of the import duties on manufactured articles, raw materials, and on corn. Thus, not only was the industry of Great Britain freed from oppressive taxes during this period, but the taxation per head of the population was very sensibly lessened.

The case was different with Ireland. The alterations of the tariff which were beneficial to England were either ineffective in Ireland or positively injurious, as in the case of the corn duties. Instead of a reduction, the period brought a steady though small increase in the taxation of the country. While the estimated true revenue of Great Britain, which in 1820 stood at 51,500,000*l.* (round figures), fell in 1840 to 46,250,000*l.*, the estimated true revenue of Ireland, which in 1820 stood at 5,250,000*l.*, stood in 1840 at nearly 5,500,000*l.* During this period, therefore, the financial administration which greatly benefited the industries of Great Britain and relieved her fiscal burdens, conferred on Ireland no benefit.

The Irish burden was increased between 1852 and 1858 by the extension of the income tax and the enhancement of the spirit duties to an equality with those in force in Great Britain. But, in fairness to the British financiers of that day, the increase should not be judged apart from the policy of which it was an integral part. That policy was the exemption from taxation of the prime

necessaries of life, and the transfer of the taxation, so far as possible, to articles of luxury or not of necessity. Between 1860 and 1900 the Customs duties, reduced on articles of consumption (in excess of duties imposed), amounted to 19,250,000*l.*, and in the Excise department the similar reductions amounted to 3,200,000*l.* In the same period the whole duty on sugar disappeared, and the duty on tea fell from 2*s.* 2*d.* to 6*d.* per lb. Of these great reductions Ireland got her share, and although the share may not have been altogether commensurate with the taxation imposed on Ireland, still, the reduction must not be forgotten in passing judgment on the increase of the spirit duties in 1852-58. The time for increasing the taxation may not have been happily chosen, as I am disposed to believe; but the British Exchequer is justified in urging that the Irish nation did morally and physically benefit by paying less for its tea and sugar and more for its whisky.

Since 1870 a great improvement in the condition of Ireland has taken place. It is always darkest before the dawn, and the Parliamentary inquiry into the taxation of Ireland in 1864-65, the Fenian outbreak of 1867, and the Reform Act of the same year, which enlarged the electorate in the democratic direction, made men pause and ask themselves whether all was well with Ireland; whether, in truth, force was the remedy it had been thought to be. That great advocate of political freedom and of goodwill among men—John Stuart Mill—raised his voice in favour of more considerate treatment of Ireland, and the generous and ardent verse of Swinburne enforced the philosopher's advice. In 1870 Mr. Gladstone himself produced the first of the long series of ameliorative measures which, proceeding from both the great parties of the State, have greatly improved the condition of Ireland.

The statesmen of both parties who have been instrumental in effecting this improvement have deserved and, in growing measure, are receiving the gratitude of Ireland; but in that gratitude Mr. Gladstone must ever hold the foremost place. For to him is due the conversion of the great Liberal party to kindlier and saner views on Ireland—views which, more recently, Conservative statesmen have been able, in some respects, to follow, and, in other respects, to improve upon.

I now come to the finance of the present day, and to illustrate my remarks I take the Estimates of the current year, 1911-12.

A few preliminary words may be said as to how a Budget Estimate is prepared. Its preparation in each department or branch of Government begins with the responsible officer lowest down in his particular grade of service. He takes as the basis of his calculation the actual payment on each head of account for the past year; he considers whether these figures call for increase or

decrease, in the light of existing circumstances; and, subject to any official orders he may have received, he increases or decreases them accordingly, or allows them to stand unaltered. He reports his conclusions to his official superior in a prescribed form.

That official superior probably receives several such estimates from other subordinates; and all of these, with his own additions or modifications, he combines into a consolidated estimate for his charge and forwards it to his official chief. The latter, if not the head of a department, goes through a precisely similar process; and, if the head of a department controlled by the Irish Government, he forwards to Dublin Castle a consolidated estimate for his department, modified or unmodified, as his judgment directs. The Irish Government, in its turn, scrutinises these departmental estimates, and forwards them to the Treasury in Whitehall, with such modifications as it may think fit to suggest.

The Treasury deals with them in a similar manner, and they finally see the light of publicity in the Estimates laid before the House of Commons and discussed in Committee of Supply, where the amounts stated in the estimates are voted in whole or in part. With negligible exceptions, they are usually voted without alteration, for one result of the existing Parliamentary congestion of business is that no time can be found for the discussion of Irish estimates. The money is then nominally available for expenditure; but there remains the necessity of convincing the Treasury that, though voted by Parliament, the money ought to be spent.

That being the procedure under which the estimates are framed, let us consider the control which the Lord-Lieutenant—that is, the Irish Government—exercises over the expenditure of the money.

The Irish estimates and votes for the present year, as I make out, are fifty-eight in number. An individual description of them is not necessary; it will suffice to gather them into groups. The first group embraces the departments and votes under the executive control of the Lord-Lieutenant; there are eighteen of these, with estimates aggregating 2,359,451*l.*—two-thirds of the expenditure being on the police establishments and lunatic asylums.

The second group comprises the departments which submit estimates *through* the Lord-Lieutenant, but are only partially under his control; they are ten in number, with estimates aggregating 2,436,251*l.*

The third group consists of two departments, the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, for which the Chief Secretary, and not the Lord-Lieutenant, is responsible; and the Congested Districts Board, which controls itself. The estimates

for these two departments aggregate 456,519*l.*, though I have an idea that certain Irish Church surplus funds are not here included.

The fourth group, consisting of fourteen departments and votes, is exempt from all control in Ireland and subject to the Treasury in Whitehall. Its estimates aggregate 4,190,055*l.*

The fifth group consists of the purely Imperial departments represented in Ireland, and is under Imperial control. Its estimates aggregate 1,689,050*l.* Besides these there are the Irish charges on the Consolidated Fund (chiefly for judges' salaries), amounting to 158,500*l.*; and finally there is the Local Taxation Account, amounting to 1,142,500*l.*, which is managed by the Treasury Remembrancer, who is an Imperial officer stationed in Ireland, and exempt from Irish control.

Therefore, it comes to this: the Irish Government has only an advisory voice in Irish finance, and controls only one-fifth of the money spent in Ireland. Its partial control over the expenditure of another fifth is often contested. Over the remaining three-fifths it has no control whatever.

If, then, it be asked, 'What is the financial system of the Irish Government?' I can only reply, 'It has none. The Irish Government is a mere disbursing agency; and for information as to Irish finance you must look, not to Dublin Castle, but to the Treasury at Whitehall.' If, further, it be inquired what has been the financial policy of the Imperial Government in regard to Ireland since it assumed the responsibility of the Irish Exchequer, my answer is: A policy which until recently was directed with a view to British interests alone and which paid no regard to the special necessities of Ireland—a policy of increased taxation, coupled with resistance to Irish demands, or of grudging concession to Irish importunity. The hardship on Ireland was intensified by the fact that little or nothing of the revenue drawn from her was returned, as it is returned in Great Britain, in the shape of the wages and profits arising from or attaching to the manifold activities which serve the various Departments of State. The only return made to Ireland was in the shape of enhanced salaries or additional Government appointments and doles, which do not enrich a country, but rather weaken the springs of national self-reliance.

It is only within the last twenty years that statesmanlike and generous views have prevailed in Whitehall on the subject of Irish finance. In the Light Railways Act, the Purchase of Land Acts (particularly the great Act of 1903), the Local Government Act, the Agricultural Department Act, the Labourers' Acts, the Universities Act (although I disagree with the lines which this Act has followed, and think that the University College at Galway has been shabbily treated), and the Old Age Pension Act in its application to Ireland, it must be admitted that financial

liberality has gone hand in hand with administrative ability of a high order, and the statesmen of both parties to whom these Acts are due have already reaped their reward in the improved condition of the country. The pity of it, that all these beneficent Acts, except the last mentioned, should be directly or indirectly the product of sustained agitation, without which, as five Irishmen out of every six believe, they would not have been conceded.

Much remains to be done by the Imperial Parliament to complete the land-purchase scheme, on which rests as on bed-rock the prosperity and pacification of Ireland. But, apart from land-purchase, the time is ripe for that reconstruction and reorganisation of Irish government, whereby the Irish people, in full subordination to the Imperial Parliament, shall control their expenditure and direct the administration of their purely local affairs in the light of the full knowledge which they alone possess.

I have lately read speeches by important Unionist statesmen urging that no alteration in the framework of Irish government was necessary—and that all that Ireland now needed was persistence in the ameliorative policy of the last twenty years. These gentlemen forget that the system, or rather want of system, of Irish government has been a bye-word of reproach for a generation among intelligent men; and that no such chaotic jumble of administrative agencies exists in any country of the world as Ireland presents at the present moment. They appear to believe that the growth of a better feeling in Ireland towards Great Britain and greater self-reliance or independence among the Irish people are positive disqualifications for an extension of self-government. They forget that their own leaders—Mr. Balfour and Lord Lansdowne—during the Parliamentary debates in February 1905, designated the government of Ireland as a 'complicated system' and 'an old-fashioned and complicated organisation.' They ignore the sentiment of nationality to which Ireland has clung during seven centuries of suffering and strife. Of the strength and vivifying force of that sentiment I know of no better description than the following, given by the Prime Minister before a Welsh audience a few weeks ago:

> But may I not say with general acceptance that it is the tributaries of nationality, kept clean and pure and undefiled, whose confluence has enriched and continues to enrich both in volume and in quantity the central stream of our national life? That seems to me one of the lessons which is most clearly inscribed upon the page of universal history. In that ancient country of Greece, from which many of us have derived our best inspirations and knowledge, it was the sense of the separate, local, individual, and particular communities which was so strong and so obstinate that it defied, and defied successfully, for centuries all attempts at incorporation in a united whole. On the other hand, if you look at any of the great Imperial organisations of the ancient world, the Roman

Empire and the rest, you find the exact contrary. You find the extremities sacrificed to the centre, with the result—congestion, atrophy, decay.

A special contribution, or at any rate one of the special contributions, which we in this country may claim to have made to the solution of a secular problem is the reconciliation of sturdy and persistent local independence with combination for common purposes, loyal in its spirit and united in its activity.

We are now questioning the future, as to what conditions of settlement it will bring forth in connexion with the promised Home Rule Bill. We are all anxious on this point, because the financial settlement that may be made must, at all events potentially, have the element of finality, if our statesmanship is to be approved by the country. In view of that circumstance, I submit the following suggestions, which may enable Irishmen in particular to appreciate the real bearings and merits of the settlement that may be offered to them next year.

An opinion has been expressed in certain quarters that the only satisfactory settlement of the Irish financial difficulty lies in the grant to Ireland of fiscal autonomy, and in the reduction of Irish government expenditure. Ireland, it is said, is living on too grand a scale: suitable, perhaps, for Great Britain, with her abounding wealth and industry, but not suitable for an agricultural country, neglected in the past. Ireland, we are told, should free herself from entanglement in British finance, reduce her taxation and order her expenditure on an economical scale.

I agree that there is need for economy in Irish expenditure. Some of our establishments are maintained on a too lavish scale, while certain other branches of the Administration—I instance education and public works—are starved. But, knowing something of the directions in which savings can be made, I desire to say emphatically that unless all expenditure on social betterment is abandoned and Irish administrative standards are reduced below the English and Scotch level, no such economies can be effected as would suffice to meet from the Irish 'true' revenue, which in 1908-9 stood at 9¼ millions sterling, the charges of Irish government and the outlay which Ireland's neglected condition calls for.

It is true that when Land Purchase operations are completed, when the congested Districts Board has done its work, and when the condition of the country under the new administration permits of a substantial reduction in the cost of the police and the Judiciary and of some minor official agencies, a saving of one and a-half to two millions sterling per annum will be practicable. But many years must pass before all these economies can be effected; and meantime the grant of Home Rule or the devolution of large powers to a new government will cause some immediate additional expenditure.

As to reduction of taxation and living on a lower scale, let us ask ourselves what are the concrete realities behind these fine-sounding phrases. The standard of comfort among the Irish people is, notoriously, not high but low. The people are refusing to live on the existing scale; they want a better, and they are getting it since our Land Laws have secured to them the fruits of their industry. It is not living on a lower scale that is wanted, but on a higher.

Then as to taxation. Out of the 9½ millions sterling forming the 'true' revenue of Ireland six millions (round figures) come from the Customs duties on wine and tobacco, and the Excise duties on spirits and beer. The existing consumption of alcoholic liquor and tobacco seems to me to be suitable to the social and climatic conditions of Ireland. But while I do not advocate an increase in the duties on these articles, I believe a decrease would have the lamentable effect of increasing consumption, and, I may add, diminishing revenue. It is not in that direction that Ireland should look for a reduction in taxation.

The balance of the Irish taxation—3½ millions—is made up of the Customs duties on tea and sugar, the various property taxes, the stamp duties, and the income tax. A reduction in the proceeds of the income tax will take place automatically by the substitution of tenant purchasers, who are usually not liable to the tax, for the landlords who are. And the same result may, in connexion with the probate and estate duties and the legacies and succession duties, be expected *pro tanto* to ensue.

There remain the Customs duties on articles of necessary consumption; and as these do not yield more than a million sterling per annum, they afford but a slight margin for reduction. In these circumstances I suggest that, in a fiscally autonomous Ireland, it is not a reduction of taxation that the country would have to look to, but rather to an increase.

Finally, as to the entanglements of British finance, I would say that we have gone through them: we have suffered from them; but we have emerged from the ordeal, and are on the road to happier things, under a moderate tariff. While I am in favour of conferring on Ireland a large measure of independent financial power, as I shall explain in a moment, I would not set about the business by isolating her from the Empire, and sacrificing the advantages that, through suffering and travail, she has gained.

But it may be suggested that under a *régime* of fiscal autonomy Ireland could break away from the established tariff, introduce Protection, and make the foreigner pay her taxes. On that suggestion I have these remarks to make.

In the first place I do not think that, even if Protection were not the heresy I believe it to be, Ireland could gain anything by

it. This is not the occasion on which to develop the argument; but in support of my statement I desire to refer to an article on the subject in the *Economist* of the 16th ultimo, which shows that the trade of Ireland is such as to hold out no hopes that even from successful Protection (if that be thinkable) she could make any tangible gain.

In the next place the demand for fiscal autonomy for Ireland seems to me to ignore the teachings of the past. The possession of fiscal autonomy by Grattan's Parliament was among the chief causes—if, indeed, not the chief cause—of that Parliament's extinction. The possession of fiscal autonomy by the Isle of Man converted the Isle in the eighteenth century into a depôt of smuggling, and led to the withdrawal of its fiscal independence. Hedge about the grant of fiscal autonomy to Ireland as you will, by precautions and conditions designed to safeguard British trade with Ireland, still the situation must produce numberless embarrassments. It is, in my opinion, idle to expect that Great Britain would now permit the growth near the heart of the Empire of any commercial system which might in any circumstances conflict with her own. Commercial motives have ever been the mainspring of British policy; and a proposal which, in conceivable circumstances, might place that policy in jeopardy seems to me to stand small chance of real lasting approval from the British people, even though its immediate acceptance might be a relief to the Imperial Treasury.

Believing, as I do, that no larger measure of Home Rule should be granted to Ireland than may at a later hour be suitably conceded to the other nationalities forming the United Kingdom, I am unable to conceive how under 'Home Rule All Round' varying fiscal systems could be made compatible with the solidarity of the United Kingdom. I am unable to conceive how Ireland, Scotland, or Wales could practice Free Trade towards England, a Free Trade country, while they were Protectionist to the rest of the world.

Again, fiscal autonomy for Ireland, of course, involves the exclusion of Ireland from the Imperial Parliament—the Great Council of the Empire. In that exclusion I see the fertile source of misapprehension, friction, and estrangement, and the lessening of that participation by Ireland in the multiform activities of Empire from which my country and Great Britain are now reaping so many mutual advantages.

I am an Irishman, anxious to promote the prosperity and independence of Ireland within the Empire; but I say, without hesitation, that if we Irishmen are not to participate in the Imperial Parliament, if we are to have no claim, in any circumstances, on Great Britain in the future, if the sole badge of our connexion with the United Kingdom is to be the obligation of obedience to orders

reversing our legislative or administrative action, then, I fear, we are preparing for Ireland, in the not far distant future, a path of doubt and isolation as thorny as any she has yet trodden.

Let me suggest one matter of practical business for consideration. The Imperial Treasury has already advanced to Ireland about 60,000,000*l.* for land-purchase, and it will require about twice that amount, or 120,000,000*l.* more, to complete this great measure of appeasement and conciliation—the greatest remedial measure by far ever undertaken for the good of Ireland. I venture to say that no one who knows Ireland thinks that the remaining 120,000,000*l.* sterling could be borrowed by Ireland on her own responsibility, except on prohibitive terms. If Ireland could raise the amount in the open market (which I doubt), she could not do so at less than 5 per cent. or 6 per cent. interest; and that would mean the cessation of land-purchase, because it would not pay tenants, having the Land Act of 1881 to fall back upon for reduction of rents, to buy at that price. The land-purchase operations must, then, be completed by the Imperial Treasury; but if so, the Imperial Treasury will insist, and properly insist, that the British taxpayer shall be free from risks. With Ireland under a system of fiscal autonomy, I do not see how that freedom is to be secured beyond doubt as it now is.

The alternative—and the only alternative—course to fiscal autonomy is to leave the imposition and collection of Imperial taxation of the United Kingdom, as at present, with the Imperial Parliament, but to secure to Ireland freedom in administering her share of it. That general principle is not inconsistent with a grant to Ireland of power to impose subsidiary taxation, if suitable subjects for it are discovered which do not trench on the sources of Imperial revenue; nor, as I shall subsequently show, is it inconsistent with the grant to the Irish Legislature of a power to alter the scale of Irish taxation under suitable conditions. I may add that this course is also the course most compatible with the principle (which *omnium consensu*, as I had thought, rules this controversy) that matters affecting the United Kingdom as a whole should be managed by the Imperial Parliament, matters of purely Irish concern being managed by Ireland.

Assuming, then, that the imposition and collection of the taxes continues to be made by the Imperial Parliament for the United Kingdom as a whole, the questions arise, What share of them belongs to Ireland? and What powers of financial administration and control should be delegated to Ireland in respect of that share? It is now alleged by the Unionist Party that Ireland can no longer pay her way, that she has become a pensioner on Great Britain's bounty; and that British generosity in this respect is being overtaxed. The fact that the Irish 'true' revenue does not at present

suffice to meet all charges debited to Ireland is made the ground for asserting that Home Rule for Ireland is a financial impossibility.

My answer to that assertion is this: It proceeds on a radically false interpretation of Ireland's financial rights as an integral part of the United Kingdom under the Act of Union, which no one proposes to repeal.

Allowing it to be true that the revenue from Ireland is now insufficient to meet the Irish expenditure, and that, at the present time, Great Britain makes good the difference, I must still deny that Great Britain, in making good the deficit, does anything more than she is bound to do under the terms of the Act of Union. As I have already stated, the conditions of the Act are not unilateral but bilateral. Under the Act indiscriminate taxation goes hand in hand with indiscriminate expenditure in both countries.* If England imposes indiscriminate taxation on Ireland, as she does, Ireland has the right to claim indiscriminate expenditure. The proceeds of Irish and British taxation flow into one Consolidated Fund; and the claims on that fund of each part of the United Kingdom are not limited by that part's contributions to it, or by geographical considerations. They are limited only by that part's necessities, and by the capacity of the fund to satisfy them, consistently with meeting the necessities of the other parts.

I have already referred to the payments by Ireland to Great Britain between 1801 and 1817. From 1817 up to date the contributions of Ireland to the joint account (as shown in Parliamentary White Paper, Cd. 221, of 1911) are stated at 325,000,000*l.* sterling, or an average of about 4,000,000*l.* per annum, an average which till recent years exceeded one-half of the annual revenue. I cite these figures to show that, apart from any rights claimable under the Act of Union, Ireland has strong reasons for claiming considerate treatment in any settlement to be now made. I might strengthen this claim by mentioning in detail the irremediable injury inflicted on Ireland by the British legislative and administrative action of the eighteenth century, whereby Irish industries and trade were deliberately destroyed in the commercial interests of Great Britain. But I content myself with a mere reference to these unhappy incidents, and rest my present argument on the terms of the Act of Union itself. Under these terms Ireland's legal and constitutional claim on the revenues of the United Kingdom is not limited to the portion of these revenues contributed by Ireland. Ireland in the past has suffered grievously from indiscriminate taxation as well as from over-taxation, and as benefits from indiscriminate expenditure have now begun to accrue to her, it would ill become Great Britain to deny her obligations

towards Ireland or to cast off the suppliant without full and proper compensation. Any settlement of the Irish financial question which would proceed on the basis of limiting Ireland strictly to her existing contributions to the Consolidated Fund will not be a fair and just settlement.

Observing this effect of the growth of the expenditure of the United Kingdom, some politicians advise Great Britain to 'cut her losses.' They do not say how this is to be done; but if it be by granting to Ireland fiscal autonomy, and presumably restricting her to the true revenues derived from within her shores, then, I submit, the advice needs to be reconsidered. 'Social betterment,' if applied by Parliament to one part of the United Kingdom, cannot be withheld from another part in equal measure. The 'Equivalent Grant,' too, is still in the administrative vocabulary. In these circumstances the grant of fiscal autonomy to Ireland might be 'good business' for the time, as saving Great Britain from loss, and enabling Ireland to lead what her people are said to want—the Simple Life. But in the long run it would not be to the advantage of either country.

The counsel I would venture to give my countrymen is this: 'Do not, at this critical moment of your country's fortune, give up the substance for the shadow; do not be led astray by the "will-o'-the-wisp" of political analogies or the illusions of patriotic sentiment from the solid ground of the rights you have won, and the favourable conditions to which, as part of the great democracy of the United Kingdom, you have gained access. That will be the best Ireland for you and for the Empire which secures to you the management of Ireland's domestic affairs within the Empire, with funds adequate to Ireland's needs, and growing with the Empire's prosperity. This can only be done by maintaining one uniform financial system for the United Kingdom, under which capital will rest secure, and commerce will be safe from novel experiments. Above all, do not be persuaded into thinking that Great Britain can guarantee to Ireland the fiscal or commercial independence which she yielded once before in a moment of weakness, only to take back when she felt herself strong. In the future, as in the past, circumstances may be too strong for any guarantee.'

The last points I shall submit for consideration are the sources from which should come the money to form what I will call the Irish Consolidated Fund.

I advocated in connexion with the Irish Council Bill what, in our Indian Empire, is called the Contract System of Financial Settlement. That system consists, in essence, of two processes. First, the ascertainment, in the way I have indicated in connexion with the preparation of Budget Estimates, of the amount

necessary to meet the ordinary expenses of the Irish Government in a normal year, based on past experience; the addition to that sum of an amount estimated as sufficient to meet abnormal expenditure that frequently is necessary within the year but cannot be foreseen; the addition of a further sum for expenditure on public works and general betterment; and, finally, the addition of a sufficient balance to go on with. Secondly, an undertaking by the Irish Government to administer Ireland for a fixed period (say, fifteen years) in consideration of the annual payment of the sum so fixed, the Irish Government being granted the power of effecting economies when it could, and spending the money saved as it seemed to it to be best. During the period of the contract there was to be no interference with the financial freedom of the Irish Government, but yearly accounts were to be submitted to the Auditor-General or the Accounts Committee of the House of Commons. At the end of the contract period a new contract would be made on the same principles, but in the light of the circumstances of the later time.

The Irish Council Bill was framed in very unpromising circumstances of Parliamentary possibility, all of which have been altered by those amazing occurrences which ended in the Parliament Act. It is, I think, very doubtful that such a contract system as I have outlined would, in existing conditions, be acceptable to the Irish people. While I continue to think that a scheme of the kind, if worked with mutual goodwill, would make for the solidarity of the United Kingdom, would enable Ireland to share in the growing prosperity of Great Britain, and would work in admirably with the policy of 'Home Rule all round,' I am bound to admit that Ireland seems to want a settlement which shall be more automatic and less disputatious.

Speaking in the Belfast University in February last, I suggested, as one of the bases of a settlement of this question, the payment into the Irish Treasury (to be created afresh) of the Irish revenues 'as collected.' I made that suggestion on the assumption that the Irish revenues 'as collected' exceeded the Irish 'true' revenue by about two to two and a half millions sterling annually. But reading between the lines of the Prime Minister's answer to Sir Edward Carson in the House of Commons on the 27th of November last, I infer that the Government, if they adopt the principle of differentiating Irish from British revenues, will adhere to the 'true' revenue, as contradistinguished from the revenue 'as collected,' as the proper basis of a settlement. I take no exception to that decision; but it necessarily requires me to make a modification in the character of the alternative settlement which I ventured to suggest to my audience at Belfast.

The settlement which I would now propose for acceptance, as

being as automatic and as little disputatious as the conditions permit, is this:

(1) Creation of an official organisation for registering the movement to and fro of trade between Great Britain and Ireland, particularly of trade in dutiable commodities, in order that the 'true' revenue of Ireland may be determined annually with accuracy and precision;

(2) Payment into the Irish Treasury of the 'true' Irish revenue so determined, less cost of collection. I contemplate that the British Treasury will continue to collect, as now, the Irish Land Purchase Annuities and Sinking Fund. But if, for any reason, it be considered desirable to transfer to Ireland the collection in whole or part of these debts, then the Treasury should be competent to deduct from the Irish revenue, in transit to the Irish Treasury, a sum equivalent to the debts transferred in order to meet the interest on the Land Stock and provide the Sinking Fund.

(3) Ascertainment of the total charges on the Irish Government as created by the Imperial Government prior to a fixed date, and assignment to Ireland by the Imperial Treasury of funds to make good any difference between the Irish revenue and the charges as aforesaid, and to aid Ireland in establishing a sound system of finance. Revision of this assignment from time to time.

(4) Continuation of Ireland's existing right to share in the growing revenues of the United Kingdom, or the grant of suitable compensation for the extinction of this right.

In this connexion I would suggest for consideration the purchase of the Irish Railways by the Imperial Parliament (as recommended by the late Sir Charles Scotter's Committee), and their transfer to Ireland for management and appropriation of the profits for Irish purposes.

(5) Fixation, by a joint Committee of the Irish and Imperial Parliaments, of Ireland's contribution to Imperial purposes—such contribution to be a percentage on Ireland's 'true' revenue, liable to revision at the end of a fixed term of years. As such contribution would have to be met from savings or additional taxation, or both, a reasonable period should be allowed to Ireland to effect such savings and arrange for each additional taxation before the contribution became payable.

(6) The grant to Ireland of a lump sum, or an annual sum fixed for a term of years, for expenditure on works of public improvement, whereby the scandal of our water-logged counties, inadequate harbours, and neglected industrial possibilities may be removed, and the taxable capacity of Ireland may be raised closer than at present to the English level.

(7) The recognition of Ireland's right to manage her income

in her own way, to effect economies in her public expenditure (with due consideration for vested interests), and to employ the money saved, either in meeting her obligations or in establishing her financial system on a sound and economical basis, or for useful public purposes, or in the reduction of taxation in the way I shall presently describe.

(8) The grant to Ireland of the right to impose subsidiary taxation, not trenching on the sources of the Imperial revenues.

(9) The recognition of Ireland's right to make use (subject to suitable conditions to be imposed by the British Treasury Board) of the credit of the United Kingdom in borrowing money to be advanced on loan to individuals, or firms, or public bodies, for land improvement and similar useful purposes.

All these suggestions are, I think, sufficiently self-explanatory with the exception of the seventh, which would confer on Ireland the right to alter Imperial taxation in certain circumstances. This suggestion I derive from the Isle of Man legislation.

The revenue of the Isle of Man is almost entirely derived from Sea Customs, and the Customs are administered as a part of the Imperial Customs Department. The rates of duty are, therefore, fixed by the Imperial Parliament, but to that general rule there is one exception provided by the Isle of Man (Customs) Act of 1887 (Vict. 50, Ch. 5).

The object of this Act is to enable the Manx Legislature to effect quickly a change in the Customs tariff without removing from the Imperial Parliament its ultimate control over it. A resolution of the Court of Tynwald, either lowering or raising Customs duties, has, if agreed to by the Treasury, full effect for six months from the date of the resolution, and, if the Imperial Parliament is then in session, until the end of the then current Session of Parliament. But unless the resolution is confirmed by Parliament it ceases to have statutory effect at the end of the period.

Now, it seems to me that in this provision of the Isle of Man (Customs) Act we have a precedent which may well be considered in the legislation which is impending for Ireland. A favourite argument of those who favour fiscal autonomy bears upon the necessity of furnishing Ireland with some means of reducing taxation when financial circumstances permit of that being done. If we can devise a means short of fiscal autonomy by which this end can be attained, we shall have made some way towards meeting our opponents. No question of protective duties could arise, and the fiscal interests of Great Britain could not suffer, inasmuch as the revenues accruing in Ireland would, under the scheme, be directed to Irish purposes alone.

In the case of the Irish Legislature, which would be a more

important body than the Tynwald Court, important though Tynwald is, it ought to be possible to dispense with any statutory recognition of the preliminary intervention of the Treasury, remembering that the Crown would possess a plenary power of veto on Acts of the Irish Legislature; but that is a matter of detail. In any case, Ireland would have the power of altering taxation imposed by herself, and, in years of surplus revenues, of making grants in relief of local rates; which, in itself, is not an ineffective, though it may be an indirect, way of relieving the pressure of taxation upon an agricultural people.

In conclusion I desire to express my earnest hope that, in the impending legislation, the completion of Land Purchase will not be lost sight of. It is a great Imperial question, and should be dealt with in an Imperial spirit. Urgent as I regard the necessity, in the interests of the United Kingdom, for reform in the system and methods of Irish government, not less urgent in the same interests is the necessity for completing the work which was carried so near completion by Mr. Wyndham's great Act of 1903. So far as Land Purchase has gone, it has created an industrious and loyal peasant proprietary, while it has imbued the former landlords, now living in their ancestral homes with much spare time on their hands, with a sincere wish to take their part in Irish politics, and co-operate with their neighbours for the good of their common country. It would, in my judgment, be treason to the Empire to impede, still more to hinder, the fulfilment of this fraternal wish.

MACDONNELL OF SWINFORD.

THE NATIONAL GALLERY:

ITS PROBLEMS, RESOURCES AND ADMINISTRATION

A LITTLE book recently published by Mr. R. C. Witt, of the National Art-Collections Fund,[1] conveniently sums up a good deal of discussion on such topics as the drain of art treasures from this country and possible remedies; the relation of Gallery directors to their boards; that of one museum to another; that of the nation to them all. The National Art-Collections Fund, in its eight years of existence, has not only done much in acquisition, but as a common centre for the managers and friends of our collections it has become an organ for *thinking ahead* upon the problems enumerated above. Its deputations to ministers have formulated certain demands; its annual meetings, as well as the National Loan Exhibitions, have been occasions on which individual ministers and trustees have made important declarations of approval. The cordial relations that have grown up between the Fund and the directors and boards of collections like the British Museum and National Gallery will make these last the readier to listen to suggestions coming from a secretary of the Fund; and one may hope that the moment has come when reasonable changes will be welcomed and promoted from within as well as without. I propose to treat briefly here the most pressing questions opened up by Mr. Witt, those connected with the National Gallery, and to carry the discussion a little further, believing that friendly suggestions from one who has had to consider the subject both as a critic and as an official will not be resented. I will take for granted that Mr. Witt's book has been read.

THE DRAIN OF ART TREASURES

Mr. Witt considers, and very properly dismisses, some of the remedies that have been proposed. A 'Pacca Law' like the Italian is a tyranny that the English Parliament is unlikely to set up, and its costly machinery would be defeated by cunning evasion. A mere tax upon exports would not stop the drain, and the funds provided by it for purchase would be acquired too late.

[1] *The Nation and its Art Treasures.* By Robert C. Witt. Heinemann, 1911.

A tax on sales, though useful, would not provide enough. All these devices presuppose a long period of operation; whereas the battle for the possession of our diminishing treasure is going to be short and sharp, and is already half-decided. The battle is between a well-known group of bottomless purses on the other side of the Atlantic in the first rank, and in the second the greater activity and in some cases greater resources of foreign and colonial galleries—these on one side, and on the side of our picture galleries inadequate means and methods fitted for easier times. The bottomless purses are a 'function' of the protective system of a vast and wealthy continent: fortunes there have reached a wicked scale that throws into the shade the old-fashioned fortunes of the holders of our treasures: the ratio is that of London houses to New York sky-scrapers. There is small probability that this difference of scale will be altered in our favour. If Protection were introduced in England it might indeed raise the fortunes of the new trust magnates to the higher grade that certain practical monopolies at present reach; but the scale could never rival the American, because it is too late to attempt to bring our dependencies within a Customs-ring. The pull given by this enormous difference of scale in private fortunes was not at first realised, and when six years ago 45,000*l*. was demanded as the ransom of the Rokeby Velazquez, people could not believe that the price was a natural one in the new market, and not the result of some nefarious rigging by the dealers. Since then the pace has grown hotter, and the Lansdowne 'Mill' was lost the other day at double the price.

Is this taste, so rapidly developed by American millionaires, a passing fashion? Possibly it is; perhaps the millionaire of the future will find it more interesting as well as more adventurous to spend his money upon native and contemporary art. When it has outgrown the silly craze for imitating or importing ancient European buildings, a country that has already produced some excellent architecture may produce painters and craftsmen worthy of the new buildings. Or a financial crisis that in a sudden shrinkage of values and credit leaves these fabulously wealthy men for the moment without a penny of ready-money *might* check buying and lead to selling. But the probabilities are that in a few years the clearance of our available treasures will be complete, and that before a revolution of fortune breaks up the American private collections, these will have been made over by gift or bequest to public galleries. Nor are the American millionaires, though the most formidable, our only competitors. The galleries of America, of the Continent, and even of our Colonies, if not in many cases more handsomely endowed than ours, are directed with great energy and knowledge, and more

richly furnished with friends. The regular resources in some cases are greater, and are growing. Thus the gallery of Melbourne, by the single endowment of the Felton Bequest in 1904, obtained 240,000l.; all the invested funds of the National Gallery were a year ago 135,872l.,[1] and its yearly grant from the State of 5000l. would have to be multiplied by twenty to buy at present prices a single first-rate and well-known picture. Lord Curzon and Sir Edgar Vincent, trustees of the Gallery, suggested lately an increased grant of 25,000l. or 50,000l. But this sum, handsome as a regular grant, would not meet the case of pictures like the Bridgewater and Temple Newsam Titians, the Iveagh Rembrandt, the Velazquez portraits at Apsley and Devonshire Houses, or Rothschild Gainsboroughs, if (which Heaven forfend!) they ever were to come into the market. If we are to fight for things approaching these in value it can only be done by opening a credit of at least a million, to be drawn upon when the necessity arises. Some part might be provided by private subscription, and King Edward and his present Majesty, when Prince of Wales, pointed the way by their contributions to a 'Reserve' in the hands of the National Art-Collections Fund; but such effort could only be expected when the Treasury had played its part; the need is too great and too immediate for private action only. We cannot, of course, dream of keeping everything; we cannot keep even a very great deal; but a short list of what might be regarded as 'national heirlooms' has been drawn up by the Fund, and is at the disposal of the Government. Besides the things on such a list there do turn up from time to time out of the wonderful stores of the country pictures and objects that have escaped the scrutiny of Mr. Herbert Cook and his colleagues. For example, last summer the Abdy Collection, withdrawn for years from the knowledge of collectors, came up for sale at Christie's. Beside the Botticellis there appeared a picture identified by Sir Claude Phillips as a Carpaccio, but of a different rank from any Carpaccio hitherto known, more intense in its trance of religious awe and passion than all but the best of Bellini or Mantegna. Beside it the Carlisle Mabuse is a piece of cold-hearted, capable picture-making. The Fund was represented at the sale with all the money that could be ventured at short notice; but even at a few days' warning the bidding rose to 12,500l., and the picture eventually went to the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Such is the emergency, which should be considered and dealt with quite apart from the ordinary activities either of the National Gallery or of the Fund. It is not a question of a perpetual burden on the Budget, but of the defence of a limited number of things against a sudden and overwhelming attack during a few critical

[1] Since reduced by part-purchase of the Mabuse.

years. I pass now from the general situation to consider the system with which the National Gallery confronts its competitors, become so much more numerous, active, and efficient.

THE NATIONAL GALLERY

The National Gallery, of which the Tate Gallery is a branch, is controlled by a Director and a Board of Trustees, numbering at present ten. This Board is of the old-fashioned type, consisting of territorial magnates and men of wealth or leading position in public affairs, all of them in some degree interested in art, and possessed of art collections, inherited or acquired. Few of them —with notable exceptions, like Mr. Heseltine—would be described as connoisseurs or experts in the field of painting covered by the collections of the National Gallery; the Board was evidently intended to mediate between expert views, represented by the Director, and the interests of the public; it might be described as a House of Lords revising his proposals. The ordinary meetings of the Board are monthly, except in vacation time. The direction of the affairs of the Gallery is very closely in its hands, and in particular the most difficult and delicate business, that of acquiring new pictures. The exercise of its powers has varied. Sir Frederic Burton gained so much authority during his term of office that he was in fact as well as in name Director. Since his time the Director's powers have become limited in practice as in theory to bringing up proposed purchases for the decision of the Board, on which he has a vote. He can deal in a summary way with the rejection of unimportant offers of gift or sale. He has larger powers in the hanging of pictures and their conservation, and the preparation and revision of catalogues is left to him. The remaining officers at Trafalgar Square are a Keeper and Clerk. The Keeper is also Accounting Officer for the two galleries and Secretary to the Board; his main duties beyond these are to deal with the routine business of administration and with visits and inquiries of an ordinary character.[3] The duties of the Keeper of the Tate Gallery, under whom is a clerk, are in theory of the same routine character; but, owing to the distance between the galleries and the absorption of the Director in the constant business at Trafalgar Square, he has come to take over, for his gallery, the greater part of the Director's functions, except where the Board is concerned. The Director's time is absorbed by the innumerable visits he must pay or receive dealing with pictures that are in the market or may come into it, by journeys he must undertake, by correspondence on these subjects, or by visits and

[3] The subordinate officials are formally at the disposal of the Board for any duties that may be assigned to them, and in the stress of late years, including a period when there was no Director, the staff has had to play a laborious part.

letters on points connected with the existing collection. Problems of re-hanging are raised by every addition to the collection, and its rapid growth of late years and the extension of the buildings have made further claims on his time and strength.

The system outlined above will obviously depend for smooth and efficient working on the degree in which the Director can command the confidence of his Board and can induce its different members—not all of whom are likely to be in favour of any one proposal—to sink their individual preferences in deference to his conviction. If he does not thus succeed, the system will easily lead to friction, or even complete stoppage, in the work of the machine; and a Director, otherwise competent, who lacks diplomatic and persuasive powers will be at a disadvantage; the need for such persuasion will double, in any case, his anxieties. Even in the most fortunate case, the system evidently is contrived rather to check the mistakes of a fallible Director than to aid the efforts of a competent. The decisions of a committee, when the members give full play to their individual views, will approach unanimity in exact proportion to the insignificance of the problem debated, and will tend to compromise, fatal in art. Pictures of middling character or of thoroughly accepted character will easily command support; pictures of strong character, sometimes called 'ugly,' will arouse the enthusiasm of some members, the dislike of others. The 'ugly' in this sense is the purgatorio of the beautiful, the 'pretty' is its inferno; and the disputed beauty that issues from the test is the rarest, but the least likely to win through a committee.

Suppose, once more, that the Director, by the loyal and self-suppressing support of his Board, overcomes the vices inherent in the committee system, there still remains the serious defect that where a meeting of the Board and debate must be the preliminary to action, he may be unable to act quickly enough to secure his picture. He cannot, when he suddenly finds a masterpiece in the sale-room, bid without instructions, unless by the intermediary of a friendly dealer, who is prepared to risk having the picture left upon his hands. He cannot go through what, in many cases, must be the long and intricate 'stalking' or 'playing' of a picture, because when the time for striking comes he dare not commit himself. Dr. Bode has got round this difficulty to a certain extent by the help of a group of collectors, who are only too glad to acquire objects that his Gallery is unable or unwilling to purchase; but German collectors are at present buyers in the market; English owners, even trustees of the Gallery, have been forced to become vendors.

We have not yet come to an end of the difficulties. The immediate business before the Trustees at the monthly boards is

more than sufficient to occupy their time: there is little left either for thinking ahead or for scheming ahead. I mean that the action of a committee of busy men is bound to be from hand to mouth, concerned with the immediate proposals brought before it by the vicissitudes of the market. Its members are for the most part otherwise occupied between the meetings, and proposals come to them without preparation. The consideration of general policy is likely, in these circumstances, to suffer neglect, the question *of the directions and the proportion* in which expenditure is desirable, the looking far ahead for probable events; so that when some capital occasion comes, the funds may be already exhausted by temptations that might have been resisted. For the Director, too, there will be the temptation of limiting his policy to what an incalculable Board will most easily be brought to endorse.

These considerations are not merely the easy criticism that comes to an outsider. They represent the views of men among the Trustees who have given prolonged thought to the problem. No one gave more time and care to his duties as trustee than the late Lord Carlisle. He was senior trustee for many years; he was constant in his visits to the two galleries, and to balance his own strong prepossessions he followed very closely the critical movements of the time. I had many discussions with him on this subject. He felt that the responsibility now assumed by the Trustees made it difficult for any one of them to yield his judgment; but he was convinced that the right thing was for a competent Director's views to prevail, and again and again he did magnanimously waive his own prejudice when he thought there was a fair case made out for his view not being on a reasonable forecast that of eternity, or, let us say, that of a Board of Trustees twenty years hence.

Difficulties become, of course, intensified the nearer one approaches the debatable land of modern art, and the direction of the National Gallery has evidently avoided as much as possible this thorny region. I will speak presently of the English school, but the dearth of modern painting in the National Gallery is much more serious in the case of the foreign schools or rather school, for modern painting, with few exceptions, is French or English. I have called the system of the Board, not by way of blame, an 'old-fashioned' one, and it is so in this further sense that the choice of trustees, so far as it has depended on their being collectors or inheritors of pictures, has had in view the older schools. This seems to call for correction. The representation of our own eighteenth century since Hogarth has chiefly depended upon gifts; the French eighteenth century has hardly been represented at all, and it was only the wonderful windfall of the Wallace bequest that filled an obvious blank. The French nineteenth century was also unrepresented till first the Edwards gift and then the Salting

gave us examples of Fantin and Bonvin, of Corot, Daubigny and others of the Barbizon school. Millet is represented only in his 'flowery period,' Daumier not at all. The school that followed is entirely unrepresented. Ricard and Monticelli, Courbet and Manet, Degas, Monet and Renoir, to go no further, are entirely absent, and the most pressing problem for a Director of the Gallery, apart from the 'ransom' of Old Masters, is to secure that the splendid record of painting in the nineteenth century shall not be for ever wanting at Trafalgar Square. A waiting policy would be advisable if by waiting the pictures could be obtained; but this is not so. A few years ago the pick of the work of a Manet or Whistler might have been obtained for a few hundred pounds by a foreseeing purchaser; now it is almost all absorbed by American or foreign collections; the time for purchase is nearly past. What can be done, however, by a competent man, free to use his knowledge and taste, has been demonstrated by Sir Hugh Lane in the galleries of modern art at Dublin and Johannesburg. On this modern ground the system of the National Gallery, so successful in less strenuous times with the older schools, has manifestly failed.

Modifications Suggested

The disadvantages I have enumerated will be readily granted, but the question will be asked, What evidence is there that any modification of the system will be more efficient as well as easy in its action? The success of Sir Frederic Burton might be pointed to in reply, but an exception is not a system, and it will be better to shift the discussion to a wider field. There are two national collections whose scope is immensely wider than that of the National Gallery—namely, the British Museum and Victoria and Albert Museum. The second has been subject to recent changes of government, and is therefore not available for comparison; the first is under the general control of a body of trustees of the same type as that of the National Gallery. Their relation to the business of the Museum is in theory the same, but not in practice. The Keepers of the various departments have much greater authority; the proposals they make for purchase are rarely challenged by the Board. Its members would properly shrink from pitting their knowledge and judgment against those of the Keeper of Egyptian or Greek antiquities, of Mediæval, of Renaissance, or of Oriental art. It may be objected that there is a difference between a museum of antiquities and a gallery of paintings, where the leading consideration is the beauty of the acquisitions, not their value as illustrations of the history of art and manners. There is some difference, but it cannot be said that the ideals of the National Gallery really vary much from those that go to the

making of a collection of Greek antiquities or that of prints. And the departments of the British Museum are so well managed, their Keepers have so high a reputation in Europe, that we may well ask what is the secret of their success. The comparative freedom of the Keepers is no doubt partly due to the fact that the field of painting is the only one on which the average member of a Board would be ready to back his opinion against a Director's. But there can be little doubt that the real source of authority lies in the training received by the assistants in the departments, who actively aid the Keeper and become qualified in their turn to act as heads. Take the department that has most analogies with the National Gallery. There the Keeper of Prints and Drawings, Sir Sidney Colvin, has under him several assistants who have come in young from the universities,[4] who learn the field thoroughly, are engaged in research and catalogue work, take each of them a special branch of the work, and are encouraged to write on the subjects of their study. Thus in Mr. Campbell Dodgson, Mr. Binyon and Mr. Hind we have three men known to the world of art for the work they have done, and all prepared by their training to pass to a position of greater independence, as Mr. Cust passed to the National Portrait Gallery, where his assistant was of the British Museum type. The collection at the Print Room justifies the confidence reposed in the Keeper; modern as well as ancient art is fully represented; a Méryon, a Whistler, a Legros, a Strang and a John are found as a matter of course in their due place, as well as Mantegna and Marc Antonio, Dürer and Rembrandt.

The case is different at the National Gallery. There is no regular school of training for Directors, though the present Director had the advantage of preliminary experience at the Tate. There are no departmental assistants; each Director, as he comes, may be inexperienced in museum work, and untried in judgment. He has therefore, till he wins it, no authority, and the result is that the Board cautiously reserves its powers and takes the place of a Director. Looking back over past history Trustees remember cases of artists of repute who proved mere amateurs at this business, and their instinct, as a Board, must be to guard against blunders rather than to play for the sporting chance of successes. The cure for such a state of things is to put future Directors in the way of training by passing them through minor posts. Instead of appointing a Keeper and Clerk under the Director for the purely business side of the administration when new appointments come to be made, at least two Keepers or assistant-directors should be appointed, chosen for their interest in, and knowledge of art, to

[4] The schooling of candidates for such posts would furnish the Slade Professors at Oxford and Cambridge with definite work.

which should be added some technical practice in painting and in the processes of cleaning and varnishing pictures. They should be encouraged to write upon their subject, because that is one of the best ways of learning it, will raise the level of criticism, and will supplement their income. The field of painting, moreover, is so wide that it requires such subdivision. If the Director takes Italian art as specially his province, one Keeper might be responsible for German, Flemish and Dutch, another for Spanish, French and modern art, or this order might be reversed. Incidentally this would help to solve the very pressing problem of a supply of curators for provincial galleries. With notable exceptions, the status of these men with their committees is at present a mean one, because they have no special-training knowledge or taste to give them authority. The accountancy and business of the galleries need raise no difficulty. It could be learned by any intelligent man in a few days, and one such clerk could manage the financial business of the two galleries. He should also be qualified in shorthand and typewriting to aid the Director with his heavy correspondence.

Such a rearrangement, by dividing the duties of the present Keeper, need cost little more than at present, and would, I believe, secure efficiency, continuity and authority in the future direction of the National Gallery. Under it the present dependent position of the Director would insensibly be changed for one of greater freedom, while the Board would fall back into the position of general control at present exercised by the Board at the British Museum. In the remoter future there would be many advantages in uniting the National and other picture galleries and the Victoria and Albert Museum under one Board, along with the British Museum. The present awkward overlapping of collections and the duplicating of keepers would be avoided, and there would be a possibility of interchange between the collections, greatly to the advantage of their arrangement. The natural accompaniment of such co-ordination would be the creation of a Ministry of the Fine Arts to represent the Museums in Parliament.

On one point I am opposed to Mr. Witt's and, perhaps, to the general view in the matter of the Trustees; I mean the proposal to add to or substitute for the present Board a number of experts. The position of a Director, however difficult under the present system, would be intolerable, controlled by the votes of rival authorities on his own subject. The proper relation of such experts to the Director is that of a consultative group (not committee) to any one of whom he may apply for a confidential opinion when a picture is before him, and it would be an excellent thing, and would strengthen the administration, if some honorary title

were applied to the chosen advisers, such as 'Associate of the National Gallery.' Many willing helpers might be named who would take their place on this list, not excluding dealers, who are ready, to an extent not realised, to aid the Gallery with their knowledge and experience. The part of the Board, as I see it, would be to demand from the Director at the beginning of each year a report setting out his programme, apart from emergencies, a programme drawn up in consultation with his colleagues; to be obliged to draw up and discuss such a programme would clarify his own ideas and test their soundness. The programme laid down, with any comments the Board chose to minute upon it, the Director would be empowered to carry it out as far as possible, reporting progress to the Board at the interim meetings, and obtaining from it the support in his negotiations that influential people are able to afford. Nothing short of a four-fifths' majority of the whole Board should be sufficient to veto a Director's proposals. In face of such a vote on a serious question the Director ought to resign. The way of freedom and responsibility is for the Director the way of efficiency.

THE TATE GALLERY

The Tate Gallery is officially described as 'The National Gallery, British Art,' and in its entrance-hall are statues of Reynolds, Gainsborough, Wilkie and Flaxman. It very imperfectly answers to this title and promise. There is nothing in it by Reynolds or Gainsborough or Flaxman, and the bulk of the collection, till the other day when the greater part of the Turner Bequest was installed, dated from the second half of the nineteenth century. The title has other defects; no one, from a trustee to a cabman, will ever use it colloquially, and it is ungracious, because it obscures the origin of the Gallery in Sir Henry Tate's generosity; it also invites confusion with the old 'National Gallery of British Art' in what was once comfortably called the South Kensington Museum. The reason for the official title is that the Tate Gallery is part of the National Gallery, pictures of the English school being transferable from one to the other. The transfer of Turner's pictures was, one may hope, the beginning of a greater change. Turner remains at Trafalgar Square sufficiently to secure his place in the world's history of painting; till the transfer was effected he was there out of proportion even to that place. Hogarth, Reynolds, Gainsborough, and the other eighteenth-century masters might well be dealt with on the same lines. Their transfer to Millbank would give much needed room at Trafalgar Square, and reduce at Millbank the space now given to painters who are not masters at all. On the other hand, some nineteenth-century

masters, like Stevens, deserve to be represented at Trafalgar Square as one or two already are. A serious defect at present is the inaccessibility of the Tate Gallery from the National Gallery and other parts of London. What is wanted is an extension, otherwise desirable, of the Tube system from Charing Cross, with stations at the Stores and Roman Catholic Cathedral in Victoria Street and at the Tate, others in Chelsea, and a terminus tapping the London and South-Western at Clapham Junction.

The second anomaly, and a more serious one, at the Tate Gallery, is the presence of a collection, extending to seven rooms, none of the items in which have been subject to the choice or veto of the Board. The pictures and sculpture of the Chantrey Bequest Collection are chosen, not by the Director and Board, but by the President and Council of the Royal Academy. A sum of between 2000*l*. and 3000*l*. a year has been at the disposal of this body during thirty-four years for the acquisition of 'works of the highest merit in painting and sculpture that can be obtained' by artists working in Great Britain; and on the assumption that the purchasers would carry out Chantrey's intention, and thus relieve the National Gallery from the task of obtaining representative work of British contemporary art, the Academy's purchases have been admitted as a matter of course. Actually the Academy has failed to represent *all* but one or two of the best artists in the period covered by their purchases, and it has been the task of the Board, unendowed for this purpose, to fill up the glaring blanks by securing gifts and by occasional purchases from its meagre funds. If the statement just made appear incredible, an enumeration of names is enough to substantiate it. There have been three chief movements in English art since the days of Turner and Constable. First came the two Italian-trained artists of wide scope and commanding genius, Stevens and Watts. Then followed the movement of the Preraphaelites, preceded by Dyce, accompanied by Madox Brown, and followed by Burne Jones and others. Then came 'Impressionism,' and the various impulses which produced Whistler, Potter, Sargent and Brabazon, Wilson Steer, Conder, John, and others of less certain eminence.

Hardly anything of all this is represented in the Chantrey Collection; a single Watts, an Orchardson, Leighton's *Athlete*, a Sargent, a Furse, and a few respectable pieces of painting and sculpture besides are all that can be counted among one hundred and thirty-nine purchases from a total expenditure of 80,825*l*. on 'pictures and sculpture of the year'! A committee of the House of Lords reported adversely on the administration of the Bequest in 1904, but with no result, and under the present constitution of the Academy no change is to be hoped for. The remedy for this

is a very simple one; refusal on the part of the Treasury and National Gallery Board to accept pictures and sculpture in whose choice the Director has no part. The Academy, by the terms of the Bequest, was obliged to hand over the collection to a National Gallery of British Art as soon as it was formed. It cannot employ the funds of the Bequest to build a gallery, and is not at all likely so to employ its own. The Academy would therefore be obliged by the deadlock created to come to Parliament for powers to alter the terms of the Bequest. Such a change would require careful consideration; but I am inclined to think that the fairest scheme, in view of Chantrey's intentions, would be to give the greater part of the fund as a much-needed endowment to the Tate Gallery; some part might be expended on the mural decoration of public buildings,* a reformed Academy giving the commissions. The Tate Gallery at present has no endowment; the corresponding gallery in Berlin is richly endowed.*

The Keeper would under the suggested scheme become Keeper of the English School at both galleries, with an increased salary in view of his duties at Millbank. For the purposes of that Gallery additions might well be made to the Board of Trustees from collectors of modern English art, men such as C. K. Butler, Edmund Davis and Judge Evans. Here, as at Trafalgar Square, in any new appointment the clerk might be replaced by an assistant chosen for his knowledge of art. This step has become urgent since the transfer of the Turner drawings took place. To make these available for students will throw the work of a 'print room' upon the staff. Besides the Turner Collection there are drawings by Stevens, by Müller and others; and this section will naturally grow. Another section which might well expand on the unoccupied part of the site is that of English sculpture, going back to mediæval times. The limiting backwards of a collection of English art to Hogarth is a pernicious thing from the false habit of mind it sets up; and not even at South Kensington is there any conspectus of the splendid development of sculpture and decorative art in which mediæval England is second only to France. The *débris* of two collections of casts exists at the Architectural Museum and the Crystal Palace.

Circulation Department and Loan Exhibitions.

Mr. Witt makes an excellent suggestion for greater facilities in lending to other galleries by reduction of the period a picture

* The French Government spends 8000*l*. a year under this head.

* The late director, Von Tschudi, spoke to me of 6000*l*. or 7000*l*. a year; but I am not clear whether this was entirely for purchase.

need remain after acquisition at Trafalgar Square. Indeed, pictures might well in certain cases be accepted as practically duplicates for the purpose of lending. The collection, as it stands, is in some directions overstocked. Twenty-one Ruisdaels are twenty too many for perpetual exhibition, though an occasional exhibition is good for study: they obscure the power of the one masterpiece among them. Some might be stored below for reference; others lent to the provinces. No one, by the way, has calculated the cost of hanging a picture accepted as a 'gift.' The proportion of building and maintenance charges, framing, glazing, cleaning, and so forth absorbed by gifts too easily accepted for perpetual hanging would astonish the taxpayer if it were worked out. Wall-space is costly; storage-room would cost very little.

Of late years the acceptance of loans to the Gallery has been developed to the great advantage of the public; the Vandycks at Trafalgar Square are one instance; the Stevens exhibition and Preraphaelite exhibition, recently opened at the Tate Gallery and crowded with visitors, are other instances of a policy that gives fresh interest to the collections.

Catalogues, Reports and Photographs

The labour involved in drawing up and revising complete and accurate catalogues is very heavy. When the present Director took office, the catalogues of the Gallery had fallen seriously into arrear. This is in the way to be remedied. The Tate Gallery catalogue has been revised and that of the English School at Trafalgar Square; that of the Foreign Schools is under revision. With care in future in the preparation of the annual reports the catalogues, so far as fresh additions are concerned, should make themselves. But with a view to this, and to its uses for reference, the form of the report should be remodelled; for in its antiquated shape it is tedious to prepare and obstructive to consult. It should begin with the present division into gifts, bequests, and purchases, but these should be set out in brief *tabular form*. After each table should follow a note giving the total under each head that results from the additions. Then should follow tables of the additions arranged under the head of Schools, again followed by notes of totals. Then should come what is at present given in a confused appendix, all particulars of those works, exactly as they will appear in the catalogues, arranged under the names of artists in alphabetical order. In an appendix should be given, as in Mr. E. T. Cook's handbook, a table of acquisitions, year by year, from the beginning. The next step called for is to illustrate the cata-

logues by the insertion of a process-block reproducing each work of art, printed beside the notice of the work. These should be quite small, like the blocks in the 'Ars Una' series. Their presence would recall the pictures at a glance, and do away with the necessity for a great deal of description, which could be limited to explanation of features in the action, and schemes of colour. The catalogues, as Mr. Holmes has pointed out, at present attempt too much in the way of biography; for this might be substituted a concise notice and short bibliography. The notices of pictures, on the other hand, should embrace full histories, illustrative matter, and summaries of critical views on attribution. It might be well to divide the catalogue into separately bound sections devoted to the different schools, leaving it to the abridged catalogue to include all. Works of the British School at the two galleries might be included in one section. In addition to this a larger series of 'Schools'' catalogues might include under one cover, in addition to the National Gallery Collection, the pictures at the Wallace Collection, at Kensington, the Dulwich and Soane Collections, and the Royal Galleries of Hampton Court, Windsor, Buckingham and other Palaces. Towards the preparation of such a scheme, men of the type of Mr. Brockwell, who has trained himself for such a task, might well be subsidised. The Library at the National Gallery might also be made available for reference to accredited students. From the negatives made for the catalogue, photographs of a convenient size, like those sold for a shilling at Berlin, should be on sale at the galleries. The sales would produce in time a profit on the outlay, and the convenience to students would be very great.

THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

This gallery, administered in the spirit of the British Museum, is unfortunate in being badly designed on a cramped site, which should have been reserved for the extension of the National Gallery. It might very well be made one of the departments of the latter. Portraits that are works of art could take their place among other pictures; the rest might be stored underground in racks, as in a library, with a studio above ground to which they could be brought, like books, for students to consult, along with other material from the excellent library. And for the modern period photographs of celebrities might well take the place of pictures, when no really fine picture is available. The 'dossier' of each man, showing 'the child and what he had become,' in a whole series of photographs would occupy a tithe of the space,

and could be arranged with a list of biographical references. The small grant of 750*l.* would in this way yield results much more complete for historical study.

The National Art-Collections Fund

When I first advocated eleven years ago[1] the formation of a 'Friends of the National Gallery' society, I had in mind, besides the growing expense of Old Masters, the absolute blank in that collection of modern painting; Ingres, Delacroix, Millet, Daumier, Monticelli, Manet, Degas, Whistler were in my mind. In 1903 that remarkable student and friend of the arts, Mrs. Herringham, came to me with an offer of the money for the expenses of the first year, and in a short time the project took shape with its wider scope and present name. It acquired a Watteau and a Whistler, but then the tyranny of the 'ransom' period above described became acute. In the absence of a Government scheme or sufficient Gallery funds the Society has had to bend its energies to the rescue of the Velazquez, the Holbein and the Mabuse successively. A good deal of a less sensational kind has been done, but the original plan of filling up gaps with modest purchases of unregarded Old Masters and of securing works by the moderns has been sadly diverted; the centre of gravity and responsibility has been shifted from the Trustees and the Government to the committee of the Fund, and it has become too much a supplementary source of income not provided by the State. From this position we may well beg for some relief, so that we may return to our proper duties. The Fund is now supplemented, for the more recent developments of English art, by the Contemporary Art Society, formed to hold and lend works which opinion on the National Gallery Board might not be ripe for accepting. The formation of these societies and the work they are doing is sufficient witness that the activity of the National Gallery under the present reading of its constitution has fallen short of the needs of the times, and that reform of procedure is called for if the work is not to be taken out of its hands by voluntary associations. It will be part of the problem of the future to adjust the sphere of these voluntary societies to that of the Directors and Boards of the various museums. One small change would have large results in an addition to the number of the Fund's members—viz. the admission of subscribers free to public galleries on paying days. The privilege of admission to Buckingham Palace for a single day added one hundred subscribers to the Fund; an extension of this

[1] *Saturday Review*, December 15, 1900.

privilege to members on occasions of the King's absence would add a thousand. In return for such a privilege the nation might well improve the wretched conditions of space and hanging under which these treasures are now seen. If office-room could be found for the Fund on the ground-floor of one of our galleries, a saving in rent would be effected, from which our collections would reap a benefit.

D. S. MacColl.

OUR PERSIAN POLICY

I have a sort of suspicion that we are drifting into dark and perilous paths in our Persian policy, and it may even happen that Persian independence will vanish while we are discussing by what methods it may be maintained.—LORD CURZON in the House of Lords, 7th of December 1911.

WHATEVER may be the result of the recent crisis in Persia, it cannot be said that the part played by the Government of Great Britain was a very heroic or creditable one. To watch an ancient and friendly nation, with whom we are bound by so many ties, and against whom we have no sort of quarrel, punished and humiliated for offences which so far as they have been disclosed were utterly undeserving of such treatment; to see her territory invaded by hostile forces, and her Constitution threatened or destroyed, would in itself be sufficiently serious. But when it is remembered that the Russian Government has acted throughout with the diplomatic support of Great Britain, so that we are partners, however reluctant, in all that has occurred, there is no wonder that public opinion in this country is puzzled and alarmed.

Of course, there may be good reasons which cannot now be disclosed. The Persian question, we are frequently told, must not be considered alone. The exigencies of the Triple Entente, our own strained relations with Germany, the danger of Russia being drawn within that orbit of diplomacy—all these, it is said, must be borne in mind if the Persian question is to be usefully discussed.

Such considerations as these would be beyond the scope of this article, even if there were sufficient material for discussing them. But it may still be worth while to consider, in the light of our public engagements, the events of the last two months—to try and estimate, apart from the European situation, what the crisis in Persia has cost us.

THE AGREEMENT OF 1907

The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 was based upon the principle of Persian independence, which for nearly a hundred years it has been the aim of British policy to maintain. The Agreement opened with a solemn recital that the two Govern-

ments had mutually engaged to 'respect the integrity and independence of Persia.' The 'spheres of influence' which it created were of a commercial character only. They were intended to put an end to the rivalries of British and Russian 'concession hunters,' and to the friction to which such rivalries had led; 'to prevent,' as Sir Edward Grey expressed it, 'the two nations mining and counter-mining against each other in the somewhat squalid diplomatic struggle which had gone on for years—one trying to gain an advantage at the expense of the other.' Within the Russian sphere Great Britain undertook not to seek for herself, and not to support in favour of British subjects, any concessions of a commercial or political nature, such as concessions for banks, railways, telegraphs, roads, transport, insurance, &c., and the Russian Government gave a similar undertaking as regards the British sphere. So anxious indeed was Sir Edward Grey to prevent misunderstanding on this point, that at the end of the speech which he made explaining the Convention, he went out of his way to assure the House of Commons that his use of the term 'British and Russian spheres' must not be taken in any wider sense. 'I have used,' he said, 'the term "British and Russian spheres." I trust that it will be noted and understood that I have used it solely in the sense in which it is used in this Agreement, and *not* in the sense of the political partition of Persia. Under the Agreement we bind ourselves not to seek certain concessions of a certain kind in certain spheres. But these are only British and Russian spheres in a sense which is in no way derogatory to the independence and sovereignty of Persia.' (House of Commons, the 17th of February 1908.)

But the Convention did not stand alone. It was accompanied by a solemn Declaration contained in a written memorandum, and presented in the name of both Governments by Sir Cecil Spring Rice, our Minister at Teheran, to the Persian Minister of Foreign Affairs. This Declaration, which was afterwards published in the Persian Press, was intended to allay the discontent and anxiety to which the Convention had given rise; to assure Persia, as Sir Edward Grey expressed it, that it was not the object of the Anglo-Russian Agreement to threaten Persian independence or to embark on any policy which would partition Persia. What the two Powers desired was to prevent difficulties by guaranteeing that neither Power should aim at acquiring influence in the parts of Persia adjacent to the frontier of the other; that they should not allow one another to intervene on the pretext of safeguarding their interests, but should give to Persia a fair opportunity of building up again her own fortunes. And in a well-known passage it continued:

This Agreement between the two European Powers which have the greatest interests in Persia, based as it is on a guarantee of her independence and integrity, can only serve to further and promote Persian interests, for

henceforth Persia, aided and assisted by these two powerful neighbouring States, can employ all her powers in internal reforms.

Such were the solemn professions made to the Persian people only four years ago. In what way have they been fulfilled? The events that led to the recent crisis give only too clear an answer.

The Persians had taken the two Powers at their word. After deposing a corrupt and tyrannical ruler, they were engaged—slowly it is true, but with great courage and persistence—in endeavouring to build up the fortunes of their country. There were enormous difficulties to contend with: the bankruptcy of their Treasury, the weakness of their police, the long tradition of corruption and blackmail, besides the continual plots and counter-revolutions from the friends and adherents of the deposed Shah. During the last four years, as Lord Curzon has said, 'the Persian Government have had to create a parliament, to evolve a constitution, to suppress rebels, to depose a tyrant, and to expel him when he returned.'

But a new national spirit had arisen. In spite of all the difficulties, the situation was steadily improving. Under the able direction of Mr. Shuster [1] and other foreign advisers whom, following the example of Japan, the Government had called in to assist them, a new administration was being established. Even the finances were recovering. As regards police, although there was still disorder and insecurity, it is a remarkable fact that during all the disturbances not a single European had been injured. With sufficient time and freedom from outside interference, there seemed nothing to prevent the Persian question being settled with the full consent of the Persian people in a permanent and satisfactory way.

Unfortunately these conditions were not secured. For nearly three years past, from one cause or another, the Government had found itself in continual disagreement with its two powerful neighbours, and especially with the representatives of Russia. The more steadily it set itself to 'internal reforms' the more dangerous the external situation grew.

On the 10th of November these difficulties came to a head. A dispute had occurred in consequence of an attempt to levy taxation on the property of the brother of the deposed Shah, a *protégé* of the Russian Government. I take from *The Times* of the 13th of November a description of what happened:

Teheran, Nov. 12th.

Russia has presented a Note renewing her demand for the withdrawal of the Treasury gendarmes from the property of Shua-es-Sultaneh and for an apology by the Foreign Minister at the Legation. The Note was accom-

[1] Mr. Morgan Shuster, an American citizen, appointed in May 1911 on the recommendation of the President of the U.S.A. to take charge of the finances as Treasurer-General.

panied by a verbal statement that unless immediate satisfaction were forthcoming diplomatic relations would be broken off, and Russia would take other measures. . . .

The whole Ministry has resigned and the Regent also. No Minister is likely to be found willing to go to the Legation and apologise. . . .

The action of St. Petersburg throughout causes unbounded surprise here.

In their extremity the Persian authorities applied to this country for advice; and on the 20th of November the Foreign Office telegraphed, advising them to yield unconditionally to both the Russian demands. They told them that if they did so the British Government 'had every reason to believe' that the Russian troops, who had already entered or were entering Persia, would be withdrawn. The next day (the 21st of November) the Persian Government decided to act on this advice. Three days later (the 24th of November) they had actually complied with both demands.

Again I extract from the report of *The Times* correspondent an account of what happened:

Teheran, Nov. 24th.

Mr. Cairnes, Director of Taxation, last night withdrew Mr. Shuster's gendarmes and handed Shua-es-Sultaneh's property over. . . .

Simultaneously Vosak-ed-Dowleh went to the Russian Legation, speaking thus: 'I come to apologise on behalf of the Persian Government for the unmannerliness of officials towards the Russian Consul-General on the property of Shua-es-Sultaneh. I am very sorry it has occurred,' &c.

Sir George Barclay, the British Minister, assisted the reconciliation by convincing the Persians that the Russian troops would be withdrawn if an acceptable apology were tendered.

It might well have seemed—as it seemed, in fact, to *The Times* correspondent—that the 'reconciliation' was complete. Russia had exacted the full measure of her demands. She had saved the property of her adherents. She had secured for herself an apology made in the most public way. What remained but to consider the incident closed and to see that the Russian troops were immediately withdrawn in accordance with the promises made?

But Russian honour was not so easily satisfied. Not only was it said that there had been undue delay in complying with her demands, but a fresh offence had been discovered. A letter had been written by Mr. Shuster to *The Times*, in which, in reply to some criticisms of that journal, he had reflected on the Governments both of Great Britain and Russia; and it was now alleged that a translation of this letter had been circulated as a pamphlet in Persia. Such an offence as that could not be overlooked.

On the 29th of November, within five days of the compliance with the first ultimatum, the Government of Russia had presented a second ultimatum, adding, on this occasion, a fixed time limit. Three peremptory demands were made: (1) The instant dismissal of Mr. Shuster from the service of the Persian Government, (2) the

right of veto for Russia and Great Britain on all future appointments of foreign advisers, and (3) the payment of an indemnity. An interval of forty-eight hours was allowed for compliance.

It was plain that no Government with a shred of independence or self-respect could have yielded to such demands, presented in such a way. But the Persian Government did not entirely refuse to consider them. They appealed once more to the good offices of Great Britain. They asked for a fair investigation of the whole matter. They stated they were quite willing to discuss the terms of the ultimatum if reasonable time were given.

To all such appeals the British Government were deaf. They had indeed already consented to the action that Russia was taking. The terms of the ultimatum had been formally submitted to them before it was presented to Persia, and except in two details they made no objection. With regard to the proposed indemnity, they pointed out that, as 'Persia is very short of money,' the exaction of any indemnity might be disadvantageous to other interests, and they expressed the hope that the Russian Government would 'after the crisis is over find some way of avoiding this difficulty'; in other words, that they would take a 'concession' instead of hard cash. They also trusted that the Russian Government would not add to the embarrassments of the situation by allowing the restoration of the deposed Shah. But that was all the protest that they made. With these two reservations the British Government became parties to the whole proceeding. The demands of Russia were to be met. Persia must be left to her fate. All the professions of four years ago—the desire to safeguard Persian independence, to give her a fair chance of reform—were utterly disregarded.

Effect on Mohammedan Opinion

How seriously the part taken by the British Government in these events had affected the good name of our country at once became clear. From Egypt, from India, from Turkey, from all parts of the Moslem world messages of indignant protest were received. At Bombay a mass meeting 'of the different Moslem communities' of that town passed a resolution calling attention to the 'bond of Islamic brotherhood which unites the Moslems of this country with those of Persia,' and begging the Foreign Office to use their influence in preserving Persian liberty.

Of course, there were the usual official assurances. Russia, we are told, had despatched her troops 'owing to force of circumstances,' and 'without the least intention of violating the integrity or independence of Persia.' So runs the semi-official statement from St. Petersburg, as quoted by the Foreign Office. 'The last thing we wish to do,' added Sir Edward Grey, 'is to pursue, or be

parties to a policy in the neighbourhood of India that would be or have the appearance of being harsh and aggressive towards a Mohammedan country.' But assurances of this kind are beginning to have a hollow sound. The examples of Morocco and of Tripoli are not so easily forgotten. Mohammedan countries cannot be blamed if they set rather small store on the assurances of Christian Powers.

The Case of Mr. Shuster

Again it is said that it was all the fault of Mr. Shuster, and that it was only against him that the action of the two Powers was directed. But it is impossible to isolate Mr. Shuster in that way. Mr. Shuster was an official employed by the Persian Government, whom he had served with signal ability and success. He is a man, as Lord Morley has said, 'whose zeal, whose ability, and whose single-mindedness is beyond dispute,' and he had won, in a manner which did credit to them no less than to him, the confidence of the Persian Parliament. In all this long and rather sordid business there is no brighter feature than the courage and the loyalty with which the Mejliss stood by Mr. Shuster.

And what, after all, were the charges against him? Lord Morley tells us that he 'had shown want of tact,' and that he had 'ignored the position and indisputable claims of Persia's two great neighbours.' Whatever may be the gravity of such charges, they are exceedingly general in scope; and it may well be asked what were the exact offences alleged against Mr. Shuster to justfy the violence and the haste with which he is being expelled. Only two definite charges have yet been made: (1) That he wrote a letter to *The Times* defending his conduct, which *The Times* had attacked, and in turn attacking the Governments of Great Britain and Russia, and that he afterwards circulated this letter as a pamphlet in Persia; (2) that he appointed a British subject, Mr. Lecoffre, to a position in Northern Persia. With regard to the pamphlet he himself denies that he was in any way responsible for its circulation in Persia. With regard to the appointment of Mr. Lecoffre, it is noteworthy that Mr. Lecoffre had already for some years held office in Northern Persia. All that Mr. Shuster did was to transfer him from Teheran to Tabriz, and the appointment has since been cancelled. But, after all, the question was not whether Mr. Shuster conformed to the diplomatic standards of London or St. Petersburg, but whether, on the whole, he had served Persia well, or had committed any offences of so grave a character as to warrant his immediate expulsion. At present no such offences have even been alleged.

To demand the instant dismissal of an official who had the full confidence of his Government on charges so trivial as those made

against Mr. Shuster, was to make a vital attack on Persia's liberty. To say that no successor should be appointed without the formal consent of the two Powers was to make it practically impossible under present conditions for the sovereignty of Persia to continue. By consenting to such demands the British Government have consented to the virtual destruction of an independence which they were pledged in honour to maintain.

The Prospects of the Future

As I write, the news comes that the Mejliss have at last given way, and accepted the three demands of the ultimatum. Deserted by their friends, denied even the right of inquiry, threatened by an immediate advance of Russian troops to overwhelm them, it may well have seemed to them that no other course was left. Mr. Shuster has been dismissed; the right of veto on future appointments is admitted—though we are told with some modifications; even the indemnity is to be paid, if not in cash, at any rate in concessions. The crisis of the second ultimatum has ended, as did the crisis of the first, in the exaction by Russia of the full measure of her demands.

But still the Russian troops will remain. The disturbances that have unfortunately occurred at Tabriz and Resht have given indeed exactly the justification that was necessary. Already we learn that fresh reinforcements are being sent; while the *Novoe Vremya* is demanding that Russia should 'take justice' at these places 'into her own hands,' and that 'the whole population of Tabriz should be held responsible and punished.' Russian honour, it would seem, is not yet satisfied.

In the meanwhile what is to be the position of the Persian Government?

At the end of his recent speech in the House of Commons, Sir Edward Grey gave a short but very important outline of the joint policy which he hoped that, when the crisis was over, Great Britain and Russia would pursue. A form of government was to be set up 'that would not disregard the special interests of the two Powers.' A successor to Mr. Shuster was to be found. A fresh loan was to be raised with a view to 'a constructive policy.' If Russian troops remained, it was to be only as a temporary arrangement. The Convention, in fact, was to be continued on a new basis; and so long as the present co-operation between the two Powers continues there seemed no reason why some such arrangements should not work—at any rate for a time. In spite of all that has been lost, they would preserve at least the semblance of Persian autonomy: something round which in happier days the national spirit might revive.

But if the most recent developments are any indication of

Russian intentions towards Persia, it becomes doubtful if even this can be still secured, or if any co-operation with regard to Persia would continue possible. A situation might then arise in which nothing would be left for this country but to consent to the political partition of Persia, with all the dangers and strategical difficulties and the immense drain on Indian resources which that would involve. If this last and crowning blunder is to be avoided, the Government will have to take a firmer attitude than they have hitherto adopted. If Russian friendship is valuable to this country, the friendship of Great Britain is also of some value, if only for financial reasons, to the Russian Government. Let it be made clear that that friendship can only be retained if the principle on which the Convention was based is faithfully and loyally observed.

PHILIP MORRELL.

THE CHANGES IN INDIA

The great administrative changes which his Majesty announced at the Coronation Durbar at Delhi are these :

1. The transference of the seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to Delhi.

2. A Governorship for the Presidency of Bengal, which is to include five divisions—the Presidency, Burdwan, Dacca, Rajshahi, and Chittagong.

3. A new province, consisting of Behar, Chota Nagpur, and Orissa, to be administered by a Lieutenant-Governor.

4. A Chief-Commissionership of Assam, on the north-eastern frontier of India.

The announcement of these changes has undoubtedly been somewhat startling. This is due, however, mainly to the fact that the announcement was sudden and unexpected. The changes involve such an abrupt departure from the traditions of the Government of India, and such a dislocation, temporary at least, of official habits, and affect so many local and personal interests, that they seem, *prima facie*, to have required more serious consideration and fuller discussion and consultation with the local Governments and persons specially interested than the published papers show that they received. In recent years so much has been said (especially in connexion with the 'partition of Bengal') about the duty of considering public sentiment, and we have heard so much about the necessity for the representation of Indian opinion (of all races and classes) in the Legislative Councils and in the Government of India, that it is undoubtedly startling to have important changes like these irrevocably announced on the strength of a secret letter from the Governor-General-in-Council and a despatch of the Secretary of State accepting the proposals which that letter contained. To some it has also appeared startling to have Ministers advising the announcement of such changes by his Majesty the King in person, before they had been discussed in Parliament. Whatever view may be taken of the changes as a whole and each one of them in particular, it cannot be denied that there is room for difference of opinion in regard to every one of them. It is undoubtedly,

under these circumstances, somewhat startling to have this particular form of procedure adopted in regard to them. With all this, however, I do not intend specially to deal. I propose only, as one who knows something of India and who is interested in it, to consider what the changes mean.

The first decision is to transfer the seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to Delhi. This is not a new subject. Lord Hardinge tells us that 'proposals of a similar nature had been fully discussed as long ago as 1868, and ample materials were on record for the formation of a just opinion on all debatable points.' I remember myself nearly thirty years ago writing an official note in support of a proposal to remove the seat of the Government from Calcutta. But there were three principal objections raised at that time: viz. the expense, the isolation of almost any place in the interior of India, and the uselessness of any transfer which did not obviate the migration to the hills. Improved communications all over India have entirely removed the second of these objections; and the third may be to some extent met, in connexion with the present proposals, by reducing the migration to the hills to the least possible period. As to the first, the Government of India have now made up their minds that the change is so desirable, if not necessary, that the expense must be met. The idea of spending four millions sterling on this transfer may well startle anyone who knows how difficult it is to find money for the most urgent requirements of Indian administration. But the Government of India have determined to face the cost.

There can be no doubt, I think, in the mind of anyone who is acquainted with the relations between the Government of India and a Local Government, that it is most undesirable in the interests of both that they should be located in the same city. It is also in the interest of the peoples of India generally that the Government of India should not be located in Calcutta. There is no place in India more out of touch with Indian sentiment than Calcutta. It has interests and views entirely its own, and does not understand the sentiment of the interior. However important the interests and views of Calcutta may be—and they are undoubtedly important—they are not the interests and sentiments of India. On the other hand, the educated community and the Press of Calcutta are both loud and forcible in the assertion of their interests and views; and it has long been a danger to the Government of India, in respect of the sound administration of the country, to be so very largely, if not exclusively, under Calcutta influence. The importance of Calcutta demands, as much as that of Bombay or Madras, that there should be a strong and influential Local Government; but it is undesirable in the interests of Indian

administration generally that the Government of India should be located in that city. Then, if the necessity for the change is admitted, few who are acquainted with the past history and present sentiments of the Indian peoples will deny that, in proposing Delhi as the future capital, the Government of India have made the best selection possible. Its ancient imperial character, its central and easily accessible position, and the splendid associations with it in the minds of both Hindus and Mohammedans, point to this city as the most suitable for the Indian capital.

If there is, *primâ facie*, on the papers an appearance of unconstitutional action in respect of the procedure adopted in deciding on and announcing this change, there is at the same time a statement of sound constitutional principle in respect of the basis of the decision which is most satisfactory. The recognition of the fact that 'the maintenance of British rule in India depends on the ultimate supremacy of the Governor-General-in-Council,' along with the clear statement of the necessity for satisfying 'the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the government of the country,' is a most important feature of the despatch of the Government of India of the 25th of August last. And it is well said that the question is, 'how this devolution of power can be conceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General-in-Council,' and that 'the only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of Administrations autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern.' The clear enunciation of these truths is worth a great deal. If the statesmanlike policy here indicated is really carried into effect in the future, it will greatly conduce to the sound administration of the Indian Empire; and there can be no doubt that this policy demands that the capital of the great central Government should be separate and independent.

Under these circumstances it may be hoped that those whose local and personal interests are undoubtedly affected by the change will take a broad view of the case, and express their views with becoming calmness and loyalty. The Government of India have frankly anticipated possible opposition on the part of the European commercial community of Calcutta; and we are informed by telegram that some of the European papers, notably the *Englishman* and *Statesman*, have written strongly in denunciation of the change. This was only to be expected in the first feeling of disappointment; but broader and wiser views may be expected to prevail with the commercial community. They are

accustomed to take reasonable views of their own interests. At t
time of the partition of Bengal, when it was undoubtedly expect
that the fact that the great port of Chittagong would great
develop under the care of a separate Government from that
Bengal, there were many who believed that the commercial i
terests of Calcutta would suffer. But the Chamber of Commer
declined to oppose the partition on any such ground. The
adopted the entirely sane view that any imaginary line whic
separated the territories of one Local Government from anoth
could never really affect the course of trade within the Empire, ar
that any change which drew more trade to Chittagong would
entirely in the interests of trade itself. This view must be held
strongly now as then. It is difficult to conceive of any effect
Calcutta commerce from the movement of the Government of Ind
to Delhi, other than that which affects merely the trade with t
entourage of that Government itself—a matter of infinitesim
importance.

I have, indeed, heard it said with regret by a distinguished com
mercial man belonging to Calcutta, that one effect of the chan
will be to make the commercial community less in touch with th
Government in the future than even in the past. It must, howev
be admitted that the commercial community of Calcutta will
as much in touch with the Government of India as the com
mercial community of Bombay; and now that there is to
a Governor in Calcutta, its influence with the Government
India will be as great as that of Bombay. The almost univers
commerce of Calcutta, and its practical monopoly in more tha
one branch of trade, will, I believe, be altogether unaffected. T
fact also that the city will in future be definitely the concern
a powerful Local Government ought to be a source of great sati
faction to its residents.

The Bengalis may also be expected to feel some regret th
their city ceases to be the capital of India. But, on the oth
hand, they receive at the same time a great compliment, whi
the past history and present influence of Bengal generally ar
of Calcutta in particular undoubtedly deserve, in the appointme
to the new province of a Governor-in-Council.

The Government of India, in their despatch of the 25th
August last, justify the proposed Governorship by citing ar
ments employed by the late Sir Henry Maine in the correspo
dence of 1867-68. But these arguments are not so relevant
they appear detached from the context. The system which
Henry Maine was defending was that of a Governor with
Council as against a Lieutenant-Governor without a Council. T
objection taken in the old days to the system he supported, w
that the necessity for consulting the Council involved delays a

the absence of that personal responsibility for prompt and effective action which was then regarded as necessary. The changes which the flight of time and the progress of events have made in the circumstances of the country have already included the appointment of an Executive Council in Bengal as in other large provinces. The only change now proposed is the substitution of a Governor for a Lieutenant-Governor. The former is regarded as of somewhat more dignified rank than the latter, and as therefore perhaps more suitable for a province like Bengal. It is rather amusing to find that, not two months before the Delhi announcement, a leading native paper in Calcutta devoted a long article to proving that Lieutenant-Governors 'who have studied Indian life and Indian character all their lives' may generally prove 'more successful' than Governors recruited from England. If, however, the Governor rules constitutionally, as Governor-in-Council, the additional dignity to the province will now involve very little if any disadvantage. It can hardly be said that the Bengalis are called upon to make any real sacrifice when they are merely placed alongside of Bombay and Madras by the transfer to Delhi of the seat of the Government of India. And it ought to be easy for them, in view of the undoubted advantages of the change to India generally, to reconcile themselves to any sentimental sacrifice which they may think involved. Those who are readiest to criticise any Government measure, and have been loudest in agitation in the past, have already signified their willing acceptance of this change, in consideration of the other parts of the scheme.

The other three changes involve the revision of Lord Curzon's great scheme of partition. That scheme was introduced after very full consideration and after public discussion of a character probably without precedent in regard to any measure carried out by the Government of India. It has sometimes been said that Lord Curzon did not adequately consult the public, or consider their views. As a matter of fact, every means was taken to have the views of the public before the Government of India; and Lord Curzon himself, with that tremendous energy and self-sacrifice which characterised him in the discharge of the great duties and responsibilities committed to him, went round to the districts affected, heard local opinion fully, and expounded and explained the Government policy. The Government of India in their despatch hardly do justice to this aspect of the case. The statement that the partition is the root cause of all recent troubles in India demands distinct and definite repudiation. The Government of India are not distinct and definite enough. There are before that Government the clearest proofs that preparations had been made years before the partition for precisely the kind of

movements in sedition and anarchy which have given trouble in Bengal.

Nor are the statements made in the despatches of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State regarding the improvement of administration since the partition, in the districts handed over to the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, by any means strong enough. It was not 'the Mohammedan community of Eastern Bengal' that had been neglected. It was the whole community, both Hindu and Mohammedan. The administration of these districts had been a blot on Indian administration in its neglect and inefficiency; and for all classes of the people there has been enormous improvement. Nor is it correct to say, as the Government of India do, that 'the resentment among the Bengalis in both provinces of Bengal is as strong as ever, though somewhat less vocal.' There were many who have changed their minds; and the opposition to the partition had, not only in tone but also in spirit, largely passed away. This may be said—and must be said, in view of facts which are distinctly on record—without disputing the Government of India's position, that, in respect of the changes introduced by the Indian Councils' Act, the Bengalis suffer to some extent unexpected disabilities. It is quite right that this change of circumstances should now be considered, though it certainly would not justify any serious reversal of past policy, but only some slight modification in detail.

We are faced here, however, with the fact that the old 'partition of Bengal' has been suddenly set aside. That measure was proposed by one Viceroy and sanctioned by one Secretary of State; and it was accepted by the successors of both these great functionaries. It had been declared again and again that this partition would not be touched; and the opposition to it was dying out, as time was showing its wisdom. Now the measure appears to have been revised and, indeed, entirely set aside. It must be borne in mind, however, that the primary and principal object of Lord Curzon's scheme was to reduce the area of the province of Bengal to a manageable size. The present scheme also secures this object, though in another way. The second object of the old scheme was to raise the area of the Assam province, so that it might have a self-contained and effective Administration. Now in regard to this matter the Government of India hold that circumstances have entirely changed and that reconsideration has become necessary.

The Government of India now declare that it is, in their opinion, essential to have a small province on the north-east frontier of India similar to that which was created under Lord Curzon's Government on the north-western frontier. Trouble has arisen in the former similar to that which had led Lord Curzon

wisely to propose the formation of the small province on the north-west, and the Government of India now ask for the same remedy. This is a matter in regard to which the opinion of the Government of India ought to have the greatest weight. But if it be admitted that this frontier province is to be constituted, then it is clear that the delimitation of boundaries made by Lord Curzon in his partition of Bengal must be reconsidered. This is a justification of a revision of policy which rebuts the allegation that it is due simply to a weak desire to avoid the difficulties arising from the opposition of a section of the community to a change which had been decided on as expedient. No strong Government ought to abstain from any action which it regards as sound merely because there may be some who will attribute that action to weakness.

The revision, then, must be considered on its own merits. The first point—after accepting the necessity for the new north-eastern frontier province—is the formation of a province consisting of the five purely Bengali divisions at present separated between Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam. This secures the unification of what is called the Bengali people. The telegrams inform us that the Bengali organs in Calcutta have stated that they are entirely satisfied with the arrangement. They have not even a word to say against the removal of the Government of India from Calcutta; because they hold that 'no price is too great to be paid' for the unification of their race under one Government. Apparently Sylhet and some other Bengal tracts are to be left to the frontier province of Assam; but they have been connected with Assam for many years apparently to their complete satisfaction. To some it will be matter of regret that educated Bengalis will be deprived of the enlightening and broadening influence of service in the sub-provinces of Behar, Chota Nagpur, and Orissa; that the Bengalis who have estates there will be personally inconvenienced in respect of them; and that Bengal politics will be deprived of the influence of these sub-provinces. But, on the whole, it cannot be denied that the province as now constituted, with a population stated by the Government of India at forty-two millions and found by the recent census to be over forty-five, is large enough. Bombay has not much more than half of that population; and Madras has just about the same. With a powerful Local Government to administer such a territory, successful administration ought to be perfectly possible. It is presumed that Darjeeling will go to the new Bengal province to be a hot-weather residence for the Governor; but this is one of the details still to be settled.

The Mohammedans of Eastern Bengal will no doubt be somewhat disappointed at being included in the new province along with the Hindoo Bengalis of Bengal proper, who have recently attacked them with unmeasured violence. But the Government

of India are quite justified in saying that they ought to be able to maintain their own in the counsels of the State, in view of the fact that the Hindus of the three sub-provinces which are to form the new Lieutenant-Governorship will no longer be in the scale against them, and in view of the special provisions for representation of Mohammedans in the Councils. On the whole, the Mohammedans will be on a fair equality with the Hindus; and there is no reason why they should not work together after the present disappointment has had time to pass away. It is an unsatisfactory feature of the two despatches that they have, with more or less of necessity, to emphasise the difference between Hindus and Mohammedans in this connexion. I think that this is sometimes unnecessarily done; but, on the whole, the difference does exist, and it was certainly the clear duty of any statesman dealing with this question to face that difference. It has been faced, and carefully thought out. Bengal will in point of health not be quite so easy a province to serve in, either for Europeans or for Indians, as in the past; but it will, on the whole, be easier to administer when the people are thus homogeneous, and speak practically the same language.

It is also provided, in the interests of the community (the majority of which are Mohammedans) of the Eastern Bengal divisions, that the Governor is to regard Dacca as his second capital, and 'will reside there from time to time.' This is a more important matter than might at first sight appear. When I was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, I found that there was a great jealousy of Bengal on the part of the Beharis, and a great desire that they should have the Lieutenant-Governor residing amongst them for a portion of the year. I therefore acquired the historic Chajju Bagh as an official residence for the Lieutenant-Governor, and spent a considerable portion of my time there, beside the old city of Patna. This gave great satisfaction to the Beharis, and brought me into much closer touch with them, in regard to their interests and views, than had formerly been possible.

As to the formation of the new province of Behar, Chota Nagpur, and Orissa, there can be no doubt that some people in all of these sub-provinces will regret their separation from the city and port of Calcutta. But I think that the Government of India are right in believing that Behar and Chota Nagpur, and even Orissa, will be well content to be separated from Bengal and to be constituted a new province, the area of which will be approximately 113,000 square miles, and the population about 35,000,000. The people of these three sub-provinces are such as will be brought together without difficulty under one Administration; and their advancement will probably be much more rapid under the altered

On the whole, then, I think that there is really no serious objection to be taken to any part of the scheme as at present formulated. Details have still to be worked out. One of these will be the question of the headquarters for the Lieutenant-Governor of the new province of Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa. It will be difficult to find him, apart from Darjeeling, a place where he can spend the hot weather; but there is on record an old proposal—I think, of Sir George Campbell's time—to abandon Darjeeling altogether, on the ground that residence there took the Lieutenant-Governor and his officers out of touch with the people of the province, and to establish summer headquarters at Ranchi, which is the capital of the Chota Nagpur division. Ranchi is a singularly healthy district for both Europeans and Indians. It is on a high and well-drained plateau; and it might be possible, I think, for any European acclimatised to India to live the whole year in that district. As Chota Nagpur is also the central one of the three sub-provinces which are to form the new province, it is worth considering whether Ranchi might not be the capital. Many other considerations, however, will affect the decision of this question; and this is one of the details which has been deliberately left by the Government of India for settlement hereafter.

Whatever may be our views in regard to the local and personal interests affected, and in regard to details of the scheme, it seems to me that on the whole it has been the result of a statesmanlike effort to grapple with big questions; and it exhibits a recognition of sound principles for which the Government of India and the Secretary of State ought to receive full credit. Lord Hardinge has been only a year in the country; and I observe that one of the Calcutta papers mentions this as a reason why he should have hesitated to make his recommendation. But, on the other hand, he has shown in all his work throughout the year a distinct recognition of the true constitution of the Government of India. Meetings of his Council have been of quite unusual frequency; and he has recognised that the Government of India does not consist of the Viceroy alone, but of the Governor-General-in-Council. It is with the consent of his Council that he has made these important proposals; and he distinctly said, in his speech on the 15th of last month at Delhi, at the laying of the foundation-stones of the new city by their Majesties, 'As Governor-General, on behalf of myself and my colleagues in the Council, I desire to say that we are confident that there have been few changes so important, which have been of so much advantage to the many and so little injurious to the interests of a few. That injury, too, is merely temporary, and will be greatly outweighed by the benefits which will ensue.' A statement such as this by the Viceroy, in the name

of the Government of India, is not only entitled to great respect, but will also be welcomed by all who are interested in sound administration in India, as indicating the important recognition of the true constitution of that Government, which is too easily forgotten. Similarly, the Marquis of Crewe states, in regard to the Government of India's despatch: 'I have considered it in Council with the attention due to the importance of its subject.' That the Secretary of State's Council should have been fully consulted, and that his Lordship's position is not autocratic but distinctly constitutional in this respect, is decidedly satisfactory. The distinct recognition of the great principle of decentralisation is also matter of congratulation. Finally, this matter has been approached, not suddenly by men ignorant of the circumstances, but by Indian statesmen fully representative of India generally and of Bengal in particular, fortified by voluminous records of the views and opinions of the most distinguished of Indian administrators and statesmen in the past.

As Lord Lansdowne said in the House of Lords, 'the word of the King-Emperor has been passed; and that word is irrevocable.' That the announcement should have been made by his Majesty the King will tend to commend it to loyal acceptance by the peoples of India generally. We are already informed by telegram that though many in India were startled at first, they are beginning to see that there is little objection to the changes thus announced. I earnestly trust that nothing will be said, in the whole discussion which must inevitably arise regarding these changes, from purely party motives, but only from broad views of the great interests of the peoples committed to the charge of the British Empire.

A. H. L. Fraser

HOW KING GEORGE COULD WIN THE HEARTS OF THE HINDOOS

The most prominent event of the year occurred on the 12th of December, when the English Emperor of India was for the first time crowned in the ancient capital of that most ancient land under the sun. These are times of surprises, when the history-making happenings of the world are following almost upon the heels of one another. Who could have dreamed the day before Togo bombarded the Russian fleet at Port Arthur that the Russians would not win a single battle in the whole series of eighteen months' war, and that, compared with Japanese valour, patriotism, and feats of up-to-date arms, modern martial glories would shrivel into insignificance? Who could have thought two months ago that a suddenly evolved Chinese revolution would accomplish as much as it has done so far—brought the proud 'Son of Heaven' down on his knees before his subjects? Who could have guessed a year ago that the new King of England would decide to go all the way to India to wear its Imperial crown on the spot?

And that personal Coronation Durbar at Delhi, whose distant lures captivated the world's imagination with a novelty of interest akin to romance, has now come and gone. That the brilliancy of the mammoth spectacle should more than fulfil modern expectations was a foregone conclusion. In a land where a group of gala-dressed people, presenting all the colours of the rainbow in harmonious blending, is a fascinating spectacle at all times to the artistic or cultured Western eye, the Durbar scene enacted at Delhi could not fail to put all the grandeur of the greatest Western assemblages into the shade. India, the only great country still existent in the modern world in all her old-world individuality, is the source and natural centre of real Imperialism. Throughout the ages empires of the highest type of civilisation, empires that held sway over the whole earth, had their thrones set on her bosom, and Indraprastha of the later Hindoo emperors, or Delhi of the Moghul, was a Himalaya of glory compared with the small-hill reputations of ancient Rome or modern Constantinople.

Hence the magnetism of the hoary dust of Delhi made his Imperial Majesty's Coronation scene instinct with the vibrations of her past Imperial functions. The only difference was that the old Hindoo and even Mahomedan coronations were naturally dramatic because of their unconventionalism, born of the exuberance of spontaneous feeling, while the one of December the 12th was artificially dramatic for the reason that the modern people of the West who organised it are filled with intellectual homage at best.

This great Coronation, joyous to the ruling race, and to some extent to the ruled, is big with the fate of the British Raj in India. For the English King to be crowned Emperor of India in India is different from assuming the title from England in the business-like way of a commercial race, as did Queen Victoria and King Edward the Seventh. I say 'commercial' advisedly, for in the eyes and to the mind of the Indian people a formal declaration of such assumption, even in a Royal Durbar presided over by the Viceroy, was the sorriest farce ever enacted in a land where, while the magnificence of Imperial coronations throughout the ages dazzled the whole world with incomparable splendour, their munificence in the shape of bounty, concessions, and entertainment to the subjects have bought over their undying loyalty and evoked fervent and spontaneous homage. The Hindoo, or even Moghul emperors, never allowed their subjects to outstrip them in bounty or generosity, and a coronation was always lavish, as is evidenced to-day, in the comparative scale, in the native States of India in large-hearted charities, extraordinary concessions, new privileges, and righting of wrongs. Thus it is almost a compliment to call the two former functions of the 'absent' assumption of the Imperial Crown of India mere farces. Beyond the declaration in Durbar, and the review of troops to show the armed might of the Emperor to an entirely disarmed people, or even an elephant procession with native princes in display, as in Lord Curzon's Durbar, there was nothing substantial to impress the three hundred and twenty millions. The masses who form the majority of those 320,000,000 did not know of the event, or, if it was made known to them by the beating of tom-toms, it wholly failed to interest them. Some bounty or material concession, or some substantial privilege, or a keenly felt national grievance remedied would have excited some interest. Even a hearty meal of good food—a rare opportunity to their poverty—would have created some sort of temporary impression, and the Coronation dinner would at least have been talked about for some time; though not so long as the village *zemindar*, or rich man, who is remembered with a tender gratitude for the annual sumptuous feast at Doorga Pooja or on marriage occasions. Not even a 'bellyful' of good things was given to serve as a small memento; so these Hindoo

people, the classes and masses alike, merely laughed at the 'dry' Coronation, as they put it, of mere sound and show and bravado.

I am glad to read that this first essential feature was present at the last Coronation—that the masses were not only fed, but pieces of wearing cloth were distributed to them, in conformity with the custom of India. Then concessions and bounties, the other concomitant features of a coronation, were bestowed upon the people—gracious acts of the Sovereign which will compel the gratitude of those who have been clamouring for them. The ingeniously conceived reversal of Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal is a bold yet conciliatory *coup*, which will not only satisfy public opinion, but afford the first instance of the Indian Government, sensitive of its prestige of infallibility, yielding to unanimous popular protest against arbitrary Governmental actions. In this latter phase it is of great value—of more value perhaps than the remedy itself.

But this concession, and the educational bounty of fifty lacs of rupees, are of far less importance than the real grievances, which are of the most vital concern to the majority of the people. This bounty and this concession have been made to the agitation of a mere handful, most of whom are not in live touch with the people and, therefore, do not represent their real interests and grievances. This means that the bluffers and clamourers only have the chance of being heard and their own particular grievances redressed. The only gracious acts of the Sovereign at the Durbar which will appeal to the greatest mass of the people are the half month's pay to be given as a Coronation gift to Government employés drawing salaries below fifty rupees per month, and the discharging from civil gaol, with their debts paid up from the Exchequer, of honest debtors who are there because of their inability to pay.

Transferring the capital from Calcutta to Delhi is a move possibly in the right direction, judging from the illuminating reasons submitted by his Excellency the Viceroy; although the Bengalis, who consider themselves grandfather and foster-mother of British rule in India, will not like it at all, and will find in this transfer a greater loss to them than was the loss before of the partitioned other half. Thus Imperial Delhi has robbed Calcutta of its best value and advantage, although a Governorship, with a statesman from England at its helm, is not a doubtful consolation for the Bengalis to fall back upon; and, in spite of the province being shorn of Behar, Chota Nagpur, Orissa, and Assam, the new partition and its arrangements are on the whole both wise and [illegible], and ought to satisfy all concerned. No human wisdom can be perfect, but it is certain that Lord Hardinge and Lord Crewe have not merely acted with the best of intentions in advising

their Royal master, but indisputably inaugurated a new era of awakening confidence in British rule in India.

The English Emperor of India is a shadowy figure in the misty background of the Government of India—an abstraction to the average Indian mind, like the speculative concept of the Vedic Brahma, the Essence of God. The masses know the tax collector and the police, for both of whom they have a horror, and keep appeasing them from year's end to year's end—unless Indra sends no rain and crops fail, and bullocks and plough and implements and all are sold to keep the wolf from the door as long as possible. They meet the magistrate now and then, passing through the village on inspection, and salaam to him. To them he is the Emperor *de facto*, for he is all-powerful—for punishment; as their saviour in their troubles they can never imagine him. He inspires in them a species of awe very much mixed with fear. The Lieutenant-Governor they have heard of living in the big city of the province, a kind of White Nabob who is there more for show, they think; the magistrate is the man to fear. Fear is the only sentiment which the Indian Government inspires in the masses. The Government is for taxes, and for punishments for failure to pay them. To them the British Government is a taxing and police Raj; it has no compassion for its subjects in any trouble, not even in famine troubles. True, kitchens are opened and food distributed, but food of a quality and quantity which keep them alive for a while until disease steps in and relieves them by handing them into the jaws of death. Some fight the disease manfully, and manage to live until rain falls, and they return to their desolate homes to till the soil once more with hope. So also do the famished employed on relief work at impossible wages.

The King's advent in India for the crowning has surprised the people, no doubt, and filled them not merely with their natural gladness born of their inborn loyalty to the name of king, but also with hope. If some of the masses viewed him they must have salaamed him profusely, and distinguished him from the magistrate Sahib when the King drove dressed in Royal robes and crown. But now the show has passed, and they will talk for a day over the event and then forget it and him entirely. To their mind the King will reassume his quality of an abstract entity. If the Emperor can while in India infuse into the Indian Government that 'wider element of sympathy' for the people of India which he pleaded for when Prince of Wales, and bring it about by continually insisting upon it afterwards, his Majesty will make his rule in India a real government, and not shopkeeping on the largest scale, as it is now known to the great majority of his subjects. If all officials concerned, from the Viceroy downwards, try hard whenever famine breaks out, with the same sympathy

within them as they would feel for the masses of their own countrymen in distress, not only to save every famished one from death, but to give him ample nourishment, so that he may have enough strength to resume his labour when the time comes; if by the Emperor's express commands all money needed to feed the famished should be expended under economical management from the Exchequer without stint, not only by retrenching other expenses, but even by sacrificing the needs of other departments, and if his Majesty's commands are obeyed; then his name will be classed among those of the Hindoo kings of the past and the Mahomedan emperors of India, many of whom sold their personal jewels to save themselves from the sin of allowing their subjects to die of famine. Then King George, the English Emperor of India, will rightly entitle himself to the Imperial crown of India —in the opinion both of the Hindoo masses and classes—a King who in distress is the father-mother of his subjects, the ideal of a king in Hindustan.

Great and many are the blessings of British rule in India, but great and many also are the grievances of Indians against it. The British themselves trumpet these blessings out to the world, in and out of season, and the trumpeting draws echoes from many loyal Indian hearts, hearts naturally loyal, or loyal for convenience, or loyal under pressure. The grievances have also been voiced by patriotic Indians and by some British friends of India in and out of Parliament. But these are not *all* the grievances from which India has long been suffering, nor are they the greatest. The grievances which are ventilated belong mostly to the material plane, and they are true and terrible grievances. But truer and more terrible still are India's moral and spiritual grievances against some phases of English policy and habits of life, which have as yet scarcely been voiced.

Upon these moral and spiritual grievances of the Hindoos it is the intention of the present writer to speak in this article. On the Mahomedan grievances, and those of other religious sections of the Indian community, if there be any, I cannot speak with authority, as I do not know them and have scarcely studied them. But of the Hindoo grievances which I am about to put forward I am absolutely certain. In the principles of my religious creed I belong to the strictest Hindoo orthodoxy all over India, and live that orthodox ascetic life when in India. As a Brahman and a Sanyasin, I have tramped throughout India and mixed intimately with all sections of the Hindoos in all the provinces, and I represent them all, in all that I am about to say. I can even claim that I shall receive their fervent blessings for this work of representation, whether it bears the desired fruit or not. I am personally known to the leading members of that community, or known by

name through my spiritual mission in India and America. I must also say that I have never been a political person, either when I belonged to the world or since I have renounced it. I am neither a 'Moderate,' nor an 'Extremist,' nor an 'Anarchist.' I belong strictly to the spiritual plane, as everybody knows, and as my life shows. During these twenty-one years of my ascetic life I have talked only of my Krishna and of our transcendental philosophy, and tried to live our Hindoo orthodox life of a devotee of our Lord with whatever spiritual devotion I have been blessed with. Two years ago I lectured throughout India for months together, trying to allay the storm of unrest then in full swing, pouring oil on the troubled waters by awakening in the hearts of the youths their old Hindoo feelings of harmony born of spiritual prudence, youths crazed by a spurious cult of politics. I think I succeeded in my efforts to some extent.

I represent in this my appeal to the King-Emperor the 'dumb millions' of Hindoo India. These dumb millions are not merely the illiterate low-caste masses, but the great majority of 99 per cent. of the 220 million Hindoos—Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vasyas, and Sudras—highly educated or half-educated in English or in their own language—men, women, and children, literate or illiterate, but all blessed with religious education, the medium of which is not necessarily the 'three R's.' I include the higher castes and the English-educated section of this vast community in the 'dumb millions' because, like the illiterate remainder, they do not care to express even their greatest moral and religious grievances in public, because they consider ventilation of them to be futile, thinking that there can be no hope of redress so long as the rulers have no sympathy either with their religion or their customs. These dumb millions go on in their life, as their countless generations before have gone on, with God as the goal of their existence, trying to develop God-consciousness as best they can, and depending on that Almighty to right their wrongs in His own time. These do not shout 'Bande Mataram,' but shout 'Ram, Ram,' which they think to be more profitable for their well-being, spiritual or other. The mere cry of 'Bande Mataram,' in and out of season, and declaring oneself as an extreme Swadesist does not make a Hindoo. Most of these 'Extremists,' as they are called, are Hindoos only in name. Many of them patronise the denomination of Hindoo for political purposes. They have no Hindoo instincts, do not believe in Hindoo scriptures, and jeer at Hindoo spiritual practices. If they were Hindoo in spirit and habits they would not have their common-sense blown out of their brains. These thoughtless patriots, who are neither Hindoo nor Christian, neither Eastern nor Western in their consciousness, but whose mentality is a hotch-potch of unassimilated ideas and

misadapted ideals, want to throw off the British yoke in a minute, never thinking that the British guns which support the Government are more powerful than political 'resolutions' or newspaper invective, or even the bombs; never inquiring whether they themselves possess that executive ability which can make the administrative machinery work as, with all its defects, it is working now. These patriots do not care to ask any aid from the Government in constructing their propaganda of Home Rule; theirs is no 'mendicant' policy, as they put it. And yet these Home Rulers want the British to go away, bag and baggage, this very moment, leaving it to them to organise their own Government, their own Home Rule. What a shameless 'mendicant' policy this is, no one need point out to the world. These people demand that the British should go out of the country of their own accord, simply because they want to rule themselves! The humour of the attitude is even greater than the audacity of it. And the humour is all the more ludicrous because of the empty bluff with which the demand is backed. They want to undertake to run the Viceroyalty when they daily fail to run even a joint-stock company, hundreds of which, recently started with the loudest flourish of trumpets and good capital, are going into liquidation for want of right management. The real Hindoo would say, 'Sahib, you are ruler here, and I am your subject. I salaam to you and abide by your laws because I have not the means to drive you out. What people in the world would stand or care for alien rule? Had I the means I would certainly drive you out by sheer force, and establish our own Government along our old lines. As I have not, I salaam to you for the peace and security of life and property you have given us, to live unmolested our religious life, with which you are kind enough not to interfere, and which we value more than even political freedom.'

The real Hindoos, who form, fortunately, the majority of the Hindoo race, positively know that the blustering patriots do not possess the power to organise a Government, and that if they had their way chaotic anarchy would rule the land. Hence they are no party to the senseless agitation and demonstration of the Extremists. They are silent and unmoved by this superficial wave of what has been termed political unrest. They form the mile-and-mile depth of the calm water of the ocean of Hindoo humanity which the surface waves can never stir into action. The real Hindoo, being pervaded by acute intelligence born of his daily acquired spiritual light, admits in his consciousness that he cannot do without the British in the present political situation; that if the British are the best guardians he can have now to safeguard his political, social, and spiritual interests, he ought to be pervaded by a deep sense of loyalty—interested loyalty if you will—

to their Government; that, in spite of the many defects of that Government—maybe, ugly and serious defects—their system of administration, though very costly, is honest in its cardinal principle; that he cannot replace that Government by any composed of his own people if the British offer to withdraw from it altogether: that the anarchy which will be the inevitable result of that withdrawal will create unthinkable havoc among his people, and their age-long institutions of highly civilised living—a catastrophe compared with which the defects of British rule are as nothing.

This, then, is the mental attitude of the great majority of the Hindoos, whose chief grievances I am going to lay before the King-Emperor with all humbleness. This great majority of the Hindoos form also the great majority of the present population of India, two hundred and twenty out of three hundred and twenty millions, a ratio of about three to four, including the Sikhs, whose grievances are the same. This is, therefore, worthy of the special attention and deep sympathy of his Imperial Majesty.

The chief moral grievance of these people is the system of education at present prevalent in India. This unmodified, badly imparted English education and concepts of an outlandish, hourly shifting civilisation, is killing the Hindoos mentally and morally. The Hindoo does not care for physical death; passing out of life is to him like passing out of one wayside inn into another: he believes in re-birth. It is mental disease or death that counts with him. English education and Western civilisation are not bad in themselves; they are both good, perhaps excellently good for the mental development of the peoples in whose soils they have sprung up. Unmodified Hindoo ideals or rules of life will not suit either the English or European or American people. They can never replace their inborn, age-grown, habit-hardened national ideas. The new and old ideas will have a hard conflict, and a patched-up peace will result in denationalisation, which will rob its victim of almost all the good virtues of his race, as well as of the new race whose education and civilisation he has adopted, but failed to assimilate because his mind's stomach is not fitted for such food. In the case of the Hindoo filled with badly assimilated ideas and concepts of the new philosophy of life developed in the West, the results are even worse. His old civilisation is very old, ay, world-old, despite what blundering Orientalists may say. You can no more kill his world-old moral, philosophical, religious, social and domestic instincts than you can wipe out history from the bosom of Time. And this new English system of education is so nauseatingly materialistic, all-intellectual and soul-killing, that the Hindoo mind, being essentially spiritual, has failed to assimilate it. Its fine spiritual stomach cannot digest such gross

intellectuality and materiality. The result is the unhinging of the mind, brain, and the heart-soul. This is intellectual insanity or eccentricity, if you will, and its extreme cases have produced the 'Anarchists' who concocted plans for freeing India from the British yoke by bombs and pistol-shots.

But even these woeful results are considered by the unspoilt Hindoo as being less disastrous than the more permanent effects which this insane system of Western education has produced on the mind and character and the religious, social, and domestic conscience of the people. It is fast removing from their minds the healthy ideals of life and conduct founded upon the wisdom of the illuminated sages of the past. It is destroying their inborn belief in 'Karma' and 'Reincarnation,' the belief that birth in high and low stations of life is not accidental, but is due to the actions of past existences, which enables them to endure the untoward state of things existing for the moment with comparative contentment, and prompts them generally to good, unselfish actions in the present for the benefit of their next incarnation. It is robbing them of the jewel of their soul, the jewel which they alone, through all the ages, have preserved and enjoyed; *that jewel is* the faith that God is the only goal of existence, and that temporal power and prosperity are a mere nothing compared with the priceless privilege of spiritual awakening. It is breaking up their harmonious order of communal, social, and domestic life by infusing into their minds the spirit of pure self-aggrandisement. Large joint families, which were examples of mutual affection and dependence, are being divided into selfish couples with their own immediate issues, poor, unfortunate relations being thrust out into homeless helplessness and want.

It is alienating the hitherto exemplary love and attachment of grown-up sons from their ideally loving parents, and transferring them *exclusively* to their wives and children, who, in their turn, repay their parents with ingratitude. Gratitude, which is one of the predominant virtues of the race, is being felt as a very inconvenient burden to bear. Respect for superiors and reverence for saints and sages, or rendering honour where honour is due, are fast diminishing. The 'educated' classes, rapidly losing faith in everything relating to religion, have learned to deny the existence of God and to ridicule the very idea of spiritual life. Envy, hate, discord, dissension, greed, and selfishness are ever increasing wherever this 'new light' is making progress. Money-making is getting to be the one ambition in life, possession of money the recognised badge of respectability. Selfish interest alone is the inspiration of sympathy and mutual helpfulness. Drunkenness has become a fashionable vice, formerly confined to the lowest of pariahs. In short, a race of people possessing the highest, noblest

ideals of life is being daily demoralised by the influence of crude and artificial morals and ideas, yclept education and civilisation. It is eating into the vitals of the parent source of all refinement and culture of both the Old and the New World. The roots of the world-old Hindoo civilisation are buried deep within the soul of the universe, and the spectacle of a day-old child, begotten of delusion, attempting to suck her life-blood, like a vampire, ought to afford mournful contemplation both to good men and gods. And yet the main boast of British rule in India is that it has conferred upon the people the inestimable boons of 'education' and 'civilisation,' which none of the disarmed people there dare, under the dread of loaded guns, pronounce curses.

The above need not irritate the votaries of Western civilisation. It is a true picture and a true estimate of the effects of Western civilisation on the East. It is not in the least overdrawn. If any of my Western readers be impatient with my remarks about the characteristics of his dear civilisation, let that reader consider that to him they may be provoking because they have not been expressed before. The superficial West criticises the deep East in and out of season, and calls it barbarous and backward. The deep East smiles its bland smile of silence at such criticism. It even excuses the frivolous conclusions of the West about Eastern men and manners, knowing its circumscribed mental vision, its small power of judgment, its lack of knowledge of what is real refinement; knowing it to be a mere child. But this silence has only made the child more conceited, and emboldened it to criticise the East more and more, until it has come to think that the East is so idiotic that it has not power enough to think for itself, much less to contradict its criticisms, still less to criticise the West, the 'superior' West. But things have gone to extremes. A reply has become necessary. The Far East has replied with the sword. India, the soul of the East, out of the fulness of her heart, must reply in words of wisdom and loving protest.

What is this civilisation, anyway? I have lived in four of its chief centres for more than seven years. During this time I have studied this civilisation with the little light with which my Brahman birth has blessed me. And I must confess that I have been deeply pained by the facts which that study has revealed to me. Oh, what saddening facts! One need not go to India to test the truth of my fragmentary portrayal of the degrading effects of this civilisation upon the Hindoos. Let him look about himself and mark its ravages upon his own people here, how it is sapping the moral foundation of its deluded victims in the lands where it has sprung into being, and where it is holding its undisputed sway. And I challenge him to deny that this vaunted civilisation of his is dragging him down from his high estate. It has practically

abolished the idea of a human soul, and whatever of it is believed in by some is its false shadow. It is daily degrading divine humanity into unashamed animality. It has raised selfishness to a religious creed, Mammon to the throne of God, adulteration to a science, falsehood to a fine art. It has turned holy matrimony into a farce, the marriage certificate into waste paper, connubial blessings into a chance of lottery. It has banished all seriousness from life, and made it a mere plaything. Self-seeking is its breath, self-will its law, self-conceit its essence, self-deception its philosophy. It has created artificial wants for man, and made him a slave of work to satisfy them. It has made him ever restless within and without, and robbed him of leisure—the only friend of high thought. He knows no peace, hence knows not himself or his real object in life. It has made him a breathing, moving, hustling, fighting, spinning machine, ever working, never resting, never knowing even the refreshing rest of a sound sleep. It has made him a bag of live nerves, ever stretched to high tension. He has learned to call licence liberty, breach of social laws and shirking of responsibilities independence, slavery to his own wild will freedom. It has deified sensuality, glorified materialism, beautified sin. It has split human societies into atoms, families into units, fighting against each other. It has sapped the foundation of home life, and, its trunk severed from its roots, its roof-tree threatens to fall, shaken by each passing breeze. Its vulgar haste and love of sensation are invading even the realm of religion, which is being classed with fads and crazes. Its boasted scientific inventions have done more harm than good to humanity's best and permanent interests; they serve only the surface life which alone its votaries live and know. It is hinting at love as a microbe, reducing romance to illicit love. It openly proposes the killing of chronic patients and all old people under sixty in America, and, to some extent recently by its mystic philosopher Maeterlinck, in Europe. Humility is hateful in its estimation; conceit and brute force constitute its superior individuality. It has abolished reverence, depth of character, real genius, real poetry, and real philosophy. It is getting to consider poverty as almost a crime, dark skin a badge of inferiority of brain and mind. Flattery is its juice of life, insincerity the substance of courtesy. Morality is mere sentiment, sentiment mere weakness, constancy and chastity antiquated foolishness. That which affords instant pleasure is of worth; that which involves waiting to be enjoyed is deemed worthless. Gross material enjoyment, in short, is its heaven of happiness, its ideal salvation. In the language of the Vedas, Civilisation is Mâyâ—the magic illusion of woman and gold.

This Mâyâ every Hindoo, or Buddhist, or Confucian, or

Shintoist is taught from childhood to beware of and to resist, and the influence of its subtle force is greatly counteracted by the vibrations generated by daily practice of religious formulas and spiritual devotion, which is the machine-like rule of household life in the East.

I repeat that the present system and substance of university education is mainly responsible for the systematic demoralisation of the Hindoo character, because it is out of gear with the moral, intellectual, and spiritual principles and instincts of its recipients. This system has to be materially changed, and should be replaced by one more in consonance with the natural ideals, national aspirations, and world-old mental characteristics of the people. No use trying any more to modernise the ancient Hindoo mind, for the simple reason that it is too solidly ancient even now to be modernised, despite the hammering at it of all new and aggressive, but daily shifting, systems of thought. The Hindoos must be given their own literature, their religions, philosophies, and Shastras to study in the beginning, in order to build a foundation, and upon that foundation you can rear a superstructure of modern wisdom in a mixture of old and new styles, built with the bricks made out of their old-world national mentality. This will keep their temper healthy and harmonious, and loyal to law and order, which they love more because of their innate spiritual aspirations, which can only be satisfied by a reign of peace.

It is a greater disaster to the Hindoo nation than to the Government, that its youths should be filled with the germs of bombast, and in many cases of 'anarchism'—which is really patriotism run mad. They will lose more if their boys should lose their racial mentality and individuality of character than they will gain by political freedom. From the most ancient time down to to-day they have been living sustained by the strength of their spiritual and moral heredity, and because they have avoided new-fangled notions of life which each new-born civilisation is presenting for their acceptance. Hence they have the best anchorage to keep afloat on the surging Ocean of Time. To try to destroy, consciously or unconsciously, their age-long spiritual consciousness, is not only to commit the worst sin, but to bring destruction upon those who attempt it. The Hindoos are not a new race of people, who can be 'civilised' by modern methods. This is patent from the failure of Mahomedanism, Christianity and Western civilisation to engraft themselves permanently upon the Hindoo consciousness. It looks like success, as it does now in the case of civilisation, in regard to some Hindoos, only for a while; soon it will be nowhere. It is through English education, imparted in infancy, that 'civilisation'—whatever that fantastic realism may mean—got hold of

the surface of the mind of its first victims, and swayed their consciousness. In the second generation the disillusionment began. In the third the reaction was in full swing, and in the fourth, the present generation, that reaction has resulted in hatred towards the white man. But such is the poison of this materialistically intellectual education that they have not yet been able to shake it off entirely, so as to get back into the health of their inherent spiritual consciousness.

The best policy for the present Government will be to help the denationalised section of the Hindoo people to get back their old consciousness, lost character, and self-respect, for their own good and the good of the rulers. Let the rulers keep the Hindoos Hindoo, and it will be well for both of them. They have so long sown the seeds of outlandish ambitions in the educated Hindoo, at the cost of the loss of his racial and national character, and they have reaped a whirlwind. To entertain the nervous fear that the revival and strengthening of the old Hindoo spirit will be more unsafe for British rule will be both cowardly and sinful, and it is devoid of foundation. The leading lights of the Hindoos in the Bengal Presidency, headed by the Maharaja of Durbhanga, have, I see, formulated the plans of a Hindoo University for the purpose of preventing this denationalisation through religious instruction being given in schools and colleges under its auspices; a movement with which Mrs. Annie Besant has identified herself by offering to merge her Central Hindoo College in Benares in it. I rejoice to see that this wise and opportune movement has been countenanced by the Government of India, which has promised to advance its cause in any way it can, under certain conditions which are not at all objectionable. The recognition by his Majesty the Emperor of this scheme, ay, giving to its noble and beneficent purpose his Majesty's full countenance, will not only stamp the impression upon the people's mind that even the Emperor is anxious to help their youths to regain and retain their time-honoured national consciousness, but will add to it the highest prestige and draw the required funds to it. His Majesty's most gracious gift of fifty lacs of rupees towards the aid of primary education may, if not wholly, at least in part, be diverted to the use of this new national university. India *does not* want primary education of the kind imparted under the present system of university education, so that the denationalisation which is the result of that education may be extended to the masses also. God save us from such a terrible course, fraught with the greatest dangers to both the community and the Government, which has hard work in keeping the rowdyism of the boys of the denationalised gentry in check! When to the 'gentleman' Anarchist is added the 'peasant'

Anarchist, devoid of all ideas of national concepts and traditions—religious, moral, and social—the people and the powers that be will not know where they are. Besides, it will rob these soul-happy people of their soul, of which, thank Heaven! they are still keeping conscious through the worship of the divine images enjoined by the Scriptures; filled with a spiritual humility, the despair of the conceited West—conceited through the process of the same system of utterly materialistic and all-intellectual education. Education, education — education about what? Education about matter, about mere material things, thoughts, and ideas—that is what is meant when education of the masses or classes is advocated. Mr. Gokhale's scheme of free primary education, if it be the education of wholly Western ideas, is not wanted by the people of India. Let Mr. Gokhale put his hand upon his heart and say if his country wants such a scheme. Who does he lead? The Westernised Hindoo, Westernised in mind out of all recognition. We want primary education certainly for the masses. The Lord bless the Sircar, and even Mr. Gokhale, if that education be made free and founded upon national beliefs, mostly, if not entirely. Otherwise, Mr. Gokhale and Government will be the worst enemy of the country. Education, according to the Vedas, is the opening of the petals of the mind-lotus to the rays of the spiritual sun, and that is what we now want first, and Western matter-education afterwards, if you please. I sound this note of warning out of my love for my people, and out of regard for the welfare of the State.

But even more than this his Majesty can do, not only to win the hearts of the Hindoo people, all the 220 millions, but to lay the foundation of their abiding and ever-fervent loyalty. It is by righting a wrong which has rankled in the heart of every Hindoo man, woman, or child; it is a wrong they can never forgive, a wrong which draws blood daily and hourly from their very soul, a wrong which has been perpetrated for about a century, inflicting ghastly wounds upon their religious susceptibility, one of the tenderest feelings they possess. And that is the slaughter of cows. They hold the cow sacred, and worship her as a deity. This reverence for the divinity of the cow, deep-rooted in every Hindoo heart, is not based upon any consideration of the utility of that animal, the products of whose milk form the chief luxuries and nourishment of the whole population. Not that they do not look at the cow in that light, too. In that light she is the second mother of mankind, civilised mankind if you will, as no civilised child can be reared without the cow's milk supplementing the mother's milk, for which it is the best and the most harmonious substitute. At the present day, when in the West the mothers will not give

suck of their breast to their babes, and the feeding-bottle supplies the place of the mother's breast, the cow is the first mother, not the second. From that view-point, to eat her flesh is to eat one's mother's flesh. A noble sentiment such as that ought to be commended and respected. But the Hindoo's reverence for the cow is still higher. The cow is the incarnation of the Divine Motherhood, the Motherhood of God. She is the medium of the Goddess of Universal Sustenance—Mother Nature's sustaining energy—created to help in the rearing of the earth's highest product, man, when a child. The twelve seers (sixteen quarts) of milk which the best hill-cow of India gives daily is not the essence or extract of her blood. If it were so, the cow would die before half the milk were drawn. If her blood is transformed into milk, sixteen quarts of blood drawn out every day would kill any cow in the process of milking the first day. If it be the extract of blood—that means, one quart is the condensed substance of many quarts—the cow would die sooner. The Western physicians say that milk comes from the glands of the cow, it is generated in the glands. But out of what is it generated? The glands may be the storage of the generated milk; but out of what substance is it generated? Not the blood, as I have shown above. From where, a transformation of what, is the milk? A very serious and knotty question for the baby science of the West to solve.

But I will leave it there, because, for my present purpose, it is not at all necessary to argue. The Hindoo believes, and has believed through countless centuries, that the milk in the cow is the transformation of the sustaining energy of Vishnoo, the Preserver of the Trinity of the Hindoo Godhead. And this Vishnoo's energy of sustenance which nourishes His creatures is His Divine Consort, or Shakti, who dwells particularly in the cow to supplement the nourishment of civilised humanity. Where this Energy (Consort) is, Vishnoo resides as well, as do the gods the sum-total of whose powers is the power of the One God whose main attributes are represented by the gods. I am trying to explain the beliefs of the Hindoo mind intellectually to the mere intellectuals of the world. Not that I want these intellectuals to accept the Hindoo arguments put forward. The best way to appeal to the Emperor and his Government of India is to state that the Hindoo worships the cow and has worshipped her through all the ages, and, therefore, has got these reverential feelings for the cow entirely consolidated into his consciousness. Therefore, there is no arguing against it. If you think he is wrong in his estimation of the cow, if you call his cow-reverence a superstition, it does not count. What does count is his consolidated belief through countless generations. All the attempts of centuries to reform him out

of it have failed. He reverences the cow with the same fervour to-day as his ancestors did of old. It is in his blood; bred in the bone; he draws it in with his mother's milk. This cow-killing in India, therefore, is the greatest sin that can be committed against Hindoo feeling, and a Mahomedan deputy-magistrate some time ago published statistics showing that 60,000 cows, bullocks, and calves are slaughtered every day in India to feed the European soldiers and residents alone. How correct this estimate is I do not know, nor do I care to know. I am representing the keenest and greatest grievance of the Hindoos. The British Government in India has observed the policy of religious neutrality, and the Hindoos are highly grateful for that blessing. It is the greatest blessing under an alien rule. But this cow-killing is associated with their religion; a cow is a more sacred being to them than even an illuminated saint. If they had arms and cannon they would defend the cow until they were all slain. The idea that Hindoos are getting used to cow-slaughter, and reformed out of the 'superstition,' is entirely wrong. They stand it because there is no help for it.

If the Government of India has the idea that I am exaggerating, let it experiment on the feelings of the Hindoos in this matter by asking them to pay a high poll-tax as compensation for the cessation of cow-slaughter. The response will be such as the Government cannot even dream of. Every Hindoo will not only pay it forthwith, but bless the rulers for it. The poorest will starve to save money for it. The Emperor George the Fifth will win all Hindoo hearts for ever if his Majesty prohibits cow-killing to celebrate his crowning in India. All Hindoo India will fall prostrate at the Sovereign's feet and pledge to him their undying loyalty. From one end of that vast country to the other, the shout of 'Jai Sircar Ki Jai!' will rend the dome of Heaven and usher in a new era of British rule in India; a new atmosphere of political and moral serenity will fill the consciousness of the rulers and the ruled alike. By one single stroke of kindness and gracious conciliation the King might conquer the inmost conscience of the oldest and the most cultured nation on the earth. All unrest would be gone in the twinkling of an eye, and what cannon and repressive laws, and a vast army can never do would be accomplished by the utterance of the three words—'Cow-killing is prohibited.'

The Moghul Emperor, Akbar the Great, won the Hindoos over by prohibiting this cow-killing, so our Mahomedan fellow-citizens could not grumble at the British Emperor's command. The higher classes of Mohamedans do not eat the cow's flesh; only the masses eat it in cities and towns. They will by-and-by get used to the goat's flesh which the majority of them use. If the

British soldiers cannot do without beef, they can have canned meat imported from abroad. This gracious act of the King would infuse a new spirit, a kindly spirit, into British officials, and a new *régime* of kindly feeling would follow in its wake. Kingdoms, like human life, are unstable, but so long as the British Kingdom sustains itself in that hoary land of wisdom and religion, in that cradle of civilisation, this act would be engraven on the tablet of the people's heart and transmitted to future generations as a sanctified memory.

(SWÂMI BÂBÂ) PREMÂNAND BHÂRATI.

THE SOLUTION OF THE MYSTERY OF BIRD FLIGHT

The Science of Aerial Locomotion has at length become a subject which is no longer considered outside the realms of practical mechanics. The world has now seen machines heavier than air rise into the air and travel through the air, supported by the air, apparently as the birds. How or why this is possible the world scarcely asks; and yet it is nevertheless a very interesting fact, and one well worthy of study.

The writer began to study bird flight early in the year 1883, some twenty-eight years ago; and has always maintained that man would one day conquer the air with machines *heavier* than the air.

It must not be forgotten that *mechanical* locomotion on land has only been achieved within the last hundred years, while *mechanical* locomotion in water came still later; and yet since the world began we have had *natural* locomotion, not only on land and in water, but also in the air.

With the steam engine already in existence, we bungled upon mechanical locomotion on land without it being necessary for us to study the natural principles underlying the act of progression; and there are few people even nowadays who can (if you ask them off-hand) define the theory of progression on land.

We bungled into mechanical locomotion in water without stopping to think how progression is attained; we know it is attained, and that suffices for the greater number. We have now bungled upon mechanical locomotion in the air, with machines heavier than air, without any apparent knowledge of why the air supports us; we know that if we do certain things the air will support us, and many are satisfied to let it go at that.

The object of this paper is to explain in simple language (as far as the writer's knowledge goes) the main principles of natural progression on land, in water, and more especially in air; and to expound certain rules which must necessarily be followed when we attempt to achieve Nature's results by mechanical devices. We already comply with the natural rules as regards locomotion on land and in water, as will be explained below; but it would

seem that we do not as yet correctly comply with the rules necessary for satisfactory progression in air, although undoubtedly a great measure of success has already been attained with the aeroplane.

THE GENERAL LAW OF MECHANICAL *versus* NATURAL PROGRESSION

Action in nature is invariably intermittent or reciprocal; there is no rotary motion employed by flesh, fish, or fowl.

When we desire to imitate by mechanical means the method of progression of animals on land, we employ a rotary substitute (the wheel or rotary leg) for the reciprocal action of the natural legs. When we desire to imitate by mechanical means the method of progression of fish in water, we employ a rotary substitute (the propeller or rotary tail) for the intermittent action of the tail of a fish.

It is only reasonable, therefore, to infer that, if we desire to imitate by mechanical means the method of progression of birds in the air, we must employ rotary substitutes (rotary wings) for the flapping wings of the bird.

To do this, however, it is necessary to ascertain what is the action, and what is the result of the action, of the flapping of the bird's wings; and then comes the mechanic and the inventor to discover and determine *how* the result obtained by the flapping wings can be reproduced by means of mechanical rotary substitutes.

On land it is comparatively easy to cause a wheel to rotate by mechanical force and thus progress, even without any knowledge of the principle of progression; and still easier in water to design a rotary paddle or screw to propel, and thus by action and reaction obtain progression.

The principles of progression on land and water have, so to speak, been lost in the knowledge of certain methods by which that progression can in practice be obtained. Man, however, has not been in the habit of using the air as the birds use it, and if he wishes to do by mechanical methods what the birds do naturally he must learn the main principles of progression in air, and not straightaway form the conclusion that he has obtained real flight, simply because with the aeroplane he finds the air up to a certain point amenable to the same conditions as water. One can calculate the speed to be obtained by a vessel in water by action and reaction, one can also by a similar method calculate the speed of a motor-plane in the air; but where does action and reaction come in in the case of the albatross, with apparently immovable wings, gliding for days and nights supported by the air, a fluid which we cannot even see? We must learn the laws of the air, and not expect complete success if we only deal with the air as if it were

water; we must ascertain the method birds use in dealing with the air, and then devise a rotary substitute for the flapping action of the wings of the bird; we must also design the structure so that it shall be capable of passive flight, by dealing with the air as it is dealt with by the albatross when soaring. It must not be imagined that the writer wishes in any way to belittle the aeroplane; on the contrary, the aeroplane has done a noble work—it has demonstrated to mankind the fact that man by mechanical means can traverse the air with machines heavier than air—but the aeroplane is only the beginning of aerial locomotion.

In spite of the fact that the aeroplane is not designed to act in accordance with the laws of bird flight, still were those laws thoroughly understood by the engineers who have designed these machines they would be capable of producing vast improvements, even if they were still to persist in adhering to the main principles upon which these machines now act, viz. propulsion by means of screw propellers, as mechanical vessels are propelled in water.

For true mechanical progression in air in accordance with the natural laws which govern bird flight we must have a *rotary substitute* to take the place of and do the same work *as the flapping wings of the bird.*

The Principle of Progression on Land

Few people trouble to think out for themselves the reason why they stand, walk, or run, much less do they endeavour to study why a wheel-barrow, a bicycle, a motor-car, or a railway train is capable of being made to progress on land. It is done, that is all the world cares; as a matter of fact, the principle of progression on land is identical with that of progression in air, and both are quite different from that of progression in water.

The act of standing is the result of two forces in direct opposition to each other: one being the absolutely vertical downward pull of gravity due to the weight of the body, the other being an equal vertical upward thrust exerted by the legs, the result producing equilibrium. If the legs are not able to give an upward thrust equal to the weight of the body, the body will collapse towards the ground. For progression, the muscular action is used, not to thrust the body in the direction of motion, but so to alter the direction of the upward thrust of the legs that an angle is formed by the two opposing forces: the resultant force thus created produces progression. If the two opposing forces are equal, the resultant motion given is in a direction exactly one half the angle formed by the directions of the two opposing forces. We know that the downward pull of gravity is always vertical: consequently the resultant motion given by two equal opposing forces (one of which is gravity and the other is acting upwards in advance of the

vertical) must be in a direction below the horizontal. In walking or running, then, it is necessary, in order to obtain a horizontal resultant, that the upward force exerted shall be in excess of the downward pull of gravity.

The muscles are also used to give that extra upward force, and in progressing upstairs or uphill, or when jumping, that force has to be considerably increased : but in no case are the muscles used to exert a force in direct opposition to the direction of the motion of the body, as is the case when propelling in water.

The amount of upward force to be exerted can easily be calculated, and is the same for progression on land as in the air. A table of these calculations will be given under the head of Progression in Air. It must be noted that, to secure efficient progression on land, a practically immovable point, from which to alter the angle of the upward force, is desirable. If the feet are on ice, the motor-car wheel in sand or mud, or the locomotive wheels on greased rails, the efficiency of the resultant force giving forward motion is reduced by the amount of slip. As a rule on land the amount of slip is practically nil. This (although it may seem absurd to many readers) is equally true in the air : the amount of slip in the line of motion is practically nil.

The Principle of Progression in Water

Progression in water is a totally different matter from progression on land or in air; a vessel does not rest on the surface of the water as animals and vehicles rest on land, nor is it supported by the water as a bird is supported by the air. A duck, a fish, an animal, or properly constructed vessel sinks in the water until it displaces a body of water equal to its weight (fish totally immersed rise or descend by the action of their fins). In this state of flotation, whether partially or totally immersed, progression is obtained by propulsion—*i.e.* an attempt is made to push the water in a direction opposite to that in which it is desired to progress. The motion is due to the force exerted by the thrust of the propeller being greater than the resistance of the water to the vessel propelled. The speed increases with the accumulated momentum; but it is limited to the point where the propeller can no longer exert the greater thrust. For mechanical progression a rotary motion is employed to create the thrust which in nature is accomplished by an intermittent effort. The case is very similar in the air as far as the propelling of aeroplanes *in the direction of motion* is concerned; but whereas in water the body or vessel is capable of floating when at rest, the aeroplane cannot in that sense be said to float in the air—it must be travelling through the air to obtain the support of the air.

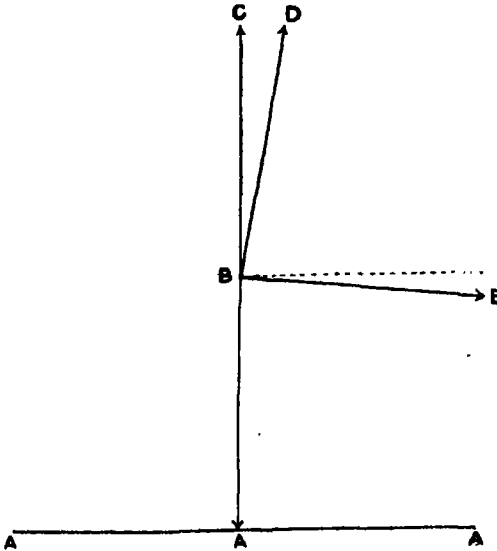
PROGRESSION IN AIR.

How does a bird fly? It will generally be admitted that a bird does not propel itself through the air with its tail as a fish does in the water. As a matter of fact, the principle of progression by air is very simple: it is the same as that of natural progression on land. The force giving the forward motion is the resultant of two forces, one being the constant and absolutely vertical pull of gravity due to the weight of the animal, bird, or machine, the other being the upward thrust in advance of the vertical to obtain forward motion, and in rear of the vertical when it is desired to retard that forward motion. This upward thrust is exerted by the animal with its legs, by the birds with their wings, and by machinery with rotary wings, aided, in the case of the flying-machine, by the stationary or fixed wings corresponding to the bird's outspread wings in soaring flight. It is really an imitation of these fixed or outspread wings, propelled through the air upon the principle of propulsion in water, which constitutes the aeroplane or motor-plane of to-day.

The real flying-machine, although it must necessarily for safety have these fixed or soaring wings, should progress in the air on the principles of bird flight, its rotary wings doing the same work as the flapping wings of the bird: it should not use a rotary propeller to do the same work as the tail of a fish in the water. What, then, is the work done by the flapping wings of the bird? Simply to exert an upward thrust in opposition to the downward vertical pull of gravity at an angle in advance of the vertical to produce forward motion, and in rear of the vertical if it is desired to retard that forward motion.

The whole principle is easily reduced to a mathematical calculation as follows:

In the diagram on the next page let the line A A A represent the ground, the point B the centre of gravity of a bird or machine. The point B may be on the ground, a foot off the ground, or a mile off the ground; it is placed in the diagram away from the ground simply for the purpose of illustration. Let the weight of the bird or machine, at the point B, equal 1000 units (oz., lb., or cwt.). There is then a constant and absolutely vertical downward pull of gravity equal to 1000 units acting on point B in the direction of B A. If, then, a force equal to 1000 units is exerted on point B in an absolutely vertical upward direction B C, the bird or machine, B, will remain where it is. If, however, this upward force is in a direction other than vertical, say B D, an angle is formed by the two equal forces and thereby a resultant force is created which must necessarily act along the line B E bisecting the angle formed by the two equal forces B A and B D. Presuming, then, the force exerted on

B in the direction of B D is less than 1000, the resultant must necessarily be in a direction below the half-angle formed by two equal opposing forces: and, on the contrary, should the force

exerted on B in the direction B D be greater than 1000, the resultant must be in a direction above the half-angle.

Now as the resultant of two equal opposing forces is in a direction of exactly half the angle formed by the two forces, and the downward force of gravity is always vertical, it follows that to obtain a resultant in a horizontal direction or above the horizontal, the force exerted in the upward direction must exceed the downward pull of gravity. How much extra force will be required? The answer is obtained by calculating the parallelogram of forces; and it will be found that to obtain a resultant of 17.6 in a direction of 5° above the horizontal (a convenient angle for practical flight) only an extra force of about 1.7 per 1000 of weight is required to be exerted in an upward direction 1° in advance of the vertical.

The Constant Vertical Pull of Gravity being 1000.

Angle out of the Vertical of Upward Thrust	Upward Thrusts Required to give Resultants			Amount of Resultant Thrusts Obtained		
	Horizontal	5 deg. above Horizontal	10 deg. above Horizontal	Horizontal	5 deg. above Horizontal	10 deg. above Horizontal
Deg. 1	1000.2	1001.7	1003.3	17.4	17.6	17.8
2	1000.6	1003.7	1006.9	34.9	35.2	35.7
3	1001.4	1005.9	1010.7	52.4	52.8	53.7
4	1002.3	1008.6	1014.9	69.9	70.6	71.9
5	1003.3	1011.6	1019.6	87.5	88.5	90.3

The above table gives the various amounts of upward forces required at different angles to obtain resultants desired in a

horizontal direction and at angles of 5° and 10° above the horizontal, taking 1000 as the constant vertical pull of gravity.

From this table (which any mathematician can verify) it is easy to calculate the force of upward thrust required for a body of given weight to walk, run, or fly.

How, then, are we to obtain this upward thrust in the air? The air, unlike the ground, has no visible solidity upon which to obtain a fulcrum. It is easy enough to appreciate that the legs of animals have solid substance upon which to obtain resistance. We can see that substance. It is, however, more difficult for those who have not fully studied the air as an element, to appreciate how a bird is capable of finding with its wings as firm a resistance on the air as an animal on land does with its feet. Few think of the solidity of air when it is compressed: and yet most people are fully aware of the strength and solidity of an air-cushion when the air cannot escape. The power of the air is enormous; we know the force of the wind when we try to walk against it, but we cannot tell 'whence it cometh or whither it goeth.' By study, however, we can find a way of harnessing the power contained in the air as a bird is able to do; and it is not a difficult matter to design machinery capable of harnessing the air upon the same principle as that employed by the birds. What, then, is the method of extracting and utilising the great power which the air possesses? Having explained the method of progression by utilising the force of gravity in opposition to an upward force, and knowing that gravity is a constant with which we are compelled to reckon, let us investigate how to deal with the air so as to obtain the opposing upward force required.

The Energy of the Air and How to Utilise It

You can have a drop of water or other liquid, but you cannot have a drop of air. Every particle of water tends to cling to every other particle, whereas every particle of air tends to get as far away from every other particle as the surrounding particles will permit.

The writer claims to have discovered many years ago the fundamental source of energy of which the bird is able to take advantage, viz. *the expansive energy of the compressed air which exists all round the earth.*

Every particle of air has weight and is itself attracted towards the earth by gravity. Owing to the weight of the air above, the lower air becomes proportionately compressed; at sea-level it is calculated to have a pressure of 15 lb. to the square inch under normal conditions.

When a properly shaped curved plane is projected through the

air, an excess of pressure on the concave surface as compared with a reduction of pressure on the convex surface is produced, and the curved plane is forced to move out of the line of projection, the force giving effect more or less at right angles to the direction of projection. In the case of birds the direction of projection must therefore be more or less horizontal in order to obtain an approximately vertical upward thrust; which thrust, with the opposing vertical pull of gravity, creates the resultant force necessary to continue the projection.

An aeroplane is not supported in the air by simple action and reaction, *i.e.* by pushing the air downwards to obtain support. An aeroplane is supported mainly by the accumulation of compressed air underneath: the faster it is projected through the air, the more is the air compressed and accumulated under it, and yet the movement impressed upon the air over which the curve is projected (produced by the compressed air endeavouring to escape downwards) decreases as the speed of projection increases, because this movement is distributed over a greater area. The disturbance of the air caused by present-day aeroplanes is due almost entirely to the rotation of the propeller.

Enormous power is wasted in causing a propeller to rotate in the air simply to obtain an approximate thrust of 200 lb., for it is this thrust of 200 lb. (varying, of course, with the efficiency of the propeller) that projects the aeroplane through the air, and it is this projection of a curved plane which thus obtains the support of the air. It is not the 40 or 60 h.p. that lifts the machine, but the 200-lb. thrust obtained by using that power to rotate the propeller and give projection to the aerocurve. Is it not more reasonable, therefore, to devote the power to the direct projection of aerocurves through the air and thus obtain the upward thrust? This can be done in a very simple manner by projecting the aerocurves round and round by direct engine-power instead of straight ahead by means of propellers.

If mathematicians and scientists would study the air on the basis of its expanding energy, instead of treating the air as water, much valuable information would soon be acquired. The active energy that is in the air is capable of exerting great force when properly dealt with. The passive resistance of water merely permits weight to float upon its surface.

How Birds Soar and How Machines also May Soar

Soaring is a question which has exercised the minds of a large number of keen observers, and given rise to much speculation. The writer ventures to assert that the theory put forward by him accounts for every description of soaring by birds of every variety.

Those who have observed soaring birds will admit that no bird soars straight from the ground. It must first obtain a certain initial air speed. Given, however, this air speed, which is maintained by keeping the upward thrust in advance of the vertical, it acquires this upward thrust owing to the difference of pressure on the concave under-surface of the wings as against the pressure on the convex upper-surface, caused by the projection of these curved wings through the air.

The soaring bird, by this difference of pressure, extracts from the existing expansive forces of the air sufficient energy to give an upward thrust so far in excess of the downward vertical pull of gravity that the resultant force necessary to maintain the initial air speed is in a direction above the horizontal, and this resultant force carries the bird forward and upwards.

This to many may sound like perpetual motion. It is, however, nothing of the sort. The great existing expansive power of the air is the source of the energy employed, and the birds are so formed as to be able to utilise that energy and know instinctively how to do it. Man may also by means of machinery take advantage of, and utilise, this great force which the air is capable of exerting. It has already been done by the aeroplane, but apparently without any definite knowledge of the principle.

What is known generally is that an aerocurve projected through the air supports a weight. Apparently the impression is that in order to rise the aeroplane must be inclined upwards in the direction of motion, and that the curve must be continually pushing the air down at a certain velocity.

This is undoubtedly the case with the greater number of the present-day aeroplanes, but there are some so formed that they will rise at a greater angle than the angle of projection. In fact, some aeroplanes do a considerable amount of soaring when they attain air speed proportionate to their weight and curve. Were an aeroplane to be built with the proper curve, and with the resistance of the wire stays, landing chassis, etc., as far as possible eliminated, as also the drag of the propeller, and could it thus be projected into the air at its correct air speed, it should be able (if properly balanced) to keep the angle of upward thrust so far in advance of the vertical as to maintain its air speed and yet rise in the air.

In order to rise, this air speed must be sufficient to create an upward thrust so far in excess of the downward pull of gravity that the resultant force is in a direction above the horizontal, and it would thus soar like a bird. It is believed that this has actually been accomplished by Mr. Weiss with his model bird, on one or two occasions, for considerable distances; but the variation of air currents is such that, of course, it is impracticable, for an entirely

automatic structure, to continue *ad infinitum*. There must be intelligence to provide for the regaining of speed or stability lost for the moment by the alteration of air currents. There is no reason, however, why man should not successfully construct a machine that will soar, provided it is of sufficient size to contain the intelligence necessary to combat irregular air currents. (Since writing this the Wright Brothers in America have practically accomplished soaring.)

At the same time it must not be forgotten that soaring can only be attained when sufficient initial air speed has been acquired. Thus any machine made by man must have means of attaining that initial air speed which the bird acquires by flapping or jumping off from a height.

It would not be advisable for a machine carrying a number of passengers to attempt that latter method of obtaining air speed.

It is true the Wright Brothers originally (in a most ingenious manner) obtained their initial air speed by being projected somewhat after this fashion, but it is not practical for commercial aerial locomotion. To obtain initial air speed a rotary motion, giving the same result as the flapping motion of the bird's wing, should be employed: in other words, rotary wings. The rotary wings should be designed so as to offer as little resistance as possible to the forward motion of the machine, their duty being simply to give the necessary upward thrust.

Both the fixed and rotary wings should be so formed as to extract the greatest possible amount of expansive energy from the air in an upward direction.

The 'gyropter' (a word registered by the writer), meaning rotary wing, is not a propeller, nor can it be classed as a helicopter. It is not designed to screw itself through the air in the direction of its axis, or, by pushing the air downwards, to impart upward motion to the structure, as a screw propeller in water imparts a forward motion to a vessel by pushing the water backwards. The 'gyropter' is designed to obtain by a rotary motion the same upward thrust in opposition to the downward pull of gravity as the flapping wings, and the passive outspread wings of birds, obtain by the blades being projected through the air in such a manner as to extract and utilise the practically constant energy of the expansive force of the air.

It is admitted by those who have carefully observed birds in flight, that the motion of the wings in flapping flight is not downwards and backwards, as would be considered correct for forward propulsion, but that the flap is invariably downwards and forwards.

The general but erroneous impression seems to be that by some marvellous flex of the wing the bird is propelled in the

direction of motion. This impression, of course, disappears in the case of soaring birds progressing without apparent motion of the wings. The forward motion of flapping wings is necessary, in order that the wing may cut the air rather than beat it as it moves downwards and forwards. Were it to move backwards on its downward stroke it would, so to speak, leave the under-pressure behind instead of meeting this under-pressure as the body moves forwards.

The main principle of flapping flight is that, without the body of the bird having acquired the necessary air speed as in soaring, the wing by its forward motion creates sufficient air speed to cut the air, decreasing the pressure on the upper curved surface, and allowing the elasticity of the air below to come instantaneously into action and thus give the upward pressure. It is only by the projection of a curved surface in a direction to divide the air into convex and concave stream lines, that the expansive energy takes proper effect. In the case of the bird when soaring, it is only possible to acquire the projecting power as the resultant of the pull of gravity and the upward pressure created by the expanding air. Therefore, the bird must direct the projection so that the pressure at right angles is in an upward direction, just sufficiently out of the vertical to form an angle with the absolutely vertical pull of gravity, such as will give the resultant force necessary with the momentum, or already acquired air speed, to continue and maintain the speed of projection. The blades of the gyropter are not in the form of helices or screws; they are simply a series of curved planes, projected by the direct power of engines round and round instead of straight ahead, throwing off the pressure from above, and allowing the air below to exert its expanding force, and thus extracting from the air its energy in the direction of the axis of the gyropter.

Each blade, in fact, acts like the wing of an albatross: only the force which projects it round and round is direct engine-power. It is by inclining the axes of both gyropters away from the vertical that motion is imparted to the entire structure of the rotary-wing flying-machine.

GEORGE L. O. DAVIDSON.

THE WORKING CLASSES AND A NATIONAL ARMY

At a time when the workers of other countries are crying out against the evils of conscription, a persistent attempt is being made to introduce it into this country in the form of compulsory military training. It is because this agitation is backed by a large array of influential men and women of the rich classes and lavishly supplied with money that we think it desirable to warn the working classes of this well-organised conspiracy against their liberties. . . .

We regard compulsion in any form as bad. Home defence does not need it. . . .

Trade Unionists, co-operators, and other organised workmen have been untouched by this mischievous propaganda of militarism. They stand resolutely by the voluntary system as the only one which the workers will tolerate. . . .

We urge upon all classes the importance of a strenuous resistance to the demands which are made for compulsory military training by Lord Roberts and the National Service League, of which he is the head. We are convinced that we speak for the vast majority of wage-earners in thus offering to those demands our determined opposition.

SUCH are the words of a manifesto issued last year by the International Arbitration League and signed by all the members of the Labour party and by nearly 1000 Labour representatives. It is our task to consider how far the objections of the working classes to compulsory service for home defence are founded upon reason, whether those objections are generally or only very partially held among the wage-earners, and whether the International Arbitration League have any justification for claiming to speak for the 'vast majority' of the workers; for since universal compulsory training for home defence can admittedly only be introduced by the consent of the people, the determined opposition to it of a large section of the community must put off indefinitely the adoption of any military reform which would be founded upon this principle.

In the first place, it must be noted that the Labour members and delegates can only claim to represent the forces of organised labour—that is to say, of a sum-total of some two-and-a-half out of fifteen millions of workers; in other words, one-sixth only of

the labouring population is enrolled in trades unions and in kindred associations and makes its voice heard both in Parliament and in the country, while the remaining five-sixths are unorganised and inarticulate, and, it is to be feared, indifferent to the burning questions of the day, except where their own immediate interests are concerned. Now, organised labour and Socialism are practically one, for the line between them is so narrow and so lightly drawn as to be almost invisible; and it is well known that the Labour leaders in the House of Commons, who represent organised labour, have accepted the Socialist programme. It is true that the more moderate leaders of labour, and many of the rank and file of the working-men, accept as their economic creed Arnold Toynbee's definition of Socialism, as a belief in liberty, justice, and self-help, with aid from the State as representing the whole nation in cases where the people cannot help themselves, as favouring, not paternal but fraternal government, and as accepting the principle of property and repudiating confiscation and violence. Still, the party as a whole undoubtedly follow Marx in advocating the entire emancipation of labour from the control of capital, and in claiming 'for labour the full product of labour.' Let us see what are the views of the Socialist leaders on the subject of a national army.

At the annual conference of the Social Democrats, a resolution to resist armaments, and practically to disarm, was defeated at the instance of the executive voiced by Mr. Harry Quelch in favour of a declaration that war can best be avoided by maintaining a strong Navy, and by organising our Army as a national citizen force. Mr. Hyndman, too, has recently written to the Press advocating a universal citizen army for home defence, such army not to be liable to military law except in time of war, and to have the power of electing its own officers.

Now, thoroughly to understand the bearing of these utterances, the pages of the Socialistic organs—*Justice*, *The Clarion*, the *Social Democrat*, etc.—must be studied, when it will be abundantly clear that the Socialist party, which has captured the organised labour vote and holds the so-called Labour members in thrall, hates all regular professional armies because their officers come from the propertied class, and discipline will cause the men to range themselves behind those officers on the side of law and order. So, too, and for similar reasons, does it oppose Lord Haldane's Territorial Army. 'A more reactionary militarist (in the worst sense), and anti-democratic system than that to which the present War Minister has had the effrontery to apply our term of the "Armed Nation," could hardly be devised."[1] And Mr. Keir Hardie, in condemning the Territorial

[1] *Social Democrat*, October 1907.

Army scheme at a conference of the Independent Labour party in 1907, said that such a so-called citizen army was

as great a menace to an industrial population as a professional army, and if officered by the rich it would, though recruited from the people, be taught to regard the flag as holy, and would shoot down strikers and Socialists as freely as the most exclusive professional army in the world.

Indeed, Mr. Keir Hardie, whether more honest or less of an opportunist than his comrades, has declared himself against all armaments and preparations for war. At Hanley, in October 1910, he said he was 'present to speak not only against war, but against militarism, including home defence.' And at Glasgow, in April 1911, he further declared that he

hoped Glasgow would return the five Labour candidates to fight against the foul militarism that was creeping into our schools in the form of Boy Scouts and brigades, flag-waving, and rifle ranges. While the children were taught the commandment 'Thou shalt not kill,' they were expected to put this precept into practice by learning how best to kill their brethren in foreign lands.

The great majority of Socialists, however, do not appear to share Mr. Keir Hardie's views as to the possibility of avoiding war, and they look to a national citizen army on a socialistic basis as a means towards the fulfilment of their dreams of reform. As to the possible value of such an army we shall refer later. That their enmity to our present military system, Regular and Territorial, and also to the adoption of national training on the Swiss system, or as proposed by the National Service League, is based upon considerations of how such a force would be controlled, was clearly shown by the action of the delegates who accompanied the committee of inquiry which the National Service League sent to Switzerland in 1907; these men opposed all the proposals of the League when they learnt that the Swiss National Army would certainly support the Government in the event of serious industrial disorder. It would, however, appear that most Socialists are not blind to the German menace, or to the chances of war generally. Mr. Blatchford's articles on the subject are too well known to need recapitulation; and Mr. Harry Quelch, in his book *Social Democracy and the Armed Nation*, writes:

Militarism is an evil against which we have to fight with all the means in our power, but to talk of universal disarmament at the present stage is mere Utopianism, a crying of peace when there is no peace, and when existing antagonisms make peace impossible. We have first to eradicate the causes of conflict. To-day the unarmed nation offers itself as a temptation and a prey to some mighty brigand Power. War is the last argument of kings and all governments rest on force. So long as that is the case it is only the people which is armed that can maintain its freedom. An unarmed nation cannot be free.

If we pass from the consideration of the public utterances of the Labour and Socialist leaders, and inquire why a section of the general community of wage-earners are opposed to the programme of the National Service League, we shall find that this hostility is based upon four considerations, which must be treated separately. These are :—

1. The Waste of War.
2. The Improbability of War.
3. The Wickedness of War.
4. The Uselessness of War.

1. That war is wasteful as a general proposition cannot be controverted, though there is something to be said in favour of expenditure upon armaments, if it be true that over eighty per cent. of the sum allotted for the building and fitting out of a warship is spent in wages. The news that a battleship was to be constructed in a Thames yard would now come as a message of hope and promise of prosperity to hundreds of homes in the south-eastern districts of London, and it may fairly be argued that expenditure on such a ship is not more wasted than if devoted to the making of, say, 1000 motor-cars; both works involve the circulation of money and are good for trade and employment, especially the ship, as the money is spent at home, whereas half the motor-cars would probably come from France. But after all, the practical question is, Can wars be stopped because they are considered economically wasteful? Mr. Keir Hardie and a certain following say yes, and they look to combination among the workers of all countries to effect their purpose. 'I am one of those who believe in the general strike as a means of stopping war.'[2] This has long been a dream of the Socialists, and its principle was enunciated at the International Congress held at Brussels in 1868, when a resolution was passed denouncing war and calling upon all workers to resist it by a general strike. So, too, in October 1907, do we find *The Socialist* adopting Hervé's advice: 'In case of mobilisation the proletariat should respond to the call to arms by an insurrection against their rulers to establish the Socialist or Communist *régime*. Rebellion sooner than war.' But that the fulfilment of this programme is only a dream at present is recognised by the more practical members of the party, who know that the Socialist working-men of Germany in 1875 accepted universal military duty as one of the planks of their platform, and have more than once since that date stated plainly that they would obey their country's call if summoned to fight in her behalf. Indeed, the common-sense attitude of the German Socialists is shown by the wording of an article in *Vorwärts*

[2] Conference at Leicester, February 1911.

of March 1907, quoted by Mr. Ellis Barker in his *British Socialism*:

The conception that war is only a product of human unreason is on the same level as the idea that revolutions are only mental aberrations of the masses. War is rooted in the opposing interests of the nations, as are revolutions in the opposing interests of the classes.

The majority of our British Socialists also recognise the fact that Hervé's extreme doctrines find but small acceptance in these islands, and that, however wasteful and regrettable the average working-man may deem war to be, he is quite willing to fight if threatened by invasion.

2. Belief in the improbability of war is a potent factor in the reluctance of our people to accept national service, and it is a belief very hard to combat, because it is held by the great masses who decline to study the subject, and are content to live their lives immersed in cares of family or business, or it may be in pleasure, hoping that no great crisis will occur in their time, trusting to Providence or luck, and indifferent to the logic of facts, or to probabilities based upon historical parallels. It is in combating this widespread indifferentism, and in dispelling the mists of ignorance, that the widest field is open to all lovers of their country who believe in the reality of the danger with which she is threatened. Our working classes are quick to appreciate argument, and are quite willing to be convinced when the causes which have led to wars in the past, and which may lead to them in the future, are explained. The great difficulty is to get them away from their own immediate concerns and to cause them to think, and this can only be done by voluntary effort throughout the kingdom, especially as regards village meetings and discussions in working-men's clubs, which can generally be arranged. We know that Herr Bernstein and other leading German Socialists still regard war as possible, and acknowledge that in this event their first duty is to their country.[3] And the same view is held by the saner leaders of Socialistic thought in England. 'So long as even one Great Power maintains the present form of military organisation, so long as war is possible, so long will it be necessary that forms of military organisation exist in all countries. We dare not preach peace where we know there can be no peace.'[4]

3. As to the wickedness of war we need say little; what we have to deal with here is the practical question apart from other considerations. There are a few people in these isles who hold the extreme Christian doctrine of suffering all things and of refusing to resort to force under any circumstances—and if they are prepared in private life to be smitten upon both cheeks, to give

[3] *British Socialism*, p. 181. [4] *Forward*, May 1907.

up cloak as well as coat, and even to allow their wives and daughters to be assaulted without lifting a hand in their defence, they must be allowed to act up to their convictions in public and national matters as well; fortunately they are few in numbers, and of little importance.

4. The uselessness of war brings us to a belief which is held by a considerable number of the working classes, and for which the Socialists are striving to obtain general acceptance. It is founded on the statement (utterly unsupported by proof though it be) that 13,000,000 of our people live in utter wretchedness, on the verge of destitution, and have nothing to gain by war; that wars, in fact, are waged solely in the interests of the propertied classes. It is, perhaps, a little hard on supporters of the National Service League that, besides securing the acceptance of their proposals for military reform, they should have to combat Socialism as well; but if this is 'the white man's burden,' it must be borne as best it may. A writer has lately tried to drive home this argument as to the futility of war, by showing that to ruin England would also ruin Germany, owing to the interdependence of European finance, and that in the end the wealth of a country depends upon the workers who would still remain after a wave of successful invasion had passed by; he further attempts to prove that Germany would not benefit by absorbing Belgium, Holland, and the North-Eastern departments of France; but he has to arrive at the lame conclusion that, until all nations adopt his views, all must remained armed, unless in the fortunate position of Small Powers, whose existence is guaranteed by treaty and secured by a more potent force, the jealousy of the Great Powers.[5] It is much to be desired that some of our workers whose minds are being perverted by Socialists could read and appreciate the sufferings of the inhabitants of the French provinces in German occupation during 1870-71; they would learn that money was only paid for articles regularly requisitioned, and that no indemnification could be or was given in respect of nine-tenths of the damage done: fields trampled, crops destroyed, houses burnt or prepared for defence, no cultivation possible, property plundered where the owners fled from the scene of hostilities; they would hear of peasants having been hung or shot for aiding francs-tireurs in irregular acts of war; and they would learn something of the burden of taxation necessary to pay off the war contribution levied on a defeated enemy. If they had any imagination, too, they might be able to realise that invasion of England would bring with it far more misery than France experienced in 1870, because the inhabitants of our occupied counties would undoubtedly starve; the enemy would not feed them, and obviously we could not run

[5] *The Great Illusion*, by Norman Angell.

provision trains from Bristol or Liverpool to Ashford and Tonbridge if all Kent were in hostile occupation. Moreover, we live by our manufactures rather than by agriculture, and war would dislocate all trade, interrupt the steady inflow of raw material, and, owing to the rise in prices, would cause numbers of factories to shut down, thus largely increasing unemployment and want. Indeed, it is difficult to paint in too lurid colours the evils which invasion would bring upon our country, and the suffering which would be inflicted upon the poorest classes.

And, of course, the matter can be argued from another side. Is it true that our poor have nothing to fight for? Look at the men around us occupying prominent positions to-day, who have risen to affluence from the ranks of labour, and consider how many more have begun ascending the ladder of prosperity. Indeed, it can be said without exaggeration that every worker is a potential capitalist. And for those who do not rise, are they so utterly neglected and so miserable that they not only have no pride in their country but do not care how or by whom they are governed? This can only be true of the people known as the submerged or unemployable; they, indeed, have nothing but private charity or State relief as their ultimate hope; but the great mass of workers are alive to the benefits of the rule under which they live, and have a margin for their amusements; they know, moreover, that the State is not indifferent to their welfare, and they are hardly likely to be misled to any great extent by fallacies preached in the interests of Socialism.

We have seen how Socialists as a whole are not averse to the idea of a nation in arms, provided that military law is non-existent, and that the officers do not come from the propertied class, and are elected by the men. Now, the argument used to induce the working classes to accept compulsory service on this basis only is that our Regular and Territorial Forces, as at present organised, are weapons in the hands of the capitalists, and could be used to oppress labour and to put down anything in the nature of a general strike; and this in spite of Lord Haldane having explained that the Territorials cannot be called out as such in aid of the civil power, but only as individuals, just as all men, whether in military service or not, can be summoned to help to maintain law and order in case of emergency. It is, therefore, apparent that the Socialists aim at securing a force with which to carry out a revolution, knowing full well that interference with labour disputes conducted in an orderly and legal manner is outside the sphere both of the Territorial Army and of the National Army as proposed by the National Service League. Let us now try to see what possible military value could be claimed by a force such as would be acceptable to the Socialists.

Nothing can be more certain in the opinion of all who have studied the art of modern war that, in view of the wide extensions now practised on the battlefield and the often necessary removal of the men from the immediate control of their officers, rigid discipline and thorough training are more necessary now than ever they were before. The soldier must feel that he is part of the military machine, acting and maybe sacrificing himself for the general good, and an army cannot hope for success unless prompt and complete obedience is rendered to superior authority through every grade of the hierarchy of war. And unless military law is enforced whenever a national army is embodied there can be no such obedience and discipline, for the power of punishment, like the power of reward, is one of the chief weapons which an officer should possess. And even more fatal to discipline and military efficiency than this matter of military law is the Socialist proposal that a national army should elect its own officers. Under this system popular men or those with money to spend are elected, and not those best qualified to lead in war; for how remote war seems, and how often do we find peace considerations outweighing what would obviously be best on active service! This popular election of officers was practised by the Boers, but was given up soon after their last war began.[6] Napoleon stopped the same custom as soon as he raised himself to power; and it was given up by the Northern States of America during the Civil War. It was abolished, too, in New Zealand under the provisions of the Defence Act of 1910. It cannot be too strongly impressed upon our working classes that if, as very many of them do, they desire a national army which would keep them safe from invasion, they should spare no efforts and grudge no sacrifices in order to possess a well-trained corps of officers, without which their military efficiency would be slight indeed.

> The most promiscuous murderer in the world is the ignorant military officer; the dead are hecatombs of his ignorance; the survivors melancholy spectres of his incompetence.[7]

> An ignorant officer is a murderer; all brave men confide in the knowledge that he pretends to possess, and when the death trial comes their generous blood flows in vain. Merciful God! how can an ignorant man charge himself with so much bloodshed? I have studied war long, earnestly, and deeply, yet I tremble at my own deficiencies.[8]

The attempt to organise an army with too great a regard to popular opinion is generally doomed to failure. Marshal Niel's proposals for the reconstruction of the Garde Mobile in 1867 were mutilated by the French Chamber. Niel wanted fifteen days' drill a year; the Government ruled that the men must sleep every

[6] *Nation in Arms*, July 1909. [7] *Valour of Ignorance*, Homer Lea.
[8] Sir Charles Napier.

night in their homes, thus making real training impossible, especially in country districts. And the committee appointed to report on the Marshal's scheme used these words, the English echo of which can still be heard in discussions on national service: 'La jeunesse de France sera toujours prête à marcher au jour de danger et alors ses instincts guerriers se révèleront dans tout leur élan.' It is true that our Territorial Army is far in advance of the Garde Nationale Mobile of 1870 as regards both training and organisation, but the fact remains now, as then, that you cannot improvise an army, and that all preparation for war must precede the outbreak of hostilities. That Garde Mobile, as recorded by Thiriaux, failed lamentably on many occasions. We read that two battalions abandoned Fort Mont Valérien on the 20th of September 1870 and returned to Paris; that at Le Bourget two battalions had not half their numbers, the remaining officers and men having left the ranks and returned to Paris, while one company had only eleven men present; and that in March 1871 ten out of eighteen battalions were in a state of mutiny. It is easy to multiply proofs of the dangerous inefficiency of hastily raised and partially trained troops. The history of the reconstituted armies of the French Revolution in 1791-2-3 abound with cases of disgraceful panics, desertion, and wholesale plundering, as set forth by Beurnonville and in the correspondence of General Schauenburg. So also we can read in the pages of Henderson's *Life of Stonewall Jackson*, and in the *Life of William Howard Russell*, how the volunteer army of the Northern States of America dissolved in panic flight after the battle of Bull Run, an action in which the losses were by no means severe, and after which there was practically no pursuit. Time will, of course, witness the development of raw levies into seasoned soldiers, and this process was well shown in France at the end of the eighteenth century and in America during the Civil War; but it is precisely time which would be lacking in the event of an invasion of England. That struggle would be short, sharp, and decisive, and we should stand or fall by the fighting value of our military forces when the first hostile soldier set foot upon our shores.

It is, in fact, abundantly clear that Mr. Hyndman and his friends fail altogether to understand the building up of the military edifice, and especially do they ignore the fact patent to every instructed soldier, that unless that house rests firmly and solidly on the foundation of discipline the labour of the mason will have been in vain. The Socialistic party must therefore face this dilemma: either the national army will be imperfectly disciplined, and will be so deficient in solidarity as to be useless against a trained Continental invader, or it will have acquired sufficient of

the attributes of the true soldierly spirit to cause it to render willing obedience to its chiefs and to the Government, whatever orders it may receive.

As to the allegations contained in the manifesto quoted at the head of this paper, their falsity can be easily shown. In the first place, workers in other countries are not crying out against the evils of conscription, for *conscription* does not exist, and *national armies* are certainly regarded as necessary in all the countries of Western and Central Europe. There is no demand for the abolition of universal military service in France and Germany, and we have abundant evidence that the Swiss regard their military system, which most nearly resembles that proposed for adoption in Great Britain, as popular, necessary, and not burdensome. Secondly, the suggestion that the scheme of the National Service League is a conspiracy against the working classes, promoted in the interest of the rich, is singularly unconvincing in view of the fact that it is a thoroughly democratic scheme, carrying with it service in the ranks for all, irrespective of class and wealth; moreover, it has already been adopted by law in New Zealand and Australia, where Labour Governments are in power, and where it appears to be a popular measure only opposed by certain of the Socialists for reasons of their own. In this connexion Mr. Fisher, the Premier of Australia, made some pregnant remarks at Kilmarnock on the 18th of May. He told Mr. Keir Hardie and the miners assembled to welcome him that a strong defence policy was necessary for Australia, defence by a navy, and, in the last resort, defence by a national army, and that anyone who agreed with Mr. Hardie after studying the map was wanting in 'perspective judgment.' We trust that this rebuke was taken in good part, and that Mr. Hardie and his friends found inspiration and enlightenment in the pages of an atlas. And lastly, as regards the Labour Manifesto, we cannot believe that the voluntary system is the only one the workers will tolerate, when the unfairness of that system is pointed out to them, and when the fact is made apparent that under such a system they cannot hope for a national army of sufficient strength to safeguard them from invasion.

The general conclusions at which we arrive are that the great mass of workers are not averse from the proposals of the National Service League, as is evident by the good reception given to speakers for that League by audiences of labouring-men, wherever opposition has not been engineered by militant Socialists; that a small minority oppose all war, and, therefore, all preparation for war; that the Labour members of Parliament are speaking with the voice of Socialism, that they only represent one-sixth of the forces of labour, and that in opposing universal national service they have no mandate even from that sixth; and that

the Socialist opposition is due to the belief that neither the Territorial Army nor a National Army as proposed by the National Service League would lend itself to purposes of revolution.

It therefore follows that in putting this issue of national defence to the working classes, we must clearly show them that (1) war is possible, as shown by the teaching of history and the dictates of common sense, and the Socialist leaders admit this possibility; (2) invasion is possible, for our sailors agree that the business of the Fleet is to seek out the enemy and to protect our interests and our commerce all over the world, and not to remain huddled in home waters to prevent invasion; politicians agree that distant complications may well compel us to detach a powerful Fleet; if this becomes necessary, the margin of strength at home over that of the German Fleet will be small or non-existent (Mr. McKenna tells us that early in 1914 we shall have thirty Dreadnoughts to twenty-one German vessels of the same class); and the best soldiers, both of Germany and England, have expressed their opinion that invasion of these shores is possible unless our Fleet is in overpowering strength; (3) our Expeditionary Force, which practically includes the whole of our Regular Army which is sufficiently trained, officered, and organised to take the field, is intended to be sent abroad if necessary, and its enforced absence would be most probably taken advantage of by an enemy contemplating invasion; (4) our Territorial Army is quite inadequate to resist an invader, for these reasons: the force is, and is likely to remain, under strength; it was more than 50,000 short on the 1st of October 1911; it is largely immature, for at the same date it contained 32,000 lads of under nineteen, and another 40,000 under twenty, very many of whom could not stand the strain of a campaign; it is deficient in training, especially as regards musketry; compulsory garrisons in Great Britain, and especially Ireland, would absorb so many men that it is very doubtful whether, in the absence abroad of the Expeditionary Force, 100,000 men could be brought together for the defence of London; such a number of second-class troops could not be expected to stop the march of 70,000 first-class soldiers of a Continental army; even such an apologist for Lord Haldane's force as Sir Ian Hamilton admits that it should largely outnumber its antagonists if it is to hope for success; and though 70,000 has been named as the smallest force likely to attempt invasion, and as the largest force which could possibly evade our Fleet, the arguments on this head are by no means conclusive, and many authorities expect invasion, if it comes at all, to be carried out by as many as 200,000 men, especially as the contingency of a temporary loss of sea-command should be considered.

We believe that the great majority of the working classes would

accept the statement of the case as outlined in these pages; it is the duty of all who believe that the present state of our land forces will in the near future expose our country to the gravest danger, to assist in laying these issues before the people; the political power is in their hands, and it is for them to decide whether they will elect to drift on, trusting to Providence or luck, or whether, adopting the adage 'God helps those who help themselves,' they will take up the burden borne cheerfully by our Colonial sons and by other nations, and accept that principle of rendering personal military service to their country which has been one of the strongest forces in the evolution of nationality out of tribal chaos, and the necessity for which has only been temporarily forgotten in the United Kingdom owing to the accident of our insular position.

H. B. Jeffreys.

IS M. MAETERLINCK CRITICALLY ESTIMATED?

M. Maurice Maeterlinck is undoubtedly a great name. He is universally known, and thousands of men and women who think of him as a writer of genius revere him also as a sage and even a saint. Probably the immense majority of his readers will welcome the news that he has been awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature as unquestioningly as if he were the only living man to provide moral guidance as well as high artistic pleasure for his generation. He is, of all our contemporaries, the one who, for causes we shall have to hint, has been the luckiest in evading critical examination; and it seems, therefore, the more advisable to give him at this crowning point of his life all the attention which exceptional success invites, whether it be merited or not.

In my opinion M. Maeterlinck is enormously overrated. It is not easy within the limits of an article to state in detail all the reasons I have for thinking so; a lecturer with two hours at his disposal and the possibility of quoting freely from the books would do it better than a writer; but it will not be difficult to indicate briefly those limitations of M. Maeterlinck of which I have little doubt that a great many reflective readers are more or less conscious.

It is the privilege of those who write about morals and the conduct of life that their admirers seldom take the trouble or even feel the inclination to view their career and works critically. Who cares to know much about Emerson? Even those who feel the charm of the *Imitation of Christ* most keenly do not take as much interest in a discussion about the authorship of their favourite book as in a review of the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy. There are men—Balzac, Victor Hugo, Dickens, Tolstoi—with an output four times as considerable as that of M. Maeterlinck, about whose literary development the average reader is much clearer than about the latter's. To most people M. Maeterlinck is only a respected name, or the author of books from which somebody they know declares he derives incredible comfort, or the writer to whom editors apply when they want an article on

Death. He is chiefly regarded as a philosopher. Those who know him under that aspect seldom go any further. Whether he is young or old, French or Belgian, rich or poor, lucky or brave, how he started in life and literature—none of these questions concerns them very much. They like to hear that he is fond of bees, because the notion goes well with the idea we form of a wise man, and applies as well to the old man of Tarentum as to Sir John Lubbock; but when they are reminded that he has recently made a tremendous success with a play, they are puzzled and have to tell themselves that the play, as far as they know, is full of the deepest symbolism. If you were to tell them that at the age of twenty-seven M. Maeterlinck was an exclusively literary man, who sought his way, as the phrase goes, somewhat restlessly, in fiction, in light comedy, and in decadent verse—to-day perfectly impossible to wade through in the first volume he ever got printed, *Serres Chaudes*; that his first great success was a drama, and that his first philosophical book, *Le Trésor des Humbles*, was dedicated to an actress, they would be decidedly startled, and would implore you to reconcile these incongruities for them. Yet all this is true; M. Maeterlinck had literary before he had philosophical ambitions, and if M. Octave Mirbeau had not awakened the world to the merits of *La Princesse Maleine*, by proclaiming it 'a drama comparable and even superior to the best things of Shakespeare,' it is probable that *Le Trésor des Humbles*, unhelped by the plays, would have remained among the mass of unread philosophy. M. Maeterlinck was thirty-four when that first attempt at moralising appeared. It is exactly the time in the lives of literary men when notoriety—more capricious than fame—hesitates whether it will lift them up to the highest rank or settle them for ever in the second. If M. Maeterlinck's lighter Muse had not at that critical juncture drawn attention to her severer sister, in all likelihood I should not be writing the present article. But how many of M. Maeterlinck's admirers are aware of this? Nineteen in twenty take him wholesale, as we take a force of nature.

In spite of this pre-eminence of the literary side in M. Maeterlinck's composition and career, I will limit myself to a discussion of the character and place in the world of M. Maeterlinck's philosophy. My present purpose is merely to help the reader in distinguishing two elements in him, and seeing whether one of these deserves the estimation which seems to be generally accepted among a certain portion of the public. I am afraid this examination has never been made with the sincerity and fearlessness which, along with intelligence and sympathy, are the essentials of criticism. So we have to place ourselves calmly before the facts.

The first question we have to ask ourselves ought naturally to be: Does M. Maeterlinck really bear in the world the part of a

great sage? We feel at once confusedly but forcibly that he is not one of those men whose presence is the salt of the earth. How many degrees could we not count between him and a Confucius, for instance? The mere idea of a comparison between him and a man of that height is so ridiculous as to be really unjust, and we must give it up at once. But besides the great sages who have been great saints, there is another class of men whom we may call, with various nuances, seers, prophets, theologians, or philosophers. These men seldom do but they often see great things. They were numerous in that most intellectual milieu the Greek civilisation. Socrates, though he talks too much, is almost a saint, but Plato is a great theologian, and Plotinus a seer of the type we have in view. With due differences a man like Coleridge—whom M. Maeterlinck has read—or even a man like our Diderot, should be placed in the same class. Charity does not devour them; but their inner light makes not only for comprehension but for improvement. It is evidently beside the men in this second class that a writer who, like M. Maeterlinck, has devoted most of his life to mere literature and to the stage has to be ranked. But here, again, the moment we name men at all exceptional—let us think of Coleridge once more—he shrinks terribly. The characteristic of these intellectual seers, as well as that of most mystics, is that within certain limits their light never wavers. They often repeat the same things, but in indefinitely varied expressions, and each expression strikes us as fraught with the possibility of endless development and renewing. All these seers could appropriate the simple confession of Mme. Guyon to Fénelon: 'I could write for ever if my hand did not ache'; or that of Lamartine, to a friend: 'I never have to think; my thoughts think themselves.'

It is not so with M. Maeterlinck. If he had been possessed of this consuming but never consumed light, the few hundred pages he has devoted to the conduct of life would not have satisfied—that is to say, exhausted—his longing to make men better. Real sages do not wait till they are twenty-eight to exchange trifling for wisdom, and do not desert wisdom long before they are forty to revert to pretty writing. Seek one in the history of nations who left a mark on the souls of men after acting so amateurishly, you will not find him. You will not find one either, no matter how inexperienced in the art of writing, no matter how abstruse, no matter even how remote from us by atmosphere and language, who can be taxed with vagueness. Their passionate desire to influence their neighbour for good inevitably results in clarity, were it the clarity of parables. Now, read all the critics favourable to M. Maeterlinck, they will uniformly tell you that his doctrine is difficult to sum up or even to reduce to principles;

they will say that the only way of feeling its charm—charm is the phrase they always use, not virtue—is to read the books in their entirety without trying to condense their meaning. A terrible verdict lies under those formulas generally indicative of intimidation. When there is charm in a work—and I am by no means prepared to refuse charm to M. Maeterlinck's philosophical productions—but at the same time the elusiveness which baffles intelligence in this way, we are sure that the charm is more that of the garment than that of the body; there is more in it that is verbal—and almost inevitably verbose—than there is substance; the thought is rather feminine than the reverse, and we can predict with certainty its speedy exhaustion if some foreign element does not restore its vitality.

In fact, M. Maeterlinck's philosophical works—the most successful one *Le Trésor des Humbles* especially—are distinctly unphilosophical and no less distinctly literary. Let me warn the reader that I am taking the latter term in its recent and uncomplimentary acceptation—that is to say, undue attention to effect and predominance of manner over matter. Taken as a whole, the books look terribly what they really are—the work of a young and very immature mind. Let anybody take up those essays—mostly published in small magazines—without being told about the present reputation of their author; if he has the least knowledge of what manly thinking and forcible writing means, he will be struck by the pleasure M. Maeterlinck takes in stringing words together, and by his indifference to the development of the idea from which he originally started. I have not the least doubt that M. Maeterlinck, who has since learned to write perfectly clearly, must be aware of this very unphilosophical fault, and perhaps uncomfortably conscious of the blindness of so many of his readers to it.

Here are a few instances:

The chapter on Ruysbroeck in *Le Trésor des Humbles* is a good one to begin with. It is a perfect nightmare, the second part being absolutely irreconcilable with the first, and hundreds of incoherent metaphors making it the more evident that the author did not know his own meaning.

Or take this definition of wisdom in *La Sagesse et la Destinée*, which ought to be one of the outstanding and consequently clearest parts of the book:[1]

[1] *La Sagesse et la Destinée*, xxiv. I quote it in French as translators have an inevitable tendency to clarify the text they are translating, and also because the graphic English language has a curious way of improving the style of M. Maeterlinck. Further on, when I try to get at the author's real thought, I shall quote him in English.

Mais qu'est-ce enfin que cette sagesse dont nous parlons ainsi ? N'essayons pas de la définir trop strictement, car ce serait l'emprisonner. Tous ceux qui le tentèrent font songer à un homme qui éteindrait d'abord une lumière afin d'étudier la nature même de la lumière. Il ne trouvera jamais qu'une mèche noircie et des cendres.

'Le mot sage,' observe Joubert, 'le mot sage dit à un enfant est un mot qu'il comprend toujours et qu'on ne lui explique jamais.' Acceptons-le comme l'accepte l'enfant, afin qu'il grandisse en même temps que nous. Disons de la sagesse ce que Sœur Hadewyck, l'ennemie mystérieuse de Ruysbroeck l'Admirable, dit de l'amour : 'Son plus profond abîme est sa plus belle forme.' Il ne faut pas que la sagesse ait une forme ; il faut que sa beauté soit aussi variable que la beauté des flammes. Ce n'est pas une déesse immobile, éternellement assise sur un trône. C'est Minerve qui nous accompagne, qui monte et qui descend, qui pleure et qui joue avec nous. Vous n'êtes vraiment sage que si votre sagesse se transforme sans cesse de votre enfance à votre mort. Plus le sens que vous attachez au mot sage devient beau et profond, plus vous devenez sage ; et chaque degré que l'on gravit en s'élevant vers la sagesse augmente aux yeux de l'âme l'étendue que la sagesse ne pourra jamais parcourir.

This is the oracle. Have we to do with a Persian sophist, who takes perverse pleasure in misleading those who ask him questions, or have we come hungry and thirsty to a man who can give us food and drink? The question which M. Maeterlinck answers in this page is, after all, the same which was asked of Christ : 'Good master, what good things shall I do that I may have eternal life?' Compare the plainness of the Divine answer with these conflicting metaphors, these bewildering quotations pretending to be illuminating, this exasperating jumping from Ay to Nay ('its deepest abyss is its most beautiful form,' followed with 'wisdom must not have a form'), this concatenation of nothingness ending in the tritest platitude : 'The more beautiful and profound is the meaning you attach to the word wise, the wiser you become.' But the rhythm of this short chapter is admirable ; and if there happened to be sense under the sounds it would be an excellent piece of writing.

It would be worth while, too, to make a careful study of the most famous chapter in *Le Trésor des Humbles*, on 'La Vie Profonde,' which is said to hold the kernel of M. Maeterlinck's philosophy. But we should suppose this study made by a mind accustomed to solid realities, or, above all, by a mind in sorrow or doubt and looking for effective help. The subject of the chapter is stated clearly. It is the possibility for even the humblest of men to make their life high and beautiful—a commonplace in all the spiritual books and the A B C of Christian life. How are we to realise this possibility? By finding a superior life in the humble and inevitable everyday reality, answers M. Maeterlinck, very clearly and sensibly—that is to say, by becoming conscious of our

relations with the infinite. But how are we to become thus conscious? We become conscious of that relation—

> on a day when the sky opens of itself, and from that moment dates the real spiritual individuality of our being. But with most men the sky opens so by mere chance. They are born of an accidental joy or sorrow, terror or thought.

So far so good, though we already feel the approach of the formidable flood of metaphors. It bursts upon us when we want to hear more about the conditions in which that spiritual birth takes place. Here is the enumeration :

> Some find out unexpectedly that they are not alone under the sky others, while giving a kiss or dropping a tear, suddenly discover 'that the spring of all that is best and holiest from the universe to God (?) is concealed behind a night full of stars too remote'; another has seen Divine hand stretching between his joy and sorrow; another, again, has realised that the dead are right.

These are the statements with which we have to content ourselves They lack precision, to be sure, but we see their drift all the same —viz. stupendous revelations like those enumerated above are not necessary to our spiritual birth :

> The wise man has no need of such violent awakenings. He watches a tear, the gesture of a virgin, a drop of water in its fall; he listens to a wafted thought, shakes the hand of a brother, draws near a lip with open eyes and with his soul open too. On it he can see uninterruptedly that which you have only caught a glimpse of, and a smile will teach him easily what a tempest or the very hand of death had to reveal to you.

This is what the wise man does. He sees the truth in a smile and on a lip, in a wafted thought, in a gesture, in a drop of water above all in a tear—oh, in a tear, one of those tears, those idle tears with which almost every page of M. Maeterlinck is bedewed—but he is a very wise man, no doubt; and we foolish creatures who are after all, as honestly as himself in quest of wisdom, how are we to get at it? Here, perhaps, comes the answer :

> If you have loved deeply, you have had need of no one to point out to you that your soul was as wide a thing as the world; that the stars the flowers, the waves of the night and those of the sea are not solitary that nothing ends and everything begins on the threshold of appearances that the very lips you have kissed belonged to a being much higher, more beautiful and pure than the woman you clasped in your arms.

Yes, yes, no doubt; but suppose one is not in love :

> If you do not love, or if you are not loved, but can, however, see with a certain force that millions of things are beautiful and the soul is great and life earnest almost (?) unspeakably, is it not as beautiful as if you loved or were loved? And if the sky itself is hidden from you, does not the wide starry sky spread all the same over your soul in the shape of death? All that happens to us is divinely great. But we ought t

accustom ourselves to live as an angel just born, or a woman in love, or a man at the point of death.

That is the answer. It takes a certain force, as M. Maeterlinck says, to resist a great temptation to show up its ridiculous side and pass on. But we had better try to the end to elucidate rather than mock. This farrago means that the true way of raising our life above its poor level is to open our eyes with the freshness of 'an angel just born' to the beauty of the world. Humble man, it says, if thou desirest to rise above thy petty self, the method is easy; thou hast only to be a genius.

Is this the advice of a moralist or the fun of the Eastern sophist? Neither. It is nothing more than the rhetoric of an ill-advised youth playing at writing philosophy. Read the rest of the essay: you will find that the second part contradicts the first with great serenity, and can be summed up in one comforting but somewhat unexpected sentence: 'Those who think of nothing *possess the same truth* as those who think of God.' Words, words, words.

There is something humiliating in the sort of *ex professo* refutation or exposition I have just made of this so-called celebrated chapter. It seems as if one ought only to say: Read for yourself and see whether it is not through a gigantic farce that M. Maeterlinck has ever been regarded as an eminent moral guide. But the power of opinion, the tyranny of Doxa is so great, that an affirmation of that kind would leave in doubt many who could not read for themselves, and I do not regret the trouble I have taken.

I am persuaded that whoever can read a book with an alert mind will never look into M. Maeterlinck's without realising the hopeless emptiness of what people call his philosophy; but I do not flatter myself that I am able to convince everybody. With the millions, the objection invariably made by people who will not think for themselves will still be raised: 'You say that the literary success of M. Maeterlinck is responsible for his reputation as a philosopher, but how do you account for the belief which thousands and thousands retain in his philosophy? There must be more in it than you say.'

Certainly the phenomenon of M. Maeterlinck's nominal and numerical influence exists, and we cannot disregard it; but we can easily qualify it at once. Does M. Maeterlinck influence those who count or those who do not?

This is an all-important question, the answer to which ought to be decisive in our examination of M. Maeterlinck's place in the world. Certainly there have been men who had to wait long for recognition. But those men lived unknown, and their books were unread. There is no example of a writer popular with the

unprofessional and neglected by the learned in his lifetime, who, after his death, rose to the first rank in the estimation of the latter. One has never heard of a philosophy which, after first delighting the man in the street, ultimately forced itself upon the admiration of more vigorous intellects. Contrast the attention given to the doctrine of M. Bergson, for instance, with that given to M. Maeterlinck. You may think with awe—if you are easily awed—of the army of men and women who devoutly keep M. Maeterlinck's books on their shelves, you will not be able to bring in one really great name in support of his philosophical fame. Read the Maeterlinckian bibliography—one of those displays which go far to keep the timid in bondage; you will notice at once, first of all, that French names are remarkably scarce in it, and in the second place that not one first-rate critic appears in the list. You will, it is true, discover the names of Jules Lemaître and Mr. Archer among an ocean of nobodies, but Mr. Archer as well as M. Lemaître have only concerned themselves with M. Maeterlinck as a playwright, and ignore him as a philosopher.

In fact, the success of M. Maeterlinck's philosophical books is of exactly the same order as the success of any second-rate novel or drama, and can be accounted for by very similar causes. There is, I am only too glad to admit, in *La Sagesse et la Destinée* one idea which has been helpful to many discouraged souls—though why they should have waited to find it there I cannot conceive; it is the notion that Destiny is only a word, and that our free will can insert causes of its own in the so-called chain of fatality—the world-old idea of which the French proverb 'Aide-toi, le Ciel t'aidera,' is only a variant—but it is not the chief cause of M. Maeterlinck's influence. That cause lies in the snobbishness of the crowd —I mean the reading, not the working, crowd—and in its susceptibility to the cheap advantages which make so many commonplace though apparently distinguished preachers successful. M. Maeterlinck is far from having a sound philosophical grounding; even in easier provinces he is content with little, and his study of Emily Brontë, for instance, is a monument of superficiality; but he makes a tremendous display of philosophical erudition, and that invariably dazzles the uneducated. He thinks the *Biographia Literaria* an exceptionally abstruse work, but he quotes off-hand from Plotinus' *Enneads*. Just because he has translated Ruysbroeck, and put prefaces to translations of Novalis and Emerson, people regard him reverently as a specialist in mystics, and hardly dare look up to a man who lives on such heights. Add that the reflection of his real on his imaginary merits comes into play here as everywhere, and that a man who knows so much about bees cannot be ignorant in any realm.

Besides this cause there exists another which I think even more active. One cannot exaggerate the sensitiveness of the class of readers whom M. Maeterlinck chiefly reaches to the outward qualities of style. Even in his best, I should say, his prettiest books, even in *La Vie des Abeilles*, M. Maeterlinck is not a great artist in words. He is far too conscious of style, and the consequence is that we are conscious of it too, and our pleasure loses proportionately. But he has one quality not unfrequent in writers endowed with more artistic ambition than artistic capacity, and which would ultimately make them really great writers if we had three lives to grow in instead of one. It is a pleasure in writing which gives them a sort of sincerity even where they are insincere, and which may well cause irritation to an experienced reader but only delights an inexperienced one. It is an attitude, often a pose, but it engenders a certain unity which results in rhythm, and rhythm, no doubt, is one of the true writer's virtues. That rhythm in M. Maeterlinck's philosophical books belongs to words rather than thought, which stamps it at once with inferiority. Yet it is there all the same, and acts so powerfully on most readers as to influence them as if they had read quite a different book. It is like the delivery which positively transforms certain speeches.

Take that poor string of youthful essays, *Le Trésor des Humbles*. The quality I am speaking of appears in the very title. It is only one of those numberless pretty titles which lady writers will often discover more easily than the greatest artists: but who will deny the power of a title? Two words on the back of a book which we do not even open will tune our soul for hours to a mood, or start a train of thought which many a lecture could not create. What we hear, read, or even do matters little in that fascinating condition. *Le Trésor des Humbles* is one of those titles. It is a poem in itself. Those simple but rich syllables speak of hidden life cheerfully accepted, of the fraternity of the poor and lowly who envy not the rich, and would rather keep together close enough to be warm—as Renan says of the *collegia funeraria*—of Patience and her inexhaustible treasures. That title is poetical and true, happy and courageous, philosophical and Christian. How many poor souls must have longed for the pages it promises! Now supposing you know nothing about M. Maeterlinck except that he is a famous man: if you open the book in the mood thus conjured, the display of recondite erudition, the vagueness of the doctrine, the metaphors both familiar and yet apparently new, the subdued tone of speech as if the author's voice were full of suppressed sighs, the lulling rhythm of page after page, along with the sober philosophical attitude implied throughout, will caress and soothe you so

much that you may remain to the last under the initial spell of the title, imagining all the time that the author must preach that which you expected from him, and putting down inconsistencies to your lack of familiarity with such difficult pursuits. M. Maeterlinck's prose acts like music, quite independently from thought and meaning: it can be made to say as many things as the bells.

Were it not for this harmonious vagueness there is little doubt that M. Maeterlinck's books would be less popular than they are, even with the many women and the comparatively few men who at present dote upon them. The doctrine they hold, so to speak in solution, would appear too negative, and in some cases too remote from what we call morals to appeal to thousands who in its poetical presentment cannot see it clearly.

What are in fact the distinctly Maeterlinckian doctrines, those which M. Maeterlinck never succeeded in expounding in a satisfactory manner in his books, but which, however, are his doctrines? I am afraid they are clearer to those who are not enthusiastic about M. Maeterlinck than to his admirers.

There is, first of all, what some call the philosophy of the soul, the not very healthy spiritualism diffused through several chapters of *Le Trésor des Humbles*, especially those entitled 'Le Réveil de l'Ame,' 'Silence,' and 'Le Tragique Quotidien,' and embodied in most of the writer's plays. Although M. Maeterlinck's philosophy—I mean M. Maeterlinck's philosophical reading—is chiefly Monistic and of poor quality, it coexists in his mind with the highest notion of the influence of the soul. It would be useless to try and imagine any metaphysics based upon the idea. M. Maeterlinck is nothing more than a spiritualist in the ordinary sense of the word—a man who believes in soul communication apart from the language. In *Le Trésor des Humbles* he prophesied the almost immediate liberation of the soul from the trammels of language, and the beginning of her reign through the establishment of silence. Mutual comprehension and mutual love in the whole universe were to follow. Needless to say that this prophecy was a very young man's dream and probably talk. The realm of the soul, to-day as then, remains confined to the dark rooms in which spirits play in curtains or at best bring you roses.

Then, there is the doctrine of accepted humility, which appears everywhere in *Le Trésor des Humbles*, and, strangely enough, appears pretty often in *La Sagesse et la Destinée* as well. Everybody can be great and good—in fact, is great and good. We are told not to despise ourselves even if we are conscious of grief at our neighbour's happiness, and encouraged to think, conversely, that the sister of charity who catches typhus at a bedside may have a shabby, vindictive soul.

Finally, clad in thousands of metaphors through *La Sagesse la Destinée*, comes the Ibsenian teaching of self-realisation lf-denial is an absurdity, happiness is a duty.

These are the Maeterlinckian doctrines, or at any rate, the tentively expressed Maeterlinckian tendencies; nothing very novel, be sure. Now, I do not think that if all this were clearly instead vaguely put it would be agreeable to three in ten of M. Maeterıck's devoted readers. A moral philosophy in which God is only name, from which the notion of immortality and that of selfcrifice are absent, and through which the anarchism inherent in e search for happiness at all costs is on the contrary omnipresent, ıly appeals to the unhappy few. And those few will not tarry ng in the Maeterlinckian groves where every rivulet is swollen ith tears: they will laugh at all this namby-pambiness and go raight to Nietzsche.

So there will remain only the devotees of the soul and mysterisness, and those of humility. A small band that of the former. Then you have tried a few times to live in your body as a snail its shell, occasionally putting out a feeler into infinity and awing back home with such illuminating certitudes as the llowing: 'I am alive—I am myself and not anybody else—the orld exists—how strange it all is!' the art of thinking latent in *e Trésor des Humbles* appears really too like a joke. It would delightful to retain a child's power of wonderment in a man's telligence, but the power alone is no treasure.

The lovers of humility are more numerous, as most men, as ey get on in life, become more or less conscious of failure. A ot inconsiderable part of M. Maeterlinck's adherents come to him hopes of healing intellectual or even literary disappointment. heir soreness feels soothed by his encouragement—no matter ow frigid sometimes, and unsympathetic, and aloof—and his scurity suits their own incapacity to be clear.

But the immense majority of M. Maeterlinck's anonymous sciples belongs to the army of men and women—mostly women who long for an ideal yet never succeed in formulating it; who ould like to be great morally, yet feel confusedly that they will ver have sufficient energy for the fights in which moral greatness acquired; above all, who have neither the stamina nor the hardss implied in resolute Ibsenism; they are mildly selfish and ildly loving, and the wishy-washy egotism and pity mixed up about equal proportions in the Maeterlinckian creed find in them ready response. *Le Trésor des Humbles* and *La Sagesse et la stinée* make them feel good without enforcing real goodness on them. Those books produce hypocrites, but hypocrites under oroform, or I should say under opium, who have no unpleasant

consciousness. This accounts for the comparative non-recognition of M. Maeterlinck in France. The French are learning hypocrisy, no doubt, but their chief fault is still cynicism, which is far superior. You will only find Maeterlinckian French among either deteriorated Tolstoists, who were deteriorated Catholics before being that, or among the worldings with whose fathers and mothers unbelief was a fashion, as some sort of belief is a fashion with themselves. The real Maeterlinckian world consists of English and American dissenters whom Calvinism has bruised more or less, or of Church of England people who have been staggered by higher criticism in the third solution; above all, of vaguely metaphysical Germans, and of Swedes possessed of that ultra-refined *Sehnsucht* which they call *langta*. One may add a sprinkling of those omnivorous readers whose husbands talk Greek, Armenian, or Turkish, but who invariably choose to dream in French. Maeterlinckianism never thrives where there is manliness or warmth; it is never productive of anything strong and great. Wherever you find apparent exceptions you will have no difficulty in discovering that either the doctrine is not understood or some stronger creed underlies it.

If I had more space I would like to point out in M. Maeterlinck's composition and in his works a markedly sensuous streak which his admirers do not seem consciously to notice, but which no veil of metaphors can conceal. He makes constant references to love, and sometimes it would seem to be the purest and most ethereal kind of love; but in the books as in the play we see Monna Vanna too plainly beneath her cloak. There are too many women in M. Maeterlinck's philosophies—too much flitting from one to the other; two many amorous meetings in his azure blue amidst the shower of 'stars too remote.' Free love, no matter how sidereally hinted at, will be terrestrial; its introduction in spiritual books shows the progress we have made since a soldierly uncle of Madame de Sévigné's defined good books as those which teach us to live purely and die bravely.

To conclude, M. Maeterlinck is neither by his method of writing, nor by his ideas, nor by the effects of these ideas, anything like an apostle or a sage. He is most distinctly a literary man, and, as the reader must have seen for himself, a literary man of no superior degree.[1] There never is literary excellence where there is

[1] In the first editions of his well-known *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, M. Lanson, of the Sorbonne, only mentioned M. Maeterlinck in a foot-note in which he described his style as 'complicated, contorted, and naïvely pretentious'; in the later editions that note has been suppressed and the name of M. Maeterlinck merely appears in a list of Belgian writers between M. Mokel and M. Rodenbach.

not moral or intellectual superiority to begin with. As long as we try to conceive M. Maeterlinck as the philosopher many believe him to be, we are landed upon insuperable difficulties. The moment, on the contrary, we begin to view him as a modern literary man with the literary fault of preferring manner to matter, appearances to reality, everything becomes clear, consistent, and I had almost said right. His easy comfortable life in the three homes he possesses in Paris, Nice, and Normandy,[1] which is not reconcilable with our present prejudices about the true preacher's background; the taste for theatricals which he seems to have in common with his wife; his indifference, or at least his apparent indifference, to the burning questions of the day; his partiality for studious leisure, are all characteristic of the literary temperament, and all healthy and right in a literary man who has attained to fame and competence. This view once admitted, M. Maeterlinck's philosophical books immediately appear in their proper perspective, as a not very considerable part of his works to which he devoted some of his 'prentice years, and from which he turned long before forty. The crudities of all sorts with which those books abound cease to irritate, and appear only natural in such tentative work.

M. Maeterlinck is no powerful intellect certainly: his characteristic is rather subtlety almost invariably far-fetched. But he does not lack judgment by any means, and his development has been in the logical direction. I feel pretty certain that in so far as a writer can judge his own productions, he judges *Le Trésor des Humbles* and *La Sagesse et la Destinée* more like their few critics than their many admirers. He must know he is no philosopher. He speaks somewhere in *La Vie des Abeilles* of the bliss of saying true, after long saying pleasant things. This may amount to a confession.

I spoke above of the gigantic farce of his reputation as a spiritual guide. It is only fair to say that he has been no party to it. He does not advertise himself, and probably suffers from somebody else's self-advertising—he never forces himself on public attention. I should not be surprised if the apparent luck of his philosophical volumes caused him more annoyance than satisfaction. More uneasiness, too, for he must know that of the author of *Le Trésor des Humbles* nothing will remain, and that what might be saved of the author of *La Vie des Abeilles*, *Le Double Jardin*,

[1] Many people, among whom I am, do not forgive M. Maeterlinck his indelicacy in occupying so soon after its confiscation the property of the Benedictines at St. Wandrille. There is something shocking in having dramas performed in the cloister so recently the legal possession of that great and good monk, the restorer of plain-chant, Dom Pothier.

and *Intérieur* runs considerable risk of perishing in the destruction. Perhaps his secret desire would have been that the judges who awarded him the Nobel Prize should have stated clearly that it was not the philosopher but the poet in him they thought worthy of this rare distinction. Unfortunately, a Nobel judge is no Osiris, and a mistake which has lasted almost twenty years can only be corrected by posterity.

ERNEST DIMNET.

THE IMPERIAL EMIGRANT AND HIS POLITICAL RELIGION

I WOULD fain present to you the emigrant as the real custodian of the Empire's future, the living epistle of the only political religion that can preserve British unity throughout the world. By emigration the Empire is made. By neglect of the teachings of emigration the most potential part of the Empire was lost. By taking heed of emigration in the twentieth century the Empire may renew its youth. An emigrant in the midst of you will be as strange as a child among the doctors. But except you become even as an emigrant you cannot know the things that make for the glory of the country to which the emigrant goes, or the influence of that country on the country he is leaving.

The perfect illustration, of course, is the Premier of Australia. He went from Scotland a pit lad. He came back a great member of the Imperial Conference. Any political bat, with the help of a halfpenny illustrated paper, could recognise the Premier of Australia in the Coronation procession. But Andrew Fisher, travelling third-class to Melbourne, was as valuable a study as Andrew Fisher in a white-plumed cocked hat, riding with Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the Coronation pageant. Premier Fisher is a product of ten thousand emigrating unknown Andrew Fishers. It is wiser to understand the emigrant before he goes out than to marvel at him when he comes back.

I take my premier illustration from Australia. My experience belongs to Canada, which has no native Britisher among its Premiers, and few in its Legislatures, albeit there are three-quarters of a million of us in the Dominion.

Sometimes I wonder whether there be few or many who can understand this most Imperial subject of the King—this emigrant. Usually he doesn't understand himself, for he only knows half of the impulse that moves him across the dreaded sea. The resurrection of the spirit that brought his unknown ancestor to the island —he knows naught of it. He wants more bread, more breathing-room. Somewhere in the unexplored recesses of his being there is the potentiality of the pioneer. He is moved by it, even as a child, gravely occupied with a rag doll, moves towards motherhood.

Two days ago I sat with an eminent engineer who told stories of the conquest of the forest that is still being made by British-born people in New Ontario. What they are doing for the Empire and the race he illustrated by a case on Georgian Bay. He found an octogenarian couple, enjoying a contented eventide on their farm; the man small of body, and, like his dame, active of mind. They came from the Old Land newly married—he was twenty, she was nineteen. They took a hundred acres of bush twenty miles north of Goderich. There was no other farm between them and the North Pole. The first winter the green axeman chopped down five acres of bush. The first three children were born before a neighbour was nearer than three miles. They cleared the land, and they enlarged the family until there were six sons and five daughters. In good time, the hundred-acre farm enabled the pioneers to buy a hundred-acre place for each boy, and to give each girl a good 'setting-out' on her marriage.

'That old man and his wife,' said the engineer, 'are heroes, real Imperial heroes. I told them so, and they just laughed at the idea. I tell you the English are the very best class of people who come to Canada, if they start right.'

Against that, put the advertisements that occasionally appear in Canadian papers: 'No English need apply.' With too many people who are neither ignorant nor unkind, 'Englishman' is a synonym for inefficiency, unhandiness, inadaptability, and for an irritating, repetitious cocksureness that everything Canadian is inferior to everything English. The wife of a famous geographer recently engaged an Englishman to look after the stable and garden. One inviolable injunction and one unmistakable threat she delivered to him at the beginning: 'You must never say to me, "We do it this way in England." If you do, you will be fired instantly.' The Englishman is holding his job and doing his work well. Probably there was no need to threaten him. That he was threatened is proof of the prevailing idea about his countrymen; for Mrs. Geographer has lived several years in England, she is a fervent Imperialist, and is kindness personified.

I did not intend to begin by striking this unpleasant warning note, necessary though it is to admonish those who influence emigration to impress their emigrating friends with the truth that when they come to a new country they must expect to learn new ways of doing things. I would rather look for an Imperial gospel in the experience of the best emigrant. He may have a thousand pounds or a thousand pence; he may be a prospective farmer, or a likely wage-earner—the basic conditions of his situation are the same.

Do you ever stop to consider that his children will, on the whole, have their parents' disposition towards the country from

which they emigrated? Their Imperial politics, if they have any, will be founded on and governed by their estimate of the Old Land, which will be enormously affected by the echoes of it they hear in their father's voice when he falls a'talking of old times and old acquaintances.

You think you can judge John Emigrant as he boards the steamer by his antecedents—his record in his native parish. You can, but only partially. If he is truthful, he will be truthful still. If he is frugal, he will be frugal still. If he is a ne'er-do-well, he will be a ne'er-do-well still. If he is self-respecting, he will be self-respecting still. If he thinks for himself, he will go on thinking. But he is going away because something within him, which he scarcely understands, and which you cannot see, tells him that he is a bigger man than his present environment will let him be.

When you judge him, as he goes away, you cannot know what subtle, powerful influences will play upon his character, three, four, or five thousand miles away. He is going, literally, to a new world; and when he comes back for a holiday he will bring some of the new world with him. In more ways than one he will be a new creature.

So if you want to understand the Emigrant who Goes, you must learn a good deal about the Emigrant who Came Back. Happy it is for Britain that so many come back. If Atlantic travel had been cheap and speedy between 1760 and 1770 there would probably have been no War of Independence. Instead of a great gulf fixed, there would have been a steady process of comprehending change. Consider first, then, a few of the characteristics of the Emigrant who Comes Back.

They are most easily discernible in speech, because the tongue is the first instrument of sense to reflect a change of environment. An Australian talks like a Londoner. A British-Canadian speaks largely as the Americans speak, and he is often called a Yankee by old friends.

I shall not defend nor lament the many imperfections of the Canadian accent. It is worthy of remark that thousands of young Englishmen only achieve their first mastery of the eighth letter of the alphabet after they have been on the Western side of the Atlantic for some time. In North America there is an exaggerated idea of the British disregard of the 'h' that is reflected sometimes in absurd cartoons. But in the main the amusement derived from English indifference to the consonant is as legitimate as it is hearty. Take a current newspaper story:

On Birch Avenue, Toronto, a lady employed a very efficient and observant charwoman—a fine specimen of the helpmate who assists in earning the house that is growing on the lot which is

the first piece of 'property' the family have ever owned. One morning she came with a piece of news-comment.

'Ain't it funny?' she said, 'there's four H'english people living on this h'avenue, and their names h'all begin with h. There's 'arris, 'awkyard, 'ayden and 'amshar.'

The aspirate is only one of the average emigrant's acquisitions. The whole structure of his conversation is different. Self-reliance has crept into it, as well as new expressions that may be slangy, but are certainly packed with meaning. How does this note come? Let me illustrate again:

Three years ago I motored from Saskatoon into the Goose Lake country, where now there is a railway. With me was Dr. Richmond Henderson, Professor of Sociology in the University of Chicago. Near Buffalo Post Office, about lunch time, we went into a sod house in search of water for the machine. The farmer came out and obliged us, and the Professor talked with him. He was agriculturally born, was six years out from England, where he worked for wages; had been three years a hired man, and now had his own farm with a hundred and fifty acres of growing grain, four horses, implements, cattle, hogs and poultry. His discourse was Western—double Western; for when the Professor had finished with him, I asked: 'From what part of Devonshire did you come?'

He smiled all over his face as he answered, 'From Newton Abbot, zur, and where do 'ee belong?'

One of these days Mr. Tancock will go back to the old home a landed proprietor, and more—he will be a creator. The railway having saved him a sixty-mile drive to town, he will have a frame house, his buildings will be substantial; his stock will be increased. He will contrast the aspect of his farm with what it was the first day he saw it—a bald, lonely stretch of prairie, on which waving buffalo grass seemed to tell how vast a solitude he was invading.

Mr. Tancock, perhaps, is only dimly conscious of how great a thing he has done, partly because it is being done by thousands of others. He will not know of the creative note that has come to pervade his personality. His old friends will discern it, but will not know how it comes there. They will marvel at the indifference with which he talks of long journeys, the familiarity with which he refers to the Americans and Germans and the price of land.

He went away timid. He comes back unafraid. Sixpence was a sum of money to him. It is now a negligible asset. He tells of a space and quality of life that seems romantic, of things that are different—different in the West of Canada from what they are in the West of England. And he tells how different things are in the West of England from what he thought they were when he looked backward at them from Saskatchewan.

You may have seen pictures of the Emigrant's Progress from the sod house to the brick home, and from the ox-wagon even to the automobile. It is good, very good, but it cannot show you what is going on in his mind. He writes letters to England at longer and longer intervals. His inquiries about particular people grow fewer. The information he gives about himself is apt to dwindle down to a summary of the year's crops, and agricultural events, with a few remarks about family changes and a hope that 'this will find you all well, as it leaves me at present.'

He is not a trained journalist, and therefore does not know how to anticipate the questions he would be asked, nor the information he would volunteer, if he were smoking by the old fireside. Indeed, as I have suggested, he is only dimly conscious of the changes that are going on within him.

When he arrives in the New Country, he notices things that are different, many of them things that would not be allowed in the Old Country. The rails over which he travels from the Atlantic to the prairie are simply spiked to the sleepers—there are no chairs and bolts and wedges. The engines that come and go from the head of his train about every fifth hour are bigger and heavier than those with which he has been familiar. He does not notice the difference in size so much as the change in appearance. For they are not painted and burnished and brassed, as he has been accustomed to see locomotives at home.

When the train stops to change engines, he sees the passengers descending to the platform to enjoy ten minutes' walk, and he observes that the conductor starts the train before everybody has got abroad. Here are three things that are different, and that indicate a brand of reliance and self-reliance with which he will become more familiar as he becomes more of a Canadian.

If he starts to work on a well-equipped farm he will be quite surprised to find that it is far easier to drive four horses abreast than it is to handle two walking tandem, and that if he is harrowing in the seed a little carriage for him to ride on behind the harrow adds very much to his comfort and very little to each horse's labour.

When harvest comes the self-binder cuts a swath of wheat eight feet wide, binds and delivers the sheaves, in rows, to the extent of over twenty acres of crop a day. At threshing-time the Englishman sees with astonishment a machine that will thresh 3000 bushels a day, that carries the wheat into the wagon ready for the granary without anybody touching, lifting, or weighing it, and that blows the straw through a big pipe into a stack without any human intervention from the time the sheaf was thrown hugger-mugger into the yawning cylinder which knocks the berries out of the chaffed head.

Everywhere he goes there is revolution. The impossible in England becomes a commonplace in a country which a few years ago was inhabited by a few wandering Indians and millions of buffalo. The horses need not be shod. The doors need not be locked at night. The master is a fellow-worker; and if the minister comes in pastoral call, he sits at meat with hired man and master too.

There are two or three churches in the near-by town. The chances are that the Methodist ranks first in quality of building, size, and influence of its congregation. If there be an Anglican vicar, he is a brother in the ministry with the Methodists and Presbyterians, for his church lives without any adventitious aid from the State, and he has forgotten to look for signs of exclusiveness about the grace of God.

After a while there may be an election to the Legislature or to the Dominion House of Commons. Mr. Emigrant goes to a political meeting to find that no mysterious greatness hangs about the candidate who has invited his opponent to debate with him. He sees the chairman chosen from the meeting; he listens to speeches that are not concluded until after midnight, and then, as the day of polling draws nigh and he picks up scraps of information about the questions at issue, he cannot refrain from telling those with whom he talks things over that everything is as different as it can be from an election in the Old Country.

When he foregathers freely with his new fellow Westerners, he discovers social and personal differences which, in a direct way, correspond to the mechanical and other peculiarities to which he has already become accustomed. He may be in a neighbourhood where the farmers help one another thresh instead of hiring an outfit furnished with men who do everything except haul the grain away from the machine. He will find it a relief, after a somewhat monotonous summer, to work a week or two with a company of his neighbours. If he is fairly popular and communicative he will discover, about the third day, that some of his companions are developing a habit of inciting him to monologue. About the fifth day he will know that they want to hear him talk, not so much for what he says, but for the delightfully novel way he says it.

For the first time in his life he will know that he speaks English with a Devonshire accent. Though he will not know whether to be pleased or humiliated, he will find himself consciously imitating the phrases and inflections of his comrades, among whom there will most likely be several Canadians from Ontario; an American, who went to Agricultural College somewhere in the Middle Western States; a Scandinavian; and perhaps a Doukhobor.

After supper the American will engage him in conversation, and inquire what part of England he comes from. When he learns that it is Devonshire, he will ask questions that make the Devonian wonder how much more the American knows about a county he has never seen.

It is rather a grievous discovery for a good Englishman to make —that a foreigner knows more about his country than he knows himself. It is not necessary to suggest that the English countyman is more ignorant of his own country than any other emigrant is; but it is unhappily true that the sense of local patriotism is much less distinctly developed among the English who come to Canada than it should be.

This is true, not only of the labouring classes, but also of those who are educationally fitted for other occupations. The explanation is twofold. Primarily it lies in the past, in the lingering of the idea that the business of the average man was to be content with whatever station of life he found himself in. He was not, he could not be, anything of a traveller. It is only forty years since it began to be considered as part of the State's duty that the labourer should be taught to read. The county was for county families. Quarter sessions and the assizes were the limit of the county consciousness of the average man. Within living memory, fairs and hangings were the only occasions for holiday-making that the bulk of the population knew.

Cricket, newspapers, trains and county councils have done much to spread the sense of county patriotism. But where the county is centuries old, the present generation can have very little sense of creation when they contemplate it. Things are not so on this continent.

I can illustrate the difference of age and youth in this respect by a story of a friend who was taken to a political meeting in a little town in the Adirondack mountains near Lake Champlain the night before an election. He was the victim of what I have heard Lord Morley describe as the 'desperate passion for oratory' which pervades America; and made a speech on generally patriotic lines.

He had been introduced by his host as an eminent British political leader—a pleasant fiction which reflected a desire that the townsfolk should receive a proper impression of their neighbour's overseas friendships. Next day the speech was reported in the nearest daily paper, and the speaker, finding himself in the village, was accosted by Deacon Banker and another prominent inhabitant. Deacon Banker strolled up to the buggy in which my friend was sitting, and said:

'You're the man who made the speech last night, ain't you? I want our postmaster to know you. Say, George' (to the post-

master), 'did you see the *Enterprise* says an English Member of Parliament was here last night? Yes, sir' (to my friend), 'you made us a cracking good speech. I tell you' (to the postmaster) 'we're away ahead of the rest of the county in this campaign.'

Again, this local patriotism—which undiscerning people sojourning in the St. Lawrence Valley for the first time have sneered at—has a larger edition in a State pride that is an incalculable asset to the republic. Let me illustrate again. I have twice had the happy experience of travelling through Western Canada for days at a time with trainloads of State editorial associations—men and women out for a good time, as well as to learn the truth about a new country. At suitable intervals the Minnesotans would assemble on station platforms, at hotel entrances, in public halls and in the main streets of ambitious cities, and join in their own particular yell:

> Gopher! Gopher! Gopher State!
> Editors! editors! wise and great!
> Boom-a-lock-a! boom-a-lock-a!
> Rah! rah! rah!
> Editors! editors! Minneso-ta!

The party from Michigan had not developed an editorial yell. They sang 'Michigan, my Michigan.'

In both cases, you see, the State was the spring of all their joy. It endowed each individual with a sense of possession, a bigness, a glory that made him vocal in a strange land. There is nothing like it in Britain, there is nothing quite like it in Canada—I mean the robustness of expression, the contagion of enthusiasm. In both countries there is an approximation to it that one would fain encourage.

Once in a while this ebullient patriotism in our neighbours is laughable, but in the main it is healthily admonitory. I have called it a tremendous asset. Remember that in the republic are millions of people who were not born to its liberty, who have been attracted to it by hopes of material profit. For them, for the republic, it has been a great gain that they should encounter a nationalism that can be seen and heard and felt; and the spirit of which acts as a permanent vaccine in the political consciousness of the alien.

There is nothing quite like it in Canada for several reasons. Confederation which is less than fifty years old was not consecrated by the shedding of blood, nor even by the wrenching of less vital ties. As an historical *provocateur* it is, therefore, devoid of the ecstatic element which produced Fourth of July oratory and Fourth of July exhumation of the political corpse of George the Third. Our provinces are not sovereign provinces, as the States are sovereign States. We have not been in the habit of priding ourselves on the immensity of our achievements, the illimitability

of our prospects. Only within the last ten years have we emerged from the shade of the poor relation—the poor relation of Britain and of the United States.

I had written so far when the dissolution of Parliament immersed me in the campaign, which produced the best affirmation of pro-Canadian, pro-British Imperialism that this century has afforded. The result intensifies but does not in any way change the ideas which dictated this article. The election makes it neither more nor less necessary for Britain to understand afresh the fundamentals of her relationship with Canada.

A little while ago, then, we were regarded as the poor relation of Britain and of the United States. Now we are courted by both. The spectacle of a President of the United States going through his country beseeching the people to make a bargain with us—a bargain such as they had of old time repeatedly refused to make—and of Canada declining to endorse the bargain, is the most striking proof that Canada understands that Canada has 'arrived.'

Pride in ourselves is not quite so high and rotund as the pride which makes our neighbour yell 'Gopher! Gopher! Gopher State!' But it is more youthful in kind and degree than the pride with which a venerable mayor produces, for his trans-Atlantic visitors, a civic sword of the thirteenth century, and a parchment signed with the indubitable ink of William Rufus. We may not have much of a history, but we have a most uncompromising hope for the future. And we know that there is this mighty difference between History and Hope—History is what the other fellow did long before you were born; Hope is that which you can do yourself—yourself to-morrow.

We have built—with borrowed money, of course—a mile of railway for every 360 people in this country. We have created thousands of villages and towns where, when our young men were children, there were only Indians and buffalo, waving grass and whirling snow. People are coming to us from the corners of the earth. We are developing a genius for forgetting the things that are behind.

Into this atmosphere have come, within the last few years, 500,000 Britishers and 500,000 Americans. The Americans swarm in the West. They are accustomed to the major conditions of that territory. Indeed, they have shown us more about our own prairie country than we had found out for ourselves. It is something of an exercise to keep up with them. I was once driving across Alberta with a great railway chief, when we met a prairie schooner—a hooded wagon full of settler's effects, on the way to a lone homestead. 'That's the kind of fellow I like to see,' said the railway chief; 'worth half-a-dozen of your Old Countrymen.'

Accept it for the truth, the simple, solemn truth, that the average American who comes to Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta is far better equipped to conquer the conditions of pioneer settlement than the average Britisher is, and you are at the beginning of wisdom—a hard, unexpected beginning—but the beginning all the same.

The difference between the two is the difference between dissimilar countries. It is not a fundamentally formidable difference. The only thing that could make it formidable would be a British determination to continue it. Individuals who have tried have come to grief, and sometimes, happily, to salvation. The Britisher's salvation in Canada depends on his capacity for being born again. It is not always a happy travail. The sting of it may be prevented if the right gospel is preached at the right place. And the right place for the Imperial Canadian gospel is where the Imperial emigrant begins his pilgrimage.

Curiously enough, too, the Gospel of Emigration should first be preached to those who will never emigrate, for the double reason that they may pass it on to succeeding groups of emigrants, and that they may become the leaven through which Britain herself may master the lessons of the Emigrant Returned that are almost concealed under the silk hats and frockcoats of members of the Imperial Conference.

Emigration is more than a riddance of surplus population. Millions of good British people have gone to strengthen the industrial rivalry of the United States. The movement of that class of Britisher to Canada should be carefully regarded as a scientific transference of citizens from one part of the Imperial estate to another, in the permanent interests of both.

'There is that scattereth and yet increaseth.' But how? Begin by spreading the kind of knowledge that I have tried to set forth in these pages—that a change inevitably comes over the Britisher who goes to Greater Britain, and that so far as that change is for the better it will be well to consider whether, in some vital measure, it cannot be utilised as a leaven in Britain for the good of those who will join the emigrating host, and also of those who will remain.

Earl Grey signalised his return to England by prophesying that Canada will become the dominant factor in the Empire. He was talking common sense, as well as prophecy. It was another way of enforcing my point about the Emigrant Returned. If you want the emigrant to come back, you must send him out right.

'What did the Old Country ever do for me?' was the reiterated question on which a promising English County Association in Toronto went to pieces a few years ago. It is a fond delusion of many hyper-Imperialists that all the people in Canada regard

the Old Country pretty much the same as the children in the parish school regard Lady Bountiful. It is not so. Mr. Balfour talks of 'our children' across the seas. It is a true saying, but a delusive way of stating the truth. Henceforth, call us not children but partners, whose partnership deeds can be cancelled by the junior parties to them.

That adult quality of partnership has its expression in the individual emigrant. Recognise the certainty of its advent, and provide against it before he leaves the Old Land, and the problem of permanent attachment to the Empire is solved. Begin by admitting that the youngsters and the yokels whom you know to be so fearfully limited in their native environment, will begin to expand in knowledge, wealth and power as soon as they leave your shores, and you will not find it impossible to convey some of that idea to them before they leave. Presently the County Council will issue historical literature that it is good for every child of the county to know, and every emigrant from the county to carry across the ocean.

That will start you upon an inquiry as to what your county, your parish, has contributed to the creation of Greater Britain. You will be astonished at the wealth of unsuspected local patriotism you will uncover. Why is it that there is a place in Nova Scotia, in Ontario, in Alberta, named after your village, your town, and you have never heard of it? Why cannot you get in touch with it, find out, if you can, who planted the familiar name beyond the reach of your eye?

Lately I read of the gift of stone saddle-steps to the town of Hingham, Massachusetts, by the village of Hingham, Norfolk. What's in a name? In this case a block of stone. In the case of Canadian-British names, infinitely more, for we are members of the same body. A Chatham man told me recently that he almost decided when he came to Canada to go to Chatham, Ontario, because of the associations of his native town. They say there is no sentiment in five per cent. But there is plenty of sentiment in emigration, and five per cent. as well.

When you examine this problem of Imperial emigration you discover a singularly interesting exposition of the power and impotence of governmental machinery, and of the impotence and power of private effort. And you will be impelled to find a way of increasing the power and minimising the impotence.

There is an Emigration Department of the Imperial Government that is no doubt better than it seems. A few perfunctory circulars displayed in post offices and such like places exhibit very little of the five per cent. or the sentiment of emigration. My memory recalls an expeditionary inquiry as to the possibility of emigration to Canada under Local Government Board auspices.

The defect in what was said, as it would have been a defect in anything that might have been done, was an incomplete understanding of the requirements of the territory wherein it was expected to distribute the Old Land's burden.

The notion that Canada is a vast wilderness in which difficult cases may be turned loose with impunity must be supplanted by the knowledge that it is organised, discriminating communities that are looking for trusty citizens. If there is to be any extension of the intelligence of the Emigration Department at Westminster, it must be by way of a projection into its mind of the place to which the emigrant goes—a process that is just as important in Imperialism as the study of what the overseas customer likes to buy is essential to Imperial trade. It is not easy to harmonise the point of view of the Board of Guardians in Kent and the point of view of a Town Council in Saskatchewan, but it can be done if heed is taken of those who know the problems of the English parish as well as the requirements of the western plain.

Westminster might learn from Ottawa that a Government can enter the advertising business with as much skill as the proprietor of a brand of shoes does. The propaganda that was modernised and developed by Mr. Clifford Sifton, the ablest of all Sir Wilfrid Laurier's ministers, into the most remarkable advertising campaign in history, has some wonderfully effective features, which would shock the sedate tape-tied gentry of Whitehall. You cannot imagine the friendly letters given to emigrants by Mr. Obed Smith in London, for presentation to Mr. Bruce Walker in Winnipeg, being written by important officials of the Board of Trade. With its manifold shortcomings, the Canadian Government strikes a more intimately human note than the public instruments have discovered how to do in the Old World.

But the friendly Dominion can only travel so far in its service to emigration. It is limited by the fact that it may not buy for nor sell to the emigrant. A Government officer cannot say to a puzzled novitiate in pioneering, 'Go to such a place; buy such a farm.'

Some other place would be offended. Hitherto the Government has not acted as the individual helper of the individual employer needing a servitor. It has recognised its limitation by making grants to worthy private institutions that do certain offices for those who otherwise might find it difficult to come together. In Toronto there is a wise, venerable Englishwoman whom the Government helps in a real ministry to domestic servants—a yearly grant-in-aid of private, social and economic service. Miss Fitzgibbon is a British asset, a Canadian asset. And there is not as much difference between Sir William Mackenzie, the President of the Canadian Northern Railway, and Miss Fitzgibbon, as there is between Sir William and Barkis.

Barkis was a common carrier of no special creative value, whose direct business with the State was limited to the licence which authorised him to collect fares for the accommodations of his vehicle. Sir William Mackenzie is a common carrier who has been aided vastly by the State because the State needed population in empty territory, and it could not expect population without roads to market. Sir William was an expert in building roads, and the State helped him by grants of money and guarantees of credit.

But there are other roads to increase of souls than rails of steel. There is the cradle route, *via* apron and cap. It is beset by dangers, and Miss Fitzgibbon has a way of avoiding them. So the Government aids her monetarily on a small scale, as it aids Sir William on a large scale. The underlying principle is the same. Rachel said, 'Give me children or I die.' The Canadian State says, 'Give me people so that I may meet my obligations.' The British State says, 'Give my people room, or they perish from overcrowding.'

The possibilities of grants-in-aid are not exhausted. If the principle is sound, be not afraid to enlarge its application within prudent limits. The Board of Guardians has found constructive ways of spending the poor rate that were hidden from the Board of the mid-Victorian time. One of the things which, when I was a guardian for a Kentish parish away back in the early eighteen-nineties, made me very willing to consider new ideas was the discovery in the cold region of accounts that it cost us eighteen shillings to conduct twenty shillings to the indigent poor. It is better to hand ten shillings to an aged couple in their own cot than it is to spend it on their sustenance in a big workhouse, and another ten shillings on the officialdom that waits on them. It is better to spend twenty pounds in transferring a healthy child, whom misfortune has put upon the rates, to the taintless opportunity of Canada, than it is to spend fifty pounds on keeping it another seven years in an institution from which it will emerge less favourably equipped for a less favourable opportunity than it would enjoy in the New Land.

I am not thinking merely of a more scientific application of public funds to public troubles by making it easier to dump more victims of misfortune into Canada. I only want to make the unquestionable point that, in the transference of people from one part of the Empire, where they are a great anxiety, to another part where they are a great asset, principles may be applied which have been in operation for the advantage of other and less vital branches of Imperial development—the subsidies to fast steamer services between Britain and the United States, for example, of which it may be truly said that they help to build up the trade of the United

States to the prejudice of British-Canadian trade, by giving New York better trans-oceanic service than Montreal.

The time has come for a re-adaptation of methods to ends, as plainly as the time comes for adolescents to adapt their nether garments to the length of their limbs. The Dominion Government cannot offer free homesteads as freely as it could when I went to Saskatchewan twenty-six years ago. The Ontario Government, if it is to open up its clay belt to rapidly remunerative settlement, will have to pursue a more seductive method than that which painfully transformed old Ontario from a forest into a garden. The Maritime Provinces cannot recreate their agricultural prosperity on an expenditure of 25,000 dollars a year. The British attitude towards Canada has been revolutionised within the last decade. There is a new Canada, and a changed Britain; and new light on old phases of political relationship has been acquired.

It has been reserved for the Duke of Sutherland to crystallise these hitherto elusive factors into a concrete suggestion that has uniquely appealed to the public mind in Canada. As the ducal plan is founded on his own Canadian experience it has double merit, for the Duke has a Canadian home and has sensed the Canadian spirit. He knows too much about the country to suppose, as a Hudson's Bay Company shareholder supposed, that land in Western Canada can be rented to farmers as it is in Staffordshire. The Duke sees that service to Canada and the Empire is to be rendered by helping the settler to purchase his farm, and then retiring gracefully with your capital and six per cent. for the period during which the settler used it. He laughed greatly when he heard that some people imagined he desired, in the transference of people to Alberta from his own Scottish territory, to perpetuate any shred or shadow of the ancient feudalism.

The Duke has grasped the simple truth that it is neither wise nor profitable to turn a green Briton with a cheque-book into a new country, and tell him to buy land and equipment, and begin to build houses and barns, without experience, and without the aid of those who know how to save money in the spending of it. Experience is worth paying for, but there is no sense in throwing away money inaugurating a Canadian farm under the mistaken notion that you are investing it. He sees that if a Britisher can go to a farm which carries fifty acres of crop the first year, and the cost of which can be paid for on the same terms as the land is paid for, the farm is at once on a profit-earning basis, and is more sure to recompense the seller of the land than would be the case if a 'green' hand were left to gain his livelihood by the slow annual increase of his crop area which has distinguished the course of many thousands of Britishers' entry to the honourable field of agriculture.

The Duke has also discovered that, as the successful settlement of Canadian lands must be on Canadian lines—the genius who was confident that a Derby digger was the ideal implement for breaking up prairie had died some time ago—any large readjustment of method must carry the *co-operation of Canadians* experienced in settlement, and desirous primarily of strengthening the foundations of Canadian-British unity.

As I write, the details of the Duke's plan have not been disclosed. But it is known that he proposes the association of Canadian and British brains and capital in obtaining, from all the Canadian Governments which desire to promote immigration, lands, and means of intercommunication, on which will be placed settlers through a company which will partially prepare the farm, erect buildings, and put a certain amount of land into crop—and sell *it to the occupant on* terms devised to allow a certain elasticity according to crop results.

From the multitude of difficulties such as beset every workable scheme two are specially obvious in the Duke of Sutherland's scheme. One is of management, the other is of the quality of the people who are to become farm-purchasers. The greater of these is the second.

Management is primarily a one-man question, given adequate resources. The selection of settlers looks quite simple. The handling of them after they are settled is going to be extremely difficult, because of the manifold differences between life in the Old Land and life in the New, which I have sketched in preceding pages. I am not so sure whether at first it will not be better to get people who have already begun to make good in Canada. Certainly a leaven of them should be in every district wherein the Duke's Company will operate.

Anyway the initial task of getting people to understand that nothing that can be done for them is comparable to what they can do for themselves, and that things will necessarily be different in Canada from things in Britain, can be undertaken more successfully in Britain than has hitherto been the case. It is the lesson of the Emigrant Returned; the conscious doing in the realm of the family what the Imperial Conference is subconsciously doing in the august spaciousness of the Empire. It is merely the anticipation in Britain of what will happen to the emigrant in Canada.

Two years ago I discussed Chinese immigration to Canada with a Vancouver Chinaman who has become the legal guide, philosopher, and friend of his countrymen in British Columbia. In the club-rooms of the Chinese Reform Association he told me of a plan to establish schools in Shanghai and one or two other Chinese cities, wherein the intending emigrant to Canada and

the United States might prepare for a queueless life. The idea is good, and not for Chinamen alone. We expect the Celestial to be different from, we desire the Britisher to be like unto, ourselves. Though there is no queue to be shorn, there are things to be learned which might save a great deal of trouble.

I shall mention one potential aid to emigration that too few 'experts' have appreciated. Recently there came to me an English farmer from Alberta, who finds great happiness in that province, and whose children would not return to Manchester for bags of gold. His wife, he said, preferred city life, but vowed that if ever she returned to England she would take her cook-stove with her. There are thousands of British men who would like to live in Canada, but whose wives do not wish to come because they have exaggerated notions of the hardships they would have to contend with. Not one in ten of these good women is accustomed to do her cooking with anything like the convenience that is enjoyed by those who cook in such stoves as are found in the remotest, most primitive houses of the New Country.

Again, the winter is a definite hindrance to many excellent people. I have never seen a child's sleigh exhibited in Britain as an evidence of the fact that winter in Canada is a time of abundant sport for the youngsters. When my three girls had been a year in Canada I asked if they would like to live again in England. They said 'No,' and when I asked 'Why not?' the first reason was 'Because we could not have our sleighs there.'

One of these days I expect to write an article on 'How to Canadianise Britain,' in which I shall try to show how the process of approximating the life, ideas, and standard of living of the average man in Britain to the life, ideas, and standard of living of the average man in Canada may be advanced. For, be it remembered, if there is to be complete Imperial unity there must be a growing likeness between your life and ours, and not a divergence in the standards that are most common to the greatest number of the people. In some respects the New Land has gone beyond the Old.

Wherever you look for guidance as to what the future may profitably bring forth, you are bound to come across sign-posts to the Emigrant Returned.

I am not concerned to reduce the political religion of the Imperial emigrant to precise articles of faith. He will have to translate his faith into votes on his own experience. Still, from a distance he can discern the broad, deep current of Canadian-Imperial progress, and can learn that there are some eddies in the stream that his political barque should avoid.

It is the business of Canada to become an increasing power within the British Empire. I have not for a long time seen

such a wise statement of what I believe to be the true position as that which was made by Lord Grey on his return to England in October. The ex-Governor General, who was the first of the line thoroughly to identify himself with the Canadian spirit, has raised a standard which I believe the Imperial emigrant may regard as his own. He said:—

> 'Notwithstanding some desire to the contrary, there is no expectation in Canada that the recent Canadian elections should be used for inducing any change into the tariffs of the United Kingdom. It cannot be too clearly understood that Canadians are as averse to the idea of interfering in your local affairs as they are to any interference on your part in theirs. The method by which the self-governing Dominions may collect the revenue required to fulfil not only national but Imperial obligations is regarded by Canadians as a local matter within the sole jurisdiction of the Dominions concerned. They do not wish to interfere with the desire of the people of the United Kingdom to raise revenue in such a way as may seem best to them. Let it be clearly understood that the Canadian people are not in sympathy with any form of Imperialism which involves the idea of the subjection of a self-governing people to any authority outside, or to any form of government involving the idea of Jingo aggressiveness or arrant interference with the rights of others. Canadians are all Imperialists and all Nationalists.'

Politically, the emigrant has things to unlearn even as he has when he travels, when he farms, when he builds a house. He must learn that party names do not mean the same things in Canada as they mean in Britain. Let me illustrate. There has recently been unpleasantness in Britain over the House of Lords. The Liberal party has clipped its wings, as an Irishman said the other day, to prevent it trampling upon Liberal legislation.

The complaint against the House of Lords was that it had become a Tory organisation. When a Tory Government passed legislation in the House of Commons, the House of Lords opened its mouth and shut its eyes, and took all that was sent to it. But when a Liberal Government sent important Bills to the Upper Chamber, the process was reversed—the House of Lords opened its eyes, shut its mouth, and took what it was obliged to.

In Canada there is a pale and feeble imitation of the House of Lords—the Senate. Half a generation ago Sir Wilfrid Laurier pledged himself to reform it for the very same reason that the Liberal party attacked the House of Lords—it had become a Conservative party institution. He has governed the appointments to the Senate for fifteen years, and it is now as much a Liberal institution as it was a Conservative institution twenty years since.

Take an illustration from provincial politics. A Conservative Government at Toronto is distributing the lightning over the province. It is bringing Niagara Falls into the electric lamps in the room in which I write, and has pledged itself to supply practically all Ontario with the dangerous fluid—the most radical piece of administration I know of in the Empire.

Again, in Britain the emigrant probably belonged to the Conservative party which has vehemently opposed local veto. The Conservative Government in Ontario is enforcing local veto on smaller majorities than the United Kingdom Alliance would gladly accept. Lately in Nova Scotia I saw a letter from a Conservative candidate, a letter pledging himself to the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating beverages in Canada. He has since become the Chief Whip of the Conservative party.

Take still another illustration. Many people think that Free Trade is an immutable article of the Liberal faith in Britain. I agree with Sir Edward Grey that it was, and is, an expedient. Free Trade was introduced into Britain to help manufactures. Agriculture could not support the rapidly increasing population. It was necessary to obtain and keep overseas markets, and the great apostles of Free Trade, Bright and Cobden, who were manufacturers, preached the necessity of obtaining cheap food and cheap raw material as a means of maintaining the industrial supremacy of Britain.

In Canada Protection was adopted with the same object that Free Trade was adopted in Britain—to encourage manufactures. At that time the Canadian people were producing, as they are producing to-day, far more food than they could eat. Whatever your theories of Free Trade and Protection—and of course I admit that Protection is liable to abuse, and has been abused in some respects—it is true that thousands and thousands of Old Country workmen are better off in Protected Canada than ever they expected to be in Free Trade England.

There is a special reason why the British emigrant should become seized of these things before he reaches Canada—because he becomes a full-fledged citizen almost before he has had time to realise that he is thousands of miles away from his old home. Of all those who come to Canada from outside, he is the only one who is endowed with all the rights of Canadian citizenship the moment he sets foot on Canadian soil. When he enters Ontario from Britain, he is, civically, in precisely the same position as the native-born Canadian who enters Ontario from Quebec. Both receive the vote on exactly the same terms—residence for a year in the province, and for three months in one constituency.

The obligation, therefore, to become a Canadian presses more

definitely upon the Britisher than upon those who come as natural aliens to the Dominion. Until a few months ago, no large and careful effort was made to assist the British-born in Canada to understand the peculiar privilege and responsibility that belongs to them. Canadian elections for the last twenty years have been fought on domestic issues. But when the Reciprocity Agreement, made with the United States at the instigation of President Taft, was used by him to teach the Republicans from Rhode Island to the Golden Gate that Canada was at the parting of the ways, and that they could prevent the possibility of a commercial union within the British Empire by securing a commercial and social union between the United States and Canada, an issue was raised which affected the very foundation on which the broad current of Canadian National development moves. And so there was issued 'An Appeal to the British-born' to throw themselves into the fight for pro-Canadian, pro-British independence—an appeal which, followed up by a vigorous platform and press propaganda, did much, perhaps more than any other special effort, to secure the victory which has given more hope to British Imperialists the world over than anything else that has happened within living memory.

The appeal was made entirely from the point of view of the Britisher's pride in Canada. It has left results, not only in the constitution of the House of Commons at Ottawa, but in many constituencies, for there were formed branches of the Canada-British Association, the objects of which are :—

> To promote, especially among those of British birth and origin, the sense of Canadian Nationality as an increasing power within the British Empire.
>
> To promote the preservation and extension of the Canadian and British channels of commerce on which the prosperity of the Dominion has been founded.
>
> To encourage in conjunction with organisations in the United Kingdom the immigration of settlers from the British Isles, especially those who will make good Canadian citizens.
>
> To establish wherever possible branches of the Association for the purpose of disseminating information and encouraging discussion on Canadian and British political and historical events and movements.
>
> To extend a welcome to all newcomers from the Old Country by fraternal organisation, and to assist such newcomers to obtain remunerative employment.

As an indication of the effectiveness of the appeal, it is worth mentioning that in St. Thomas, a city of fifteen thousand inhabitants, the Canada-British Association has four hundred

members, and has taken its own Club-rooms—proceedings which are being emulated in other thriving towns where the British-born element is a growing factor in public life.

Here, surely, is the living link between the Old Land and the New, the means by which there may spread in the Old an anticipation of what the New will inevitably bring forth. From the point of view of commerce alone, something of this kind is necessary, for as in the competitive market the customer is king, the British manufacturer must, more and more, adapt his goods to the requirements of his purchasers, and may advantageously acquire some of the notions which make his invisible customer's all-powerful demands in some sort the pattern for those whose prosperity is absolutely dependent upon them.

The Emigrant Returned is not full of visions of a new heaven and a new earth, but he will have more sympathy than many of you are apt to suspect with those who are leading the fight against the attendant evils of an appalling poverty which is becoming recognised all over the world as the outstanding sign of the re-creation of Britain. Happy as we are to be free of the necessity of taking sides in British politics, I do not think there is a single student of Canadian-British affairs, who, watching the disadvantages which the average British emigrant brings to the Dominion, and knowing by experience something of the spectred poverty, the terrible hopelessness of millions of lives in the Old Land, does not feel most poignantly that, in this year, the casualties of British industrial magnificence are more ominous than its present-day glories. We are not unmindful of what is said about demagoguery, socialism, the quartering of the poverty-stricken upon those who possess a greater abundance of this world's goods. We do not find it difficult to appreciate the splendour of the contributions of the past to the present. But more insistent than these things are the evidences that assail the eyes and offend the ears of those who return to the Old Land from the New, that without some regeneration that will improve the physique, renew self-reliance, and create a future for that third of the population which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman declared to be on the verge of want, there can be no hope that you or we together can hold in the world the place that the history, the achievements, and the still abundant quality of our race should insure for us.

We cannot become a dumping-ground for social wrecks. Your repairs must be accomplished where the damage has been done, but we may contribute greatly to the work of restoration by helping to prevent the decline of millions of your people into the abyss where so many millions already lie.

POSTSCRIPT.

Just as this article was ready for the post the cable brought summaries of speeches by Lord Selborne and the Duke of Marlborough which predict that a policy of Imperial emigration will become a plank in the British Conservative platform. The sign is good, from whatever side in British politics it comes. Only remember, remember, that the signpost of success points away from Downing Street old style to the Emigrant Returned.

P.P.S.—And, since then, Mr. Bonar Law has become Leader of the Unionist party in the House of Commons. He is of New Brunswick. 'Success points away from Downing Street old style to the Emigrant Returned.'

ARTHUR HAWKES.

142 *Beech Avenue, Toronto.*

THE PASSING OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

It has often been said, and we think with truth, that the Oxford Movement has failed and that it is time to reckon up the Church's debt to its promoters. The remark was originally made by the Bishop of Carlisle; but it has been loudly echoed far and wide, and some such admission of comparative failure has been discreetly hinted by Bishop Gore himself. Indeed, no one can be in touch with the more recent historical products of our two chief Universities without noticing the distinctly Protestant trend of our leading historians. The *Cambridge Modern History* was planned by a Liberal Catholic; but its decidedly Protestant bias has already given offence to its reviewers of the Tractarian school. The admirable series of political and ecclesiastical histories edited by such eminent High Churchmen as Dr. William Hunt and Dean Stephens have a free and impartial and Protestant outlook. Even with such pronounced contributors as Mr. Frere, of Mirfield, they are fair to Henry the Eighth, defend the Elizabethan reforms and speak well of Froude; while Mr. Fletcher's new *Histories of England* written for young students on a new plan are aggressively Protestant. Of more distinctively Churchly productions Mr. Warre-Cornish's brilliant *History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century*[1] sketches with sympathetic impartiality the two movements, Evangelical and Tractarian, which at the beginning of that century struggled for supremacy in the bosom of the National Church. Yet the distinguished writer, who is a 'moderate High Churchman,' singles out Archbishop Tait as the *beau idéal* of English Churchmanship; and Tait was far from being a Tractarian. More recently still, a powerful writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, in summing up the results of the Oxford Movement, regards its moral and social influence as one of the most 'disquieting' features of the present time.[2] This article was followed in October last by a contribution to the *Churchman* from the pen of a definite High Anglican, criticising the present tendencies of the Oxford School as having far outrun

[1] *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, by F. Warre-Cornish, Vice Provost of Eton; 2 vols., 1911 (Macmillan).
[2] *Ed. Rev.*, July 1911. Art. i. "The Church of England To-day."

the limits of loyalty to the Prayer Book; and this view of the matter the Roman Church has accepted by announcing a republication this year in English dress of a very sympathetic history of the Tractarian Movement which represents Pusey as the Church-bell to the Roman Catholic sanctuary.[3]

The views of the present writer are largely those of the new Canon of St. Paul's, a youthful and distinguished divine, lately Principal of the Theological Seminary at Leeds. Canon Simpson, who announced a change of position some two or three years ago on the subject of the Atonement, now defends[4] the Evangelical standpoint of Augustine and the Reformers as against the more formal and traditional piety of Laud and the Tractarians. In this attitude of mind he has been anticipated by Bishop Creighton, who, if we may trust the authentic *Life*, boldly stated that he was a Christian before he was a Churchman, and that the over-preaching of the Incarnation (instead of the Atonement) 'weakened the sense of sin' in man. Those who wish for a compendious and sympathetic sketch of the entire movement on its historical side at the hands of a competent lay critic, will not fail to notice in Sir Samuel Hall's *Short History of the Oxford Movement* traces of its decadence and decay.

But no movement can be understood until it has become concrete in the personality of a single man. And such a man was LIDDON. Of the many worthy men whom the Oxford Movement had the honour of producing, Liddon was in many respects the most exemplary. For while Pusey, Keble, Hurrell Froude and Denison were its professional champions and therefore represented its most active interests, Liddon proclaimed to the world at large its more winning side—that of a cultured gentleman at his best, at once a Churchman and an academic, a man of society and a man of letters. It is undeniable that where the first disciples of Newman might have failed Liddon in his quieter and less original but more polished and unworldly manner would have succeeded.[5] This is admirably brought out in Mr. G. W. E. Russell's little sketch of Liddon just re-published.[6]

It is twenty years since Liddon died. In those twenty years, as Liddon foresaw would happen,[7] the Oxford Movement seems

[3] *Le réveil du Catholicisme en Angleterre au XIXème Siècle*, Paris, 1907 (Poussielgue).

[4] See especially his *Preachers and Teachers* (Arnold, 1910), *Christus Crucifixus*, *Fact and Faith*, etc.

[5] In this I am glad to find myself anticipated by the brilliant author, contemporary with Liddon, of *Great Modern Preachers* (1875, Clarke, Hodder & Stoughton).

[6] *Dr. Liddon*, by G. W. E. Russell, in the 'English Churchman's Library,' December 1911 (Mowbray).

[7] In 1884 Liddon wrote: 'High Church principles are more widely diffused than they were, but they are held in a much feebler and less emphatic form than

to have spent its force. Not only is the old standard of doctrine and discipline gone, but the old ideals and phrases have lost their meaning. The High-Anglican camp has become full of dissensions since the findings of history first disturbed the Tractarian view of the primitive Christian Church. And now in the general confusion two issues alone stand out plainly: the divergence between laity and clergy is every day increasing; while the clergy themselves are fast giving up their old-fashioned adhesion to the principles of Church and State and the present version of the Prayer Book. Several High Anglicans have publicly notified, what many more less publicly avow, their dissatisfaction with the doctrines of the Prayer Book as it stands and with the statements in the Creed taken in their literal and grammatical meaning. These are, perhaps, not many in number, but a new problem has been raised. And at this moment, while we are mourning the loss in the same month of three such distinguished Tractarians as the late Bishop of Oxford, the late Bishop of Salisbury and the late Dean of St. Paul's, it may be opportune to ask ourselves what these things mean and why they should be.

The Oxford Movement originally stood for an appeal to history in defence of Church Establishments. Yet it must have struck the least observant of mankind that the Oxford Movement from the outset was not destined to last or to leave any abiding impress upon the mind of the average Englishman. While refined and (what Plato calls) musical souls exist there will always be an appeal of the ritual and the ceremonial to fastidious and aesthetic natures. But even to such it will appeal rather as an art than as a religion, as something to cultivate more than as an object of worship. People of leisure have time to grow mystical. People in academic circles have means to become learned in ecclesiastical antiquity. But a religion that can only be cultivated in academies and practised in an artistic environment finds no room in the heart of a toiling mechanic and leaves no time for the private devotions of the modern man of affairs. In short, it becomes (unlike the plays of Shakespeare) a thing but for an age, not for all time. It supplies a need, but it does not supply the common needs, of all mankind. Take Newman, Pusey, Keble and Liddon from Oxford and from all the ecclesiastical and academical apparatus Oxford affords, and the sacred cult of the Fathers—the solemn initiation into an antiquated system—expires. It does not proclaim, it does not set out to proclaim, those grand primeval and fundamental truths of which dim voices in the heathen world were the harbingers and of

was the case some years ago . . . It differs alike in intellectual *consistency* and in moral *intensity* . . . Dr. Pusey noted the change with sorrow, and since he has left us it has become more marked. The change is far-reaching. *It promises to become little less than universal.'—Life and Letters* (note 10), p. 332.

which the preaching of the Gospel was (and ever is) the fulfilment. It does not specifically announce, as Canon Simpson not obscurely hints, to a guilty world the verdict of its ruin in the sight of God or the hope of its restoration to the Image of God. It does not specifically echo the tidings of redemption through the Blood of Christ, the completeness of forgiveness, the assurance of a resurrection, the existence of a hope incorruptible, indefectible and that fadeth not away.

What the new theology delights to proclaim is a partial truth—the necessity of system. According to the terms of subscription to this system man may obtain a part-salvation if assisted by his own efforts, and if fortified by all the rites of the visible Church on earth he may quit himself a valiant and persevering warrior. As a helpless infant he received in Baptism—such is the stupendous miracle we are asked to believe—the first instalment of the Holy Ghost. The seed once planted in Baptism and watered in Confirmation matures, it appears, with the (if possible) daily reception of the Eucharist. It is invigorated by Penance, it is cleansed and pruned by Confession and, to be finally victorious, may issue in the holy fruit of a spotless celibacy.

Now we venture to say that such a system—a system which Augustine did not hesitate to call Pelagian [8]—while it makes its due appeal to the eye, the heart, the fancy of the unregenerate man (who would fain have a Christianity without Christ and a gospel of orderliness without a corresponding inward change [9]) will never be believed, and never yet was seriously believed, by any of the sons of men.

> O, 'tis a burden, Cromwell, 'tis a burden
> Too heavy for a man that hopes for heaven!

In all this elaborate system of religious, or rather of ritual, solemnities there is not sufficient room for the heart of man to be roused by the terrors of the Law or to be softened by the pleadings of the Gospel.

Into such a system Liddon was entrapped. Of this system he became, in part, for the English Church at least, a supreme exponent. Let us see how materially it affected his character as a Christian, as a patriot, as a man of the world; how it warped his learning; how it sapped his self-reliance, how it marred his native nobleness of soul. It drove the ardent Newman into strange stratagems. It made the learned Pusey an ambiguous controversialist. It led the accomplished Bishop Samuel Wilberforce (as Liddon acknowledged) into unfortunate compromises. It transformed the gentle and scholarly poet of *The Christian Year*

[8] See his admirable *Op. impf. c. Jul.*

[9] Gwatkin, *Knowledge of God*, ii. 250 (T. & T. Clark, 1906).

into the sacerdotal sentimentalist of the *Lyra Innocentium.* It caused the publication of fond Hurrell Froude's more fond *Remains.* It shook the faith of Mark Pattison, from whose youthful confidences in the Confessional had first been wrung and then proclaimed some tender secret. It has sowed a harvest of secret conspiracies against our Church and nation. In short, it has changed too many of our clergy from gentlemen and scholars into seminarists and fanatics, and has been chiefly instrumental in awakening a lifelong discord within the bosom of our once national Church. 'These be thy gods, O Oxford!' We have now to inquire how far the incomparable Liddon unconsciously contributed to this result.

I. Liddon the Theologian.

A man's creed is his life. That furnishes for him the philosophy of his existence. Every Christian man professes to take the Bible for his guide. But he naturally and necessarily interprets it in the light of his own proclivities.

Dr. Bright of Oxford, himself διδάσκαλος οὐ τυχών, has described Liddon as a 'constructive Catholic theologian of the first order.' With all deference to Dr. Bright, Liddon's mind was certainly not 'constructive,' as he himself admitted, nor truly 'Catholic,' as we shall proceed to show. Nor was he a 'theologian' of the first, though possibly of the second, order. Except for the peculiar training of a consummate dialectician, a knowledge of Waterland and of the commonplaces of theology would have furnished out the whole of the argument of his *Bampton Lectures.*[10] Liddon's admirable analyses of the *Epistle to the Romans* and of the *First Epistle to Timothy* are chiefly remarkable for their anxious dependence on the celebrated commentaries of Meyer. And on the issues raised by the controversy with Rome the few which Liddon cared or dared to face had previously been settled by the learned judgment of Pusey. In truth we shall find

[10] Cp. Lord Acton on Newman's, Samuel Wilberforce's and Liddon's theology in Liddon's *Life and Letters*, by Canon Johnston, Principal of Cuddesdon (Longmans), p. 309. See also *Great Modern Preachers* (cit. note 56). In the Bampton Lectures of Liddon only one page is given to 'recent philosophers,' while a brief note in the Appendix rapidly summarises the new *Lives of Christ* by Strauss and others then appearing. The false accentuation of θηρίον as θήριον, which has disfigured three successive editions of Liddon's *Life*, we may impute to an error on the part of Liddon's biographer (p. 372). But Liddon's derivation of the meaning of 'Justification' from *justum facere* (instead of *justum reputare*) and his translation of δικαιοῦν ('to justify') by 'make just' instead of 'pronounce just,' offer equal violence to good Greek, common sense and sound theology together. (Cp. Bp. Gibson, *XXXIX Articles*, pp. 391-6. 'The facts of language are inexorable.') Liddon owed this piece of scholarship to the early heretic Basilides (Neander, *Ch. H.* ii. 66).

whenever Liddon on his own account becomes a 'constructive theologian' he goes astray. Let us indulge a few examples.

It is a point that has never been settled by the united wisdom of the Christian Church what specific benefit is conveyed in Infant Baptism. On one point all Churches, even that of the Papacy, are agreed—that strictly speaking grace is not actually 'conveyed' to the infant in the element of water—in short, that the term 'baptismal regeneration' must be explained in a qualified sense. This opinion was asserted by Popes Innocent the Fourth and Clement the Fifth and by the most celebrated schoolmen of that age such as Lombard, Bonaventura, Aquinas and Estius; while it was left doubtful by the Council of Trent,[11] and the doubt is confirmed by the Church of England formularies. Thus the twenty-fifth Article of the English Church assures us that infant baptism is in any wise to be retained as being *most agreeable* with the institution of Christ, yet only those who receive baptism 'rightly'—*i.e.* with faith and its fruits (*recte*) are grafted into the Church. In the Baptism Service the sponsor standing for the child is actually asked by the minister: 'Wilt *thou* [the sponsor] be baptised in this faith?'—that is, the child being treated by proxy. Two expressions in this Service and in the Catechism might seem to be patient of a different interpretation. In the former occurs the phrase: 'This child is now regenerate'; in the latter: '[In Baptism] I was made a member of Christ.' Yet even here the Church has not left us to wander in the dark. We have two authorised commentaries on these expressions which warn us that they are to be taken on a charitable hypothesis. These are Nowell's *Catechism* which appeared with Archbishop Cranmer's second edition of the Prayer Book, and Mayor's *English Catechism* published with Archbishop Laud's sanction on the appearance of the fourth revision of the Prayer Book. Nowell's book was further enjoined by the canons of 1571 as well as by the seventy-ninth canon of 1603, and has long been regarded till very recent times as the handbook of the English clergy on the subject.

Liddon, on the other hand, in his weaker moments held a strictly literal doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, not in the old Papal but in the modern Tridentine sense, and regarded a doctrine denied by twelve centuries of Fathers as an article of revelation vital to the Christian faith!

'If I did not believe in Baptismal Regeneration,' he writes in an attack upon Dr. Mozley's view, 'I should lose my faith in more than one *revealed truth* besides.' 'Particular agencies in the Sacraments . . . . are equally *matter of revelation* with the attributes of God.'

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[11] Cited in Dean Goode's *Effects of Infant Baptism* (Hatchards, 1850).

The Gorham decision, which made against Liddon's view, h coolly terms 'a soul-destroying *heresy*,' and pathetically con cludes :

Fiat Lux. If I had sinned less grievously against Baptismal Grace should see my way more clearly. Even now I am in bondage to sir *Libera, miserere, Jesu!*

His views upon the other Sacrament were no less remarkable For thirteen hundred years the Christian Church has accepte Augustine's view and quoted Augustine's language to the effec that the broken Bread and poured-out wine are 'symbols' Christ's Passion which we must 'spiritually eat and drink' b 'meditating' on the benefits of His Atonement.[12] The Eucharis was a feast of thanksgiving for the benefits of Christ's Death This was the view, as Archbishops Ussher and Tillotson point out of all the Fathers of the first six centuries including Pop Gelasius himself, who expressly confuted the doctrine of a loca Presence. They all give us to understand that unless the Sacra mental language be taken *metaphorically* the Sacraments woul strictly speaking not be Sacraments (*i.e.* visible representations at all. Even the old Canon law of Rome asserted that 'th heavenly sacrament which truly *represents* the flesh of Christ i *called* the Body of Christ, but *improperly* : whence it is said afte a manner but not according to the truth (or reality) of the thing So that the meaning is, it *signifies* the Body of Christ.' 'Tha so,' as the Pope's chief Canonist, Gratian, adds as a gloss on th old Canon of the Mass, 'neither reality may be wanting to th Sacrament nor pagans have occasion to laugh at us for drinkin the blood of one slain.' In Henry the Eighth's day Cardina Cajetan and Bishop Fisher both declared that there was not on word in the Gospel from which the true presence of Christ in th Mass could be proved.[13]

That these sentiments have been the invariable doctrine of th English Church may be seen from the writings of Bede and th sermons of Archbishop Aelfric [14]—the latter of which have alway been regarded as part of the Canon law of the English Church Even the Bishop of Oxford, who represents the advance wing o

[12] *De Doctr. Chr.* lib. iii. c. xvi. 24 (ed. Bened.). This passage was expres cited by Ratramnus in the ninth century against the heresy of Paschasi Radbertus forged in 831, and was quoted all down the Middle Ages till Cranme whose attention was first called to it by Ridley, Bishop of London. Augustine view stands slightly corrected by the learned and keen-sighted Calv (*Inst. Chr.* iv. c. xvii. 4-9) in favour of a more Catholic interpretation.

[13] See all the citations and references in Abp. Tillotson's 'Sermon on th History of Transubstantiation' (*Sermons*, fol. i. 239 sq.), and in Archbish Ussher, Works vol. iii., 'The Real Presence,' who points out that the most di tinguished Jesuits such as Bellarmine and Salmeron allowed this view.

[14] Collier's *Eccl. Hist.* i. 461 sq.

the new Tractarian school, has taught us in his work on *The Body of Christ* that the early liturgies speak of this sacrament chiefly as a *μνημόσυνον*.[15] And it will at once occur to the least intelligent of mankind that the words 'This do in *remembrance* (*ἀνάμνησις*) of Me' could have no meaning where the Reality Himself was locally *present*.

And with this avowedly Catholic language the Church of England assuredly agrees. Transubstantiation, the twenty-eighth Article declares, of necessity 'overthroweth the *nature* of a sacrament'; while the 'Black Rubric' repeats almost *verbatim* the essential part of Aquinas' several arguments that Christ's Body being now in heaven cannot at the same time be on earth, because a body cannot be in two places at once.[16] Such and similar were the arguments urged against the Real Presence in the commentaries of the late sainted Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln.

The Tractarians, however, held with the new-fangled heresy of modern Rome:

> '*The* point,' Liddon exclaims, 'is Eucharistic *Adoration*. . . . I do not know how the subjective doctrine of the Eucharistic Presence can be denounced as HERESY in the sense in which we should apply that term to Arianism, for instance.' [Liddon thus admits that the Tractarian doctrine of the Real Presence is virtual heresy.]

That this was for some time his deliberate opinion is proved by the fact that on one occasion to a priest of the Roman communion he frankly confessed that he agreed with the present *Papal* definition of the Eucharist! And Mr. Keble is his authority that 'we agree with the Roman Church on matters of principle, and that our differences with her are on matters of fact.'

Liddon seems to have been at this time a Roman at heart both in doctrine and in practice. He acknowledged the 'primacy' of the Church of St. Peter. He held the modern Roman doctrine of Confession, Baptism, the Mass, the Intercession of the Virgin and the 'indelible character' of the Priesthood. He defended, at any rate, 'as an opinion,' the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and the strange and painfully ludicrous title (largely a heresy of the seventh century) of 'the Mother of God.' He constantly recommended and even translated modern Roman Catholic books of devotion.[17] He was often mistaken by Roman Catholics (and with justice as he himself acknowledged) for a Roman Catholic.

[15] *I.e.* a memorial feast, not a bare *ἀνάμνησις* or 'remembrance.'

[16] See that jungle of contradictions, the *Summa* 2, 2; Q. lxxv., art. i., where Aquinas expressly allows that in this sacrament Christ's Body is present not according to reality but '*only* in a figure or so to speak by way of a *sign*.' . . . 'according to the exposition of Augustine.'

[17] The Roman Catholic Lord Acton severely censured Liddon's translating into English Rosmini's *Five Wounds of the Church* (*Life*, pp. 299, 310).

He went so far as to assert that 'there were many features in the Roman Catholic Church more in harmony with his mind and soul than the corresponding features of his own Church.' The following is his description of an audience of the Pope :

At length I reached the apartment in which the Pope was sitting. His face wore an expression truly beautiful, and I think the most ferocious Protestant could not but appreciate it. I knelt first on entering the room, and a second time to kiss his feet. I proffered some *objets* to be blessed, and then knelt and left the apartment. What a wonderful day in my life! The first time I ever found myself in the presence of royalty [*sic*] ! Strange that this should have been in the Court of the successor of St. Peter !

This is not the Liddon we know. But it was the Liddon of Tractarian Oxford, the Liddon whom Archbishop Magee described as a monk in petticoats.

It is painful to contrast Liddon's position at this time with that of Archbishop Laud, the supposed hero of the movement, in the seventeenth century.

All PROTESTANTS unanimously agree in this [says Laud], that there is great peril of damnation for any man to live and die in the Roman persuasion. A mere calumny it is that we profess only a negative religion. Romanists do call our religion a negative religion. But in the meantime they forget that we maintain all those articles and truths which are contained in any of the ancient creeds of the Church, which I hope are more than negatives. PROTESTANTS did not get their name by protesting against the Church of Rome, but by protesting . . . . against her errors and superstitions. Nor is protestation itself such an unheard-of thing in the very heart of religion ; for the Sacraments . . . . are called . . . . 'visible signs PROTESTING the Faith.' Now if the Sacraments be *signa protestantia*, signs protesting, why may not men also, and without all offence, be called PROTESTANTS, since by receiving the true Sacraments and by refusing them which are corrupted they do but PROTEST the sincerity of their faith against that doctrinal corruption which hath invaded the great Sacrament of the Eucharist and other parts of religion? I glory in the name of PROTESTANT. My lords, I am as innocent in this business of religion, as free from all practice or so much as thought of practice for . . . . anyway blemishing the PROTESTANT religion established in the Church of England as I was when my mother first bare me into the world. I pray God His truth, the true PROTESTANT religion here established, sink not ! God of His mercy preserve the true PROTESTANT religion amongst us ! [18]

Now this extreme language of Laud [19] was the common language of all the Laudian Divines without exception. Hear how Laud defends the doctrines of the civil power interfering in matters ecclesiastical :

In the REFORMATION . . . . our princes had their part and the clergy theirs. And to these two principally the power and direction for reforma-

[18] The Dean of Canterbury in his latest work, *The Principles of the Reformation* (Nisbet, 1910), has in the same way proved that Protestantism does not mean a *protest against* error so much as a *protestation for* the truth ; and this he establishes as being a fact of philology quite as much as a fact of history.

[19] See references in next note.

tion belongs. That our princes had their parts is manifest by their calling together of the bishops and others of the clergy . . . . in the national synod. And the articles there agreed on were afterwards confirmed by acts of state and the royal assent.

The learned Dean Hook of Leeds has pointed out in his *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* that the mediaeval Church was an Act of Parliament Church : and he tells us in his own *Life* that he wrote the *Lives of the Archbishops* from the point of view of 'a John Bull Protestant.' That Hook was right and expressed the common language of all Church Divines of all ages may be proved by the following quotation from Bishop Bramhall :

> King Henry the Eighth . . . . challenged and assumed a political SUPREMACY over ecclesiastical persons in ecclesiastical causes. *So did Edward the Confessor govern the Church as the Vicar of God* in his own kingdom. So did his predecessors.[10]

Liddon would have none of this. He would recognise, apparently, no State-appointed tribunals. In the dispute with Rome he held with her 'Primacy,' not with her 'Supremacy.' We fear that this Jesuitical distinction is against the truth of facts; for Bellarmine, the stoutest champion of the Jesuit position in the seventeenth century, has put in writing that the whole question of the truth of the Christian religion turns upon the acknowledgment of the 'Primacy,' not the Supremacy, of the Pope (*de primatu pontificis agitur*).

But Liddon while in this mood could not afford to be fair to the facts of history. His splenetic language against the Reformers and the Reformation, against Knox and against Luther, against Archbishop Tait and Bishop Jackson of London, against the doctrine of Justification, against the times of Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth, against, in fact, everybody who disagreed with himself and Dr. Pusey, makes painful, or rather pitiful, reading. Could any good man, proud of his nation's history and anxious for her highest welfare, write on these points as Liddon often wrote, or act as Liddon often acted? He studiously insults on every occasion the cause of the Reformation and the Protestant interest. He attends High Mass on St. Bartholomew's Day—the day which Lord Clarendon called the most criminal since the Crucifixion, the day on which the Huguenots were massacred with full concurrence of the Pope, who celebrated the deed with a *Te Deum* at Rome and commemorated the occasion with a medal struck in honour of the event. He preaches his first sermon at Oxford on St. Thomas's Day at the Church of St. Thomas the Martyr; for St. Thomas was

[10] The unanimous opinions of the Laudian School have been admirably collected and summarised in the *Quart. Rev.* for March 1842 ('Divines of the Seventeenth Century'). Archbishop Benson's dying warning to the English Church was against losing her 'Protestant' character (Wace, *Principles of Reformation*, p. 189).

the chief saint of the Middle Ages, a man of worldly mind and ungovernable temper, canonised for his lifelong successful opposition to the Crown and esteemed for the physical uncleanliness of his private life.[21] All State-appointed officials and all our ecclesiastical institutions, whether Bishops in general or the Privy Council and Judicial Committee and Court of Arches in particular, are not obscurely suspected as being the 'enemies of Christ'; while all foreign Churches, especially the Greek Church, are regarded as better than our own. It is true, he owns, that religion in Russia has no connexion with morality;[22] but 'religion' in Russia gets after all fair play! Even the English language is apparently too Protestant for Liddon. He is glad, so he writes from Le Mans, to get 'quite' away from the sound of his mother tongue![23] In politics he finds it necessary, it seems, to uphold the Liberal cause;[24] for Liberal statesmen apparently do not act so consistently in the English interest. In this connexion the following quotation from one of his letters will show the real mind of Liddon, and will be read by his best friends with something of alarm:

> In England I believe we have most to *dread* not Disestablishment but a careful *protection* both of our social position and *of our Property* combined with a systematic endeavour to destroy all firm hold upon doctrine under the plea of making the Church national.[25]

Liddon is here seen at his worst, not as the man of God he truly was but as the spokesman of a system then on its trial—a system which was in part the offspring of panic and in part the focus of a truly Christian protest against the desolating abominations of the French Revolution. But

> Non tali auxilio, non defensoribus istis
> Tempus eget.

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[21] Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 100 (10th ed., John Murray, 1904).

[22] Dean Church in his well-known *Essays* has made a similar fatal admission as to the religion (or rather superstition) of the Bretons. Harnack in his *What is Christianity?* describes the state of the Greek Church as the very state which led to Christ's crucifixion 2000 years ago!!

[23] *Life* (by Johnston), p. 174. [Perhaps I have put too fine a point upon this expression of Liddon's.]

[24] Yet contrast what he says against Liberal politicians on p. 279.

[25] What Liddon means by this may be seen on p. 104: 'The civil authority . . . in the Colonies as in England [is] very much in the hands of the enemies of Christ.' Pp. 116, 128-9, 214-5, 269, 290: 'Of course the Church of England cannot claim finality for anything that dated from the Reformation period; and that was settled, for whatever good reasons, on her own, *i.e.* local, authority, and, therefore, from the nature of the case provisionally.' Cf. p. 20: 'The English Church is clearly in a transitional state. At present it is difficult to divine an issue. She contains the elements first of a COMPLETE DISORGANISATION, and secondly of a Catholic reconstruction.' For these sentiments Archbishop Laud would have excommunicated him for heresy and William the Third have probably hanged him for sedition. As it was, the then Bishop of London bluntly reproached him with '*encouraging anarchy*.'

For example, the rubric in our Prayer Book requiring the celebrant at Holy Communion to stand at 'the North side' is not seriously capable of being misunderstood. So at least Newman thought. So Pusey, at least originally, maintained. And so Bishop King,[26] in part at least, allowed after the Lincoln Judgment. Liddon, however, discovered that 'the Eastward position,' like his interpretation of Baptismal Regeneration, was 'a portion of the revelation of Christ,' of which it appears that Vestments and disobedience to constituted authority are the logical inference.[27] What Lord Acton thought of Liddon may perhaps fitly conclude this portion of our remarks:

> 'I am not in harmony with Liddon,' wrote this learned and impartial Roman Catholic Professor of modern history in the University of Cambridge, 'and scarcely in sympathy. . . . He has got over or swallowed such obstacles on the road to Rome that none remain, which, as it seems to me, he ought logically or legitimately to strain at. . . . As to his soundness, his determination to work in and through the Church and not on eccentric courses, I satisfied myself with the supreme authority of Dean Church on my last night in town. . . . The question would rather be whether a man of his sentiments, *rather inclined to rely on others*, would be proof against the influence of Newman or of foreign theologians like Newman.'

II. Liddon the Man.

No man can devote his life too exclusively to an impracticable ideal without suffering from a lack of perspective in meeting the demands of this workaday world. That is to say, no man can become the slave of a system without the sacrifice of his better judgment. Liddon's character on that side, and on that side only on which it was a reflection of his theology, was no exception to this rule.

At the age of thirty-seven he was pressed to become the head of Keble College, Oxford. All his friends were eager for him to accept the call. He was, indeed, by temperament and by culture a student and in many respects a man of unique personality and endowments. The college, moreover, was the result of his own original suggestion. But Liddon's peculiarly self-conscious character had ten thousand reasons (which were no reasons) for the refusal. He was not, it appears, 'a first-class man.' Oxford, too (it seems), required a 'philosophic theologian.' And what was worse than all (may we add—more ridiculous than all?) he thought his reputation had been a little 'blown upon'! The

[26] The position he suggested may be described in nautical language as NNE.

[27] That Liddon was not here speaking the language of his own mind may be proved by the fact that the Scriptures, as Hooker explains, never use the word 'priest' of a Christian clergyman, nor did the early Fathers of four centuries regard the Holy Table as an 'altar' strictly so called (see citations in Suicer *s.v.* *βωμός, θυσιαστήριον*).

following is one of the last notices of this event in his diary fo the 27th of June. It reads like Diogenes writing from his tub :

> Sat some time with the Bishop of Oxford, who is very anxious that should take Keble College. Wrote to the Bishop of Salisbury, asking hi *to decide* the Keble College question *for me authoritatively!*

Let us follow the fortunes of this Oxford Diogenès. He w now at the age of thirty-seven. The next cataclysm occurs twent years later. By the age of fifty-six the habit of self-distrust, whic had been carefully cultivated on Liddon's 'Catholic' principle and soundly regulated on Liddon's 'Church' lines, had becom completely confirmed in him. He is sounded by Mr. Gladston through Dean Church as to whether he would consent to accept bishopric if a specific offer were made. Liddon haughtily refuse even to consider the question of an unspecified bishopric. D Pusey, so he tells us, would have done so. So would 'dear Mr Keble.' And 'what would St. Ambrose have said to a willingne to accept a bishopric in the abstract?'

The See of Salisbury was now vacant. Liddon's eager min at once began to revolve all the possibilities invited by thi vacancy. The offer had not yet been made and never was to b made; but Liddon was already 'miserable' as to what his repl should be if the offer should be made. Once more he consulte all his friends and once more dismissed all their suggestions; an this time discovered that the *Life of Dr. Pusey*, which he w engaged in writing, was in the way of his acceding to '*any* suggestion of episcopal promotion.

The Deanery of Worcester at last falls vacant, and Liddon no evolves a new argument :

> I have no fanatical feeling against accepting preferment. But . . . on this point the old Tractarian feeling . . . . is profoundly opposed . . . to that commercial view of the higher offices in the Church which was ver sincerely held by the old Latitudinarians. . . . *If Lord Salisbury ha offered me the See of Salisbury* . . . . I had with much misgiving an after long hesitation made up my mind that *it would be a duty to accept i*

That he would not have accepted it is abundantly clear by hi action the following year. For while he was in Constantinopl he received by telegram the news that he had been elected Bisho of Edinburgh. He almost immediately wired back a refusal. H told his friends that he 'took twenty-four hours to think it over. But a monk does not think. His only motto is *Sic volo, s jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas*; and the reply might have bee anticipated. It now appeared, according to Liddon in anothe mind, that all Bishops of the Church of Scotland should b Scotchmen!

It is the same with his Bampton Lectures, with his sermon

St. Mary's Redcliffe at Bristol, with his conduct of a Retreat for the clergy. They were all successful. But according to Liddon's 'melancholy' fancy they were all, if we consult his diary, 'failures' and himself 'miserable.' The great catastrophe of his life was the death of Dr. Pusey. With him went all that remains on earth and, apparently, nearly all his hopes of heaven:

Now that dearest Dr. Pusey is gone the world is no more for me the same world. The whole past seems torn up by the roots. *I feel the danger of disbelief in God the Holy Ghost!*

Alas! as Plutarch has shown, how near is scepticism to credulity!

Liddon latterly became conscious of his growing narrowness of mind. Without the responsibilities of marriage or of an actively arduous position in the State or Church he had become, as the late Bishop of Oxford pointed out, the creature of instincts and the victim of habits that held him as in a vice. His dearest friends at Oxford, his most intimate companions at Christ Church, were made painfully aware of these luxuriant self-indulgences on the part of the quiet, polished, urbane but cynical recluse. Dr. Paget and Dr. Gore were engaged in publishing some new positions in theology. But Liddon never suspected his friends till it was brought to his notice; and then the shock precipitated his death! Bishop Lightfoot, in his famous essay on *The Threefold Ministry*, had learnedly overturned, with damning proofs from history, the impossible position of the Tractarians as to the origin of the Episcopate, which Liddon had discovered, like Baptismal Regeneration and the Eastward position, to have been 'part of the revealed Will of God.' In his preface to the sixth edition of his *Philippians* Bishop Lightfoot was driven to refute a silly rumour circulated by the Tractarians to the effect that he had changed his mind on this great subject. Yet Liddon continued to harbour the suspicion that such a change at the last had actually taken place in the good Bishop's mind.[28]

It is provoking to see a man of Liddon's powers and, above all, of Liddon's character thus toying with the great issues of life. He could not make up his mind. He could not be honest with himself.

And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,
And enterprises of great pith and moment
With this regard their currents turn awry
And lose the name of action.

Of this we will hazard one example. When he first came to St. Paul's in 1870 he was justly shocked at the evils of London, and the danger to the character of the choirmen whose voices were

[28] The charge has recently reappeared in the *Church Times* and been refuted in the *Record* for October 20, 1911 (p. 927).

hired out for the evening by managers of music-halls. Liddo with true foresight and at great expense to the Cathedral fun built a Choir House for his purpose, residence in which was m a *sine qua non* for the choir.

At this point ends Liddon the man. Now begins Liddon t Monk. The provincial accent of these boys spoiled, the chanti of the *Te Deum*; and all true choristers, it seems, should hav view a hope of taking Holy Orders! Hence on this impractica scheme forty boys were turned adrift to face the evils of Lond alone, while forty sons of gentlemen (chiefly clergymen) w admitted in their stead! Thus irresolution and inconsiste became the settled habit of his mind.

In his last days Liddon refreshed his mind with boyi memories of Sir Walter Scott, whose poems and whose novels firmly believed, on the strength of a single statement in Newma *Apologia*, to have given the first impulse to the Oxford Moveme It is natural to all intense minds to regard the whole world in t light of their own beliefs. Liddon, had he perused eit Scott's poems in the text or his novels in the footnotes with most ordinary attention, must have noticed how often that gre painter of the manners of a feudal age assures his readers th he has selected from the vices of a dark epoch in the world's histo only those gleams of rude and simple incident which he cou embellish with his powerful pen into picturesque probability. W have already stated that those who promoted the Tractari system mistook religion for an art. Here we have found Lidd mistaking the poet's art for a kind of religion.

It is time to close this review. There is however a side Liddon's life on which we have not touched necessary to t complete portrayal of the man.

Nor has the present writer yet touched upon one importa aspect of the Oxford Movement, disclosed by the controversy th has raged round the appearance of Mr. Thompson's work *Miracles in the New Testament*, itself the fruit of the publicati of *Lux Mundi* some twenty years ago.

A. H. T. CLARKE.

(*To be concluded.*)

[39] See articles by the Rev. Cyril W. Emmet and the Bishop of Winchest 'Liberty of Criticism within the Church of England,' *Nineteenth Century a After*, October, November, and December 1911.

FIFTY YEARS OF ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE

FROM NAPLES TO TRIPOLI

'IN Italy I know that I am bringing to a close the era of revolutions.' With these trenchant words on the 9th of October 1860 King Victor Emmanuel concluded a *Proclamation to the People of Southern Italy*, which is one of the most significant documents of the Italian Risorgimento. It was issued at Ancona when the Italian King, still bearing the title of King of Piedmont, set out with his army to cross the frontier of the Two Sicilies and complete the overthrow of the tottering Bourbon dynasty. After sketching in the proclamation the vicissitudes of his own reign and its successes in behalf of Italian liberty and independence, he refers with well-considered frankness to the recent revolution in Sicily, and to the famous filibustering expedition of the Thousand with which Garibaldi, in open defiance of international law and the will of Europe, had sailed out of the harbour of Genova five months before. He declares not only that he, the king, was unable to prevent the expedition, but that it was *his duty not to prevent it*. He goes on to state that he now enters Southern Italy at the head of his army, not to impose his will on the people, but to see that their will is respected.

> Whatever be the gravity of events that may arise [he solemnly asserts] I await tranquilly the judgment of civilised Europe and of history, conscious of having fulfilled my duty as king and as an Italian. In Europe my policy will perhaps not be without effect in helping to reconcile the progress of nations with the stability of monarchical government. *In Italy I know that I am bringing to a close the era of revolutions.*[1]

The proclamation was addressed to the people of the Two Sicilies, but the king knew that as an affirmation of the principles and policy by which Italian independence and unity were being

[1] The proclamation was drafted by Farini, and was pronounced 'stupendous' by Cavour. The full text may be found in the volume entitled *Il risorgimento d'Italia narrato dai principi di Casa Savoja e dal Parlamento* (1848-1878). Firenze, G. Barbèra, 1888, pp. 168-174.

achieved it would fix the attention of Europe. In substance it was a declaration, in the face of the anti-revolutionary powers, of the right of an oppressed and divided people to unite and constitute itself a nation. At the same time it was a declaration, in the face of all Italy beset for forty years with revolution, that the policy of a constitutional government established by the free will of the majority of the nation must be respected. Let it be remembered that these principles were thus resolutely affirmed at the moment when the ministers of France and Russia had been recalled from the court of Piedmont in protest against the occupation of Umbria and the Marches; when the renewal of the war with Austria, with whom diplomatic relations were also broken was feared as imminent; when the whole Italian peninsula seethed with revolution, and Republican intrigue was everywhere complicating the situation. A few months only had passed since the revolutionary deposition of three sovereigns in Italy and the voluntary annexation of their territory to Piedmont, together with Piedmontese annexation of portions of the States of two other sovereigns still reigning. And a Piedmontese invasion of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies was now being openly undertaken with the evident scope of the additional annexation of a population of nine millions. Such open defiance of the will of the Great Powers, whose malevolent intervention in the peninsula with the purpose of keeping Italy divided had been the curse of centuries, could be hazarded only in the profound consciousness of a great national awakening. Victor Emmanuel knew that his policy represented the will of the immense majority of the Italian people.

If Italy's position at this critical moment in her history, and the magnitude of her development in the half-century that has since passed, are to be justly appreciated, the principal forces in her awakening must be borne in mind. The national characteristics which united her then are the same which have brought her to the prosperous conditions of 1911; they are the great national assets which justify her faith in the momentous undertaking in Tripolitania and assure her power and constant progress.

Italian nationalism, first rousing itself to consciousness, had found its apostle in Giuseppe Mazzini some thirty years earlier. Republican in political creed, but before all Unitarian, he had derived many of his master ideas from Dante, whom he regarded as the prophet of his nation. From the study of Dante his national sentiment deepened into a civic religion; 'God and the People,' 'Duty,' 'Mission,' were words constantly upon his lips. For him and for the thousands of his devoted countrymen who were influenced by his inspired teaching the delivery of Ital

from the foreigner and from despotic government, and her unification as a great nation, became a life 'mission.' A movement for its accomplishment had been initiated in conspiracies and insurrectionary attempts of secret societies; gradually there spread a passionate longing for national independence and liberty through all classes, and Italy arose in her chains nerved to heroic effort. 'A people which has been enslaved for many centuries can regenerate itself only through virtue and through death,'[3] Mazzini had written in the programme of his revolutionary periodical, *Young Italy*, in 1831. Italians must be brought to realise that their 'sole path to victory lies through sacrifice—constancy in sacrifice.' And the issue of the struggle proved that the Italian people was ready for Mazzini's teaching. For thirty years bands of its chosen patriots courted death in hopeless insurrection in all parts of the peninsula; tens of thousands of Italians, representing much of the best blood and intellect in the country, bore with unsurpassed heroism the horrors of Austrian, Papal, and Bourbon dungeons, or silently endured suffering and poverty in exile. The religion of sacrifice never counted nobler disciples in a patriotic cause than in this great struggle for Italian nationality. 'Faith' and 'The Future' were other of Mazzini's watchwords. 'Twenty millions of men, strong in the justice of their cause, and of a determined will, are invincible,' he declared; and this faith, shared by a great body of the people, sustained the country in its long, desperate revolutionary effort.

But there were many differences of political creed to be adjusted among the Italian patriots before the harmony of action essential to success could be attained. Republicans and Monarchists, Unitarians and Federalists, had first to test the relative strength of their parties, as well as the fitness of their respective forms of government for Italy. Furthermore, local jealousies and ambitions still clashed with the national sentiment. By reason of these dissensions the great revolutions of 1848 and 1849, which shook every throne in the peninsula save one, and forced Papal and ducal sovereigns to fly, ended everywhere abortive. The despots returned to their petty thrones in the Duchies and the Papal States; the oppression of foreign autocratic rule was again riveted upon the Lombardo-Veneto; and all the constitutions which the revolution had secured at great sacrifice were blotted out save one—that granted in Piedmont by the House of Savoy. Only in the little subalpine kingdom of less than five million inhabitants was parliamentary government preserved for the people.

[3] Mazzini. *Scritti editi ed inediti*, v. 2. Imola, Paola Galeati, 1907, p. 78. This is the National Edition of Mazzini's works of which eleven volumes have been published, and of which about fifty more are in preparation by the leading authority on Mazzini, Professor Mario Menghini.

But this experiment in liberty in Piedmont was the doom of tyranny, domestic and foreign, throughout Italy. The parliament at Turin proved to be a training school for the Italian nation. Exiles from all the Italian States sat in its councils; and the House of Savoy won the confidence of all Italy through loyalty to the cause of freedom and progress as laid down in its legislation. On the 7th of March 1850 a young Piedmontese deputy, who was destined within a decade to stand forth as the first statesman and diplomat of Europe, Count Camillo Cavour, won his first oratorical triumph in parliament.

> Go forward boldly on the path of reform [he urged]. By so doing you will make it possible for constitutional monarchy to strike such firm root in the country, that even when a revolutionary tempest shall rise about us, the monarchy will not only be able to resist effectively, but gathering to itself all the living forces of Italy, it will be in a position to lead our nation to the high destinies to which it has been called.[3]

Such was the programme of Cavour, and under his remarkable leadership Piedmont carried out the programme to the letter. 'Italy must be made with liberty,' Cavour went about repeating, 'otherwise we must give up all idea of making her.'[4] This was the keynote of his statesmanship. And the training of the Italian people in constitutional liberty begun by him opened wide the pathway of future progress.

One other historical fact must be brought forward before Italy's condition at the close of 1860 can be fairly understood. Constitutional government could prepare Italy for unity, but it could not alone supply the enthusiasm needed to urge the country to a supreme effort by which that unity was to be finally won. Cavour saw this early in his public career, and realised that the revolutionary party was still indispensable to the success of the Italian cause. For him the revolutionary spirit was one of the 'living forces of Italy' to be conciliated and drawn to the constitutional monarchy; the revolutionists were to be encouraged and organised, under loose and covert government control, to work for the overthrow of the despotic Italian governments and the unification of the country. This power of grasping, controlling, and utilising, instead of attempting to destroy the vigorous forces of the revolutionary element, has been, and is, one of the principal features in Italian internal policy. In studying Italy either in its awakening or in its present conditions this must be kept constantly in mind. The skill with which Cavour aided, used, and controlled Garibaldi, letting loose the revolutionary energy of his day, only to check it and pacify it at the moment when it threatened

[3] Cavour. *Discorsi parlamentari*, v. 1. Roma, Eredi Botta, 1863, p. 409.

[4] Nicomede Bianchi. *Il Conte di Cavour.* 5a edizione. Torino, Unione Tipografico-Editrice, Ottobre 1863, p. 120.

destruction to the State, finds its analogy in Giolitti's treatment of the Socialists in the last decade. Such a policy is possible only in a country where the spirit of Jacobinism is supplanted by the spirit of compromise, and by a political common sense that is ready to accept what is attainable and reasonably advantageous. Garibaldi commanding five thousand revolutionary troops fought beside Napoleon the Third and Victor Emmanuel in the campaign of 1859; and the great revolutionary coup was his famous filibustering expedition of the Thousand, to which Victor Emmanuel later referred as a movement which it had been *his duty not to prevent*. With the Thousand and its reinforcements Garibaldi freed the Two Sicilies south of the Volturno from the Bourbons; and in less than three weeks after the publication of the famous proclamation that has been quoted, Victor Emmanuel joined the great revolutionary leader, and, relegating the twenty thousand victorious revolutionary troops to the reserve with pleasant compliments, rapidly finished off the Bourbon overthrow with his own regular army.

Before this campaign was over, the results of the plebiscite held in Southern Italy on the 21st of October were proclaimed at Naples and Palermo; the Two Sicilies were found to have pronounced for a 'United Italy with Victor Emmanuel its constitutional king' by 1,734,000 votes against 11,000.[5] Similar plebiscites had been held in Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the annexed portions of the Papal States, where the results had been everywhere equally overwhelming in favour of Unity and the House of Savoy. Victor Emmanuel had become king of four-fifths of Italy, not by conquest but by consent—by the will of the people.

On the 18th of February 1861 the first Italian parliament was opened at Turin. Extravagant hopes had been raised by the triumph of Unity, but there were difficult problems yet to be solved. The people had been constant in sacrifice in the long period of armed conflict. Would it prove itself, in the prosaic period of reconstruction and consolidation that must follow, equally ready to bear further burdens, and sink local ambitions and personal jealousies in fraternal abnegation? For centuries Italy had been misgoverned, and the fruits of misgovernment had been accumulated in all the late despotic States of the peninsula. The rehabilitation of the country would require not only patience and wise administration, but an outlay of capital that would call

[5] Just criticism has been made of the method in which this vote was cast, but that the majority of the people was overwhelmingly favourable to Victor Emmanuel there can be no question. The real plebiscite was the popular ovation at Garibaldi's triumphal entry into Naples in an open carriage without troops on the 7th of September, while the soldiers of the Bourbon king whom he was overthrowing were still in the city. After that a popular vote was a mere formality.

for immense loans and a heavy increase in taxation. It was easy to determine the course that must be followed from the recent experience of Piedmont, where despotic government had ceased with the granting of the constitution in 1848. During the twelve years of parliamentary government that had followed in the subalpine kingdom, the reforms in administration and education, the reorganisation and increase of the army and navy, the construction of much needed public works, together with the enormous cost of the campaigns of 1848, 1849, 1855, and 1859, had brought heavy financial burdens. The public debt had been increased sevenfold;[6] government expenses had multiplied, and were greatly in excess of receipts, in spite of the fact that taxes had been nearly doubled; and as the natural result government credit had been much weakened.[7] On the other hand these reforms and large government expenditures had been followed by remarkable development. Commerce had much more than doubled from 1851 to 1859. The laws of October 1848, obliging all towns and villages to maintain schools for elementary education, had been so thoroughly enforced that the number of illiterates in Piedmont had been reduced from 75 per cent. to 50 per cent. Eight hundred and fifty kilometres of railway had been constructed. And the army organisation had reached an efficiency that won for the Piedmontese troops in the Crimea the hearty admiration and sympathy of their English and French allies.

What had been done in Piedmont in the twelve years beginning in 1848 had placed her, as Cavour had foreseen, 'in a position to lead the nation.' But could this same programme of thoroughgoing reform and seemingly ruinous government expenditure be carried out, with equally rapid and happy results, for a population of twenty-one millions comprising the ex-subjects of seven despotic governments, differing widely in education, temperament, traditions, and economic interests? Lombardy, the Duchies, and even the Papal States differed relatively little from Piedmont, but the nine millions of the Two Sicilies were far behind the Italians of the north and centre in both educational

[6] The statistical statements in the following pages are based upon figures obtained from many different sources. The official statistics of Italy are to be found in the *Annuario Statistico Italiano*, but no volume in this series has been published since 1907. For the earlier period statistics are only fragmentary, but the source generally quoted by the Italian Government in its comparative statements is a publication bearing the same title as the above issued by Correnti and Maestri in 1858 and 1864. The best history of Italian finance is that written by Achille Plebano, *Storia della finanza italiana* 1861-1901. Torino, Roux Frassati e C., 1899-1902, but it relates principally to the national budgets.

[7] While Government Four per Cent. bonds had been selling on the Bourse in Paris at premiums ranging from 10 per cent. to 25 per cent. in the decade before 1848, in 1859 Government Five per Cent. bonds had dropped to 72.

and economic development. In the Two Sicilies in 1860, 88 per cent. of the population was illiterate. There was but 124 kilometres of railway in the whole kingdom, or one and a-third kilometres to every 100,000 inhabitants, against twenty kilometres in Piedmont, and twenty-five kilometres in France to every 100,000 inhabitants. Proper carriage roads, harbours, and docks were likewise wanting. The army and navy had been disorganised by the revolution. Industry had been equally disorganised, and was ill prepared to meet the demands of fresh taxation. And the national spirit in the south was not what it was in the north.

> Northern Italy is made [murmured Cavour on his deathbed in June 1861], there are neither Lombards, nor Piedmontese, nor Tuscans, nor Romagnols; we are all Italians; but there are Neapolitans still. Oh! there is much corruption in that country. It is not their fault, poor people, they have been so ill-governed. . . . The country must be made moral, children and youth must be educated, asylums and military colleges must be created. . . . Anyone can govern with the state of siege. I will govern the Neapolitans with liberty, and will show what ten years of liberty can do for their beautiful country.[8]

The dying statesman saw in the midst of disorganisation, corruption, illiteracy, economic stagnation, and threatened bankruptcy, but one bright spot on the horizon of Southern Italy; it was the same that throughout had been the pole-star of his policy—constitutional liberty. Italians were at length free and masters of their own destinies, and although in the hour of supreme need death was removing the great leader, his policy as revealed in the last decade of parliamentary Piedmontese government would be treasured as the heritage of all Italy.

It has been said that it was a great misfortune that Cavour did not live for at least another five years, not only that the country might have benefited further from his leadership, but that he and Italy's future statesman, Francesco Crispi, might have come to know and understand one another better, and that Cavour's mantle might have fallen directly upon the shoulders of Crispi. Perhaps with five years more of Cavour's life this understanding and succession would have been obtained, but even as it was Crispi, the conspirator and fiery revolutionist, had at this time already come to understand parliamentary rule, and to appreciate the fact that 'governing with liberty' did not mean governing with perpetual revolution. In the years immediately following Cavour's death the services which Crispi, as one of the leaders of the left, rendered in enforcing respect for parliamentary authority among members of his party, particularly in the south where education in self-

[8] Ernesto Artom. *L'opera politica del Senatore I. Artom*. v. 1. Bologna, Zanichelli, 1906, p. 374.

government was entirely lacking, were perhaps more valuable than any that he could have rendered had he been in the government.*

These first years of Italian unity were years of agitation and depression. When the people of the ex-Bourbon kingdom recovered from its revolutionary enthusiasm to find that unification had brought to it, as the first blessing of the millennium, the trebling of taxation, a natural outcry was raised; nor was it to be expected that men should recognise the Messiah in the tax-gatherer. From 1862 to 1865 government receipts were but a little over half the expenditures, and in 1866, owing to the war with Austria, they were considerably less than half. The deficits were met by a succession of heavy loans, and the public debt of 1860 had trebled in 1867, and quadrupled in 1876. This burden of public debt, interest upon which constituted one quarter of the national expenditure in 1864, and had risen to more than one third in 1876, was a heavy handicap which told against Italian finances from the outset. An additional handicap lay in the deplorably backward state of public works; for the construction of railways alone expenditure amounted on an average for the first fifteen years to about one-twelfth of the entire national expenditure. But the greatest handicap of all was imposed by the international situation of Italy. There was no great power in Europe which viewed Italian unity with real favour, and the programme of completing unity by the acquisition of Venice and Rome, by conquest or negotiation, necessitated the maintenance of a large army and navy. For these reasons the cost of national defence amounted to one quarter of the entire national expenditure. When it is remembered then that interest on the public debt and the cost of national defence had so increased as to amount together to three-fifths of the total sum paid out by the Government, it is not surprising that statesmen for many years found it impossible to avoid an enormous annual deficit, and that the people were disheartened as they viewed the first fruits of Italian unity. To avoid national bankruptcy, every form of tax imaginable was added to the burden of the labourer and the capitalist by the ministries that rapidly succeeded one another. In the first decade after the death of Cavour twelve different ministries governed the country. The parliamentary opposition, except during the two brief ministries of Rattazzi, included the representatives of the old revolutionary party whose eagerness for the immediate conquest of Venice and Rome added to the parliamentary confusion. Their

* The recent publication of a collection of Crispi's private letters, edited by G. Pipitone-Federico, under the title *L'Anima di Francesco Crispi* (Palermo, Ant. Trimarchi, 1910) revealed a reserve of patience and moderation in Crispi during these early years which had been little appreciated by the historian. Cf. pp. 70, 46, 47, 25.

efforts to force the government forward to military action were the occasion of riots in several parts of Italy, and the unfortunate Garibaldian attempts to march on Rome which ended disastrously at Aspromonte in 1862, and at Mentana in 1867, increased the bitterness of the Radicals. On the other hand the annexation of the portions of the Papal States incorporated in 1860 in the Italian Kingdom, and legislative measures directed against the undue temporal influence of the Church, had called down the anathemas of the Pope and arrayed against the government the priesthood and the entire clerical forces of the country. To Crispi in the opposition it seemed that 'the ministers of the king were ruining the dynasty and preparing new catastrophies for Italy.' 'But,' he declared, 'in spite of the errors committed, the prevailing pusillanimity, and recriminations, *Italy shall be.*' And it was this indomitable Mazzinian faith in the future of Italy, shared by statesmen alike of the government and of the opposition, which carried Italy through this dark period of reconstruction and rehabilitation. 'Do not imperil with inaction and discord what we have won at the price of blood,' Crispi wrote at another time; and again, 'Ministers go, and with them disappear the evils which they have caused. The nation remains, and we should work that it may establish itself and become powerful.' Patience and moderation were the virtues for which the situation called; patience in tax-paying; patience in turning error to account as a lesson for the profit of the nation; moderation in seeking to destroy neither Conservative nor Radical, nor Monarchist nor Republican, nor Revolutionary, but to harmonise 'all the living forces' in the struggle for the eventual triumph of the nation.[10]

The first relief which was offered to over-burdened Italy came with the war of 1866 which brought the cession of Venice from Austria. Four years later followed the Franco-Prussian war which enabled Victor Emmanuel to occupy Rome, and lightened for ever the measure of French interference in the internal affairs of the peninsula. While ordinary annual expenditures for the army and navy were not decreased after the Italian entry into Rome which completed unity, the immediate menace of war was removed, and the country was able to settle down more securely to industrial and educational development. Cavour had said, 'Taxes must increase, but the capacity of the country to meet taxation must at the same time increase through the stimulus given to production and the accumulation of riches.'[11] Slowly but steadily economic development had proceeded to the fulfilment of

[10] The spirit of compromise that has so long characterised Italian public life has been well brought out by Professor Emilio Bodrero in a clever article entitled *Italia nova ed antica*, published in the new Italian review *Acropoli*. Firenze, Gennaio, 1911.

[11] Ernesto Artom, p. 370.

Cavour's prophecy. In 1875 equilibrium in the national budget was reached for the first time. Since then, although expenditures have been greatly increased through educational, judicial, and other reforms, through important increases in the army and navy, and through large undertakings in public works, there have been but eight deficits in the budget.

It is unnecessary to follow in detail the course of events during the thirty-six years which have separated the Italy of the first budget-equilibrium from the Italy of 1911. It is enough to summarise the results of these years of development, which should be easily enough understood after what has been said of Italian patriotism and national constancy in sacrifice, of the determination of Italians to go forward on the path of reform, and either to make Italy with liberty or give up all idea of making her. A nation with these characteristics and this policy could not but succeed.

In the last twenty years Italy has made greater progress in foreign commerce than any country in the world—the United States and Germany not excepted. The following table, showing the increase in the foreign commerce of the leading countries from 1890 to 1910, has recently been prepared by the Italian Foreign Office.[12] Reckoning the imports and exports of 1890 in the different countries at 100 per cent., the figures in the table represent the comparative percentages of 1910:

Imports.	Per cent.	*Exports*	Per cent.
Italy	243	United States	226
Belgium	237	Italy	224
Germany	207	Germany	224
United States	190	Belgium	204
Great Britain	162	Great Britain	165
France	152	France	161

From these statistics it is seen that Italy easily leads in the increase of imports, and is a close second to the United States and on a parity with Germany in the increase of exports. Both imports and exports have more than doubled in twenty years. In the imports the percentage of comparative increase has been about the same in raw materials and in manufactured goods, but lighter in foodstuffs. In the exports, on the other hand, the percentage of increase has been by far the greatest in manufactured goods; in 1892 manufacturers represented but 13 per cent. of the exports; in 1909 they represented 25 per cent.

The rapid development of manufacturing which this increase in exports indicates has been due in part to the employment of electricity as motive power. Italy has been heavily handi-

[12] Circular No. 7, issued by the Director-General of Commercial Affairs for the royal Diplomatic and Consular agents.

capped in modern manufacturing by the almost total want of coal supplies in the peninsula. Coal has been in great part imported from England, and its high cost has added materially to the prices of manufactured goods. However, the water supply in Italy is as abundant as the coal supply is defective, and now that electrical engineering has been able to transform water power from the streams flowing from the Alps and the Apennines into electric power, conditions for many classes of manufactures have greatly improved. Any traveller returning to Italy after a decade of absence can observe for himself from the window of his railway carriage the immense increase in the number of factories, particularly in the north and centre of the peninsula. The silk industry may be taken as an example of progress, as it is the most important in Italy, with a production which in its sales abroad represents more than one-third of the national exports. Silk products have much more than quadrupled from 1876 to 1906, while exports in manufactured silks have likewise more than quadrupled from 1871 to 1909. Take as another example cotton manufactures. The value of the shares of corporations engaged in this industry has risen from 18,946,582 lire in 1882 to 249,810,000 lire in 1908, an increase of thirteenfold. The progress in these industries is fairly representative of the progress made in manufacturing throughout the country.

Large development is to be likewise noted in agriculture, in which about one-third of the population of Italy is employed. Agricultural products have increased to about 250 per cent. of what they were in 1864, the development being in part due to the improvement in agricultural methods, in part to the extension of the area under cultivation through the reclaiming of marsh ground, and in part to the extensive use of fertilisers, the manufacture of which has become one of the most profitable industries in Italy.

Contemporaneously with the growth of industry and agriculture has proceeded the development of railways already alluded to. While in 1860 there were barely 1,800 kilometres of railways, and these principally in Piedmont, there are now 16,989 kilometres of railways, besides about 5,000 kilometres of steam and electric tramways. In addition to these track systems there have been established during the last few years many private automobile lines with concessions from the Government. On the 30th of June 1910 there were sixty-two lines in operation over roads that aggregate 2,944 kilometres. This new means of public transportation promises rapid development, and should prove of considerable educational and industrial benefit to the country, bringing inaccessible towns and villages in the rural and mountainous districts into touch with the active life of the larger centres.

One of the gravest problems which Italy had to solve after its

unification was, as has been said, that of education, and this is perhaps the field of development where most yet remains to be done. In 1861, illiterates in the whole country numbered 75 per cent. of the population, in 1871 69 per cent., and in 1901 48 per cent. In the last few years as the result of new legislation ten thousand more schools have been established, principally in the strongholds of illiteracy, but it is estimated that thirty thousand additional schools must be provided before all Italians can be taught to read and write. For a half-century elementary education has been free and compulsory in Italy, but the great difficulty has been in providing sufficient schools for the more scattered and poorer population in many parts of the south, and in actually compelling attendance without arousing bitter hatred of instruction among the more ignorant. The eagerness with which Italians have set to work from the outset to grapple with the educational problem is evident from the steady increase in expenditures for education to be found in the national budgets, in addition to similar expenditures by the towns and villages. The national expenditure for education has nearly doubled in the last ten years, and is six times what it was in 1862.

Perhaps the most striking results in Italy's progress are those that have been obtained through sanitary improvements and regulations. Since 1863 the death-rate in Italy has been brought down from 3 per cent. to about 2 per cent., a decrease representing the saving of 250,000 lives annually. The natural effect of this enormous saving has been to secure a much larger increase in the population of Italy in late years, the excess of births over deaths now amounting to about 400,000 a year. In fifteen years the population of Italy will be greater than the population of France, and it is to Italy that the Latin races must look, if in the future the Latins are to maintain their proportion of the world's population in their immemorial rivalry with the Germanic races.

Emigration is Italy's most serious problem. Its rapid growth may be regarded as in part the result of the country's immensely improved sanitary conditions that have just been noted; the saving of 250,000 lives annually has so accentuated the increase in population, that emigration on a large scale relieving the glutted labour market has been the only means of avoiding a disastrous economic crisis. At the present day there are five and a-half millions of Italians resident in foreign countries, and in recent years this emigrant population has been a source of great economic advantage to Italy. It is estimated by the Commissioner of Emigration that savings amounting to not less than 500,000,000 lire are sent or brought back annually to their country by Italians working abroad. While Italians at home have been patiently paying taxes, Italians

in foreign lands have been saving up their earnings and sending them home for the support of their families, for the purchase of property, and for other investment. And it is this enormous sum of emigrant earnings which has enabled Italy to meet without difficulty the large and constant excess of imports over exports in the annual trade balances. Italy has no desire to stop her current of foreign emigration, but in its nature it is a precarious factor in the country's economic situation; Italians can never be certain that the ports of Argentina and the United States, to which emigration is largely directed, will not be one day closed to Italian labour, or that economic conditions in the Americas will not in time become so altered as no longer to provide employment for it. Such a change would involve Italy in a terrible economic crisis; for great as has been her recent commercial and agricultural development, her conditions are not such as would enable her to furnish within her present territory additional employment to 400,000 persons annually.

The problem of emigration has pre-occupied Italian statesmen for many years, and it is natural that they should have cast their eyes across the Mediterranean in search of a solution. When France occupied Tunis in 1881, Italy's indignation arose from the feeling that her own future was menaced; but it was perhaps well that she had made no attempt to forestall France. Italy's financial condition thirty years ago was not such as to warrant a policy of expansion. To-day her situation has greatly altered. Her credit on the international bourses is that of the richest nations of Europe. In the last twenty-five years her public debt has hardly changed, and the burden of interest upon it is lower to-day than in 1876. Italian Three and three-quarters per Cent. State bonds (interest reduced on the 1st of January 1912 to 3½ per cent.) have been selling for many years well above par, and while in 1893 50 per cent. of the public debt was held abroad, but 12 per cent. of it was held abroad in 1907. Furthermore, in the last twelve years Italy has shown an unbroken series of favourable balances in the budget. This is a record in national finance which has been equalled by no country in Europe or America. The financial condition of Italy would, therefore, seem fully to justify the country in the policy of expansion into which the needs of its growing population—and the international political situation—have now led it.

In the Tripolitanian undertaking the nation has shown itself to be more closely united than it has ever been in any policy, even than in the great movement of unification which culminated in 1870; all classes, all sections of the country, and all parties, excepting a few platoons of Socialists, are solidly behind the government. But united Italy has by no means underestimated

the seriousness of her great leap across the Mediterranean. No one who has lived in the country during the last decade can deny that it has been taken only after long and careful deliberation. The great cities have witnessed scenes of intense enthusiasm during the last weeks whenever troops were leaving for the front, but the Italian people are in no state of blind exaltation. They are too deeply in earnest to indulge freely in demonstrations, and they realise that the country is assuming new and grave responsibilities. Expansion is costly. Italy knows it. The annexation of Tripolitania [13] brings with it increased possibilities of future international complications with her neighbours. Italy is ready to face them. She believes that for her the question of Tripolitania is the question of her political and economic future; she is ready to-day to make any sacrifice that is necessary to assure this future, and those who understand the last half-century of her history which has been sketched in the preceding pages know to what lengths of sacrifice Italians are prepared to go for their country.

It must be borne in mind that Tripolitania as an Italian 'colony' will be essentially different from the colonies of any other of the Great Powers. Tripoli is situated at the very doors of Italy. From Syracuse the distance to Tripoli is the same as that to Rome and less than half of that to Turin; from Naples the distance to Tripoli is a little more than that to Turin. If the population of Tripolitania is to become eventually Italian, this great African territory will be almost as integral a part of the Kingdom of Italy as the islands of Sicily and Sardinia. It is true that Tunis lies not much more distant from France than Tripoli from Italy, but Tunisia can never hope to count a majority of Frenchmen in its census returns; the population of France itself is barely holding its own, and Frenchmen do not willingly colonise even in French colonial territory. In Tunisia there were 11,000 Italians among the permanent colonists when the region came under the French flag in 1881; in 1896 there were 81,000; to-day there are about 130,000. There were but 34,000 Frenchmen in the whole colony in 1896, and to-day the number is about the same. These figures indicate the possibilities of Northern Africa as a field for Italian immigration.

In respect to climate and to the products of the soil Tripolitania may be divided into two distinct zones: the coast region and the interior. In both the climate is good, and as a whole the country is to be classed with the healthiest of Northern Africa.[14] The

[13] The Italian name Tripolitania is used throughout this study to indicate the whole region annexed by Italy, including Tripolitania proper, Cirenaica and Marmarica, and the desert with Fezzan and its other oases.

[14] One of the best studies upon Tripolitania is Professor Goffredo Jaja's *Sul valore economico della Tripolitania*, Rome, Loescher, 1911. E. Minutilli's

first zone does not differ substantially from the other coast regions of the Mediterranean, resembling in many respects Spain and Sicily, although the slightly higher temperature, the lighter rainfall, the more direct influence of the winds from the desert and the difference in soil give predominance to vegetation which on the northern coast of the Mediterranean is of minor importance. The date-palm (*Phœnix dactylifera*) is by far the most useful and the most common tree in Tripolitania; its present annual fruit product from nearly four million trees is valued at a million and a-half pounds sterling. Olive trees are common throughout Tripolitania above the 30° parallel; orange-trees, lemons, figs, almonds, bananas, and numerous other fruit trees abound in different parts of the coast zone; tobacco is cultivated in considerable quantity; of the cereals barley is the chief product, the crop in 1907 amounting to 1,200,000 hectolitres. The two zones together cover more than a million square kilometres, of which more than one third, that is a surface larger than all Italy, is cultivable.

But the Italians have not annexed this vast territory with any fantastic illusions. If Tripolitania is to them the 'Promised Land,' they are not expecting to find it a land flowing with milk and honey. It is true that one third of the country is cultivable, but they know that only a small portion of this—scattered districts together covering a surface about equal to Sicily—is actually under cultivation. In fact, Tripolitania as a whole is at present one of the most sparsely populated regions of the globe, with an average a little above one inhabitant to the square kilometre; the estimates of the total population made by different authorities range from a million to a million and a half. Excessive taxation under Turkish misrule, want of highways and public works, the general insecurity of the country, and the discouragement of modern methods in agriculture have reduced production to the minimum. But Italy believes that the miracles in the redemption of the soil performed by the English in Egypt, and by the French in Algeria and Tunisia, can be repeated in Tripolitania. With artesian wells and scientific irrigation, with barrels of fertiliser, steam ploughs, railways, modern port facilities, and a Government that can maintain order, administer the imposts equitably, and devote the income derived from taxation to the development of the country itself, a new era will certainly dawn for this neglected region. The Turks succeeded in obtaining between six and seven million francs of annual revenue from

La Tripolitania, Turin, Bocca, 1912, is a much more detailed work. René Pinon's estimate of Tripolitania given in his *L'Empire de la Méditerranée*, Paris, Perrin, 1912, is to be accepted with great reserve. It is a pessimistic view intended to discourage Italy from going to Africa. Pinon, writing nearly ten years ago, declared that an Italian occupation of Tripolitania would be a menace to the interests of France.

Tripolitania. The Italians should find little difficulty in soon doubling this amount. But they understand that the cost of pacifying and developing the country must for many years far exceed any revenue that is to be raised in it. An immense amount of capital will be required, and if this is to come from Italy itself economic growth in the new possessions may be expected to proceed gradually and without any crisis of speculation. In Italy to-day the price of agricultural land is abnormally high, from the excess of capital that has of late been seeking investment in it, and a part of this capital can well be spared for Tripolitania. Italian emigrants will doubtless go there in considerable numbers from the Americas and elsewhere in order to live under the Italian flag, and many will carry small amounts of capital with them. This is the essential thing. Emigrants there must have capital at the outset, otherwise they will die of starvation.

There is a further economic advantage that must result from the new African possessions in addition to that already noted. The future commerce between Italy in Africa and Italy in Europe will naturally be in large part with Sicily and the Neapolitan provinces. This will mean the growth of railway communication and docks, and a stimulus to agriculture and manufactures in these backward sections of the country, so that with African annexation comes also the prospect of a ready solution, in part, of the question of Southern Italy.

Together with these economic considerations, and of no less importance in impelling Italy to Tripoli, were considerations of international politics. A glance at the map suffices to reveal the immense increase in Italy's influence in the Mediterranean that must derive from her occupation of Tripolitania. With Tripoli in her hands Italy controls the highways of the Mediterranean in company with England and France, and with the excellent ports of Bomba and Tobruk as a naval base she can make her power felt upon navigation passing to and from the Suez Canal. Had another Power, such as Germany, forestalled her in the occupation of Tripolitania, Italy must eventually have fallen from her position as one of the Great Powers of Europe. In 1855 Piedmont, as the ally of England, France and Turkey, participated in the war of the Crimea which kept Russia out of the Mediterranean. To-day, through her war with Turkey which has given her Tripolitania, Italy makes sure of the present exclusion from the Mediterranean of another Northern Power.

Much criticism has been made in Europe of the reasons put forward for Italy's declaration of war against Turkey. There is no question, however, that the Italians had an accumulation of very serious grievances against the Ottoman Government covering a period of two years, for which it was necessary to obtain some

satisfaction. This could probably have been obtained by pressure, but pressure would have brought reprisals by Turkey upon Italian emigrants and Italian commerce, and war must inevitably have followed. This is the opinion of well-informed foreign diplomatic circles. To have put off the war would have been to give Turkey an advantage. Furthermore, its abrupt declaration was without doubt hastened by the international complications of the past summer.

Thirty years ago the Italian occupation of territory on the coast of Northern Africa would have been a colonial movement. To-day it is a national movement, and the great economic and strategic advantages to Italy which must result stamp the annexation of Tripolitania as a master-stroke of statesmanship. To quote the words of the Nestor of her diplomacy, the annexation 'completes the Italy of to-day and assures her future.'

H. Nelson Gay.

Palazzo Orsini, Rome.

THE CHURCH AND CELIBACY

I WAS in a fashionable church a few Sundays ago, when the preacher made an impassioned appeal for a school for the sons of the English clergy. He nearly broke down as he told the congregation that there were actually clergymen amongst his acquaintance who were thankful to accept parcels of second-hand clothing for the use of their children. Most of the congregation appeared entirely unmoved by this piteous statement. And as I walked home, I wondered why a different standard of morality seemed expected for the laity than for the clergy.

There was a paper in the pew I occupied stating what the various incomes of the clergy are. I saw that 67*l.* a year appeared to be the lowest stipend for a beneficed clergyman, and that there were 4704 whose income is under 155*l.*, and 7000 curates whose incomes do not average 130*l.* per year.

I think I am correct in stating that a subaltern in a line regiment receives 95*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* yearly. Out of this he is asked to pay a good many subscriptions, and to dress in a way that is not expected of any curate—not to speak of the cost of his uniform. It is almost obligatory for him to go a good deal into society, with all the expense that entails.

Sixty-seven pounds a year is no doubt a very small income. Still, it is a living wage, and it is possible in the country to be fairly comfortable on this sum, given a house and garden rent free. A curé in France is only guaranteed 36*l.* a year and a house.

Ah! but the clergyman would say, 'What about marriage?' That is the crux of the whole matter. The clergy consider that they have a right to marry at the country's expense. They consider, in fact, that a less measure of self-control is expected from them than from the other members of the nation.

What happens if a penniless subaltern in a good regiment marries? He leaves. What happens if a briefless barrister marries? He starves. What happens if clerks, actors, business men, doctors, or men in any other profession marry on an insufficient income? Is there a public appeal to the compassionate for money on their behalf? Do colonels stand up and tell us that they know majors who would be pleased with parcels of second-

hand clothing? We know that they do not. And we know that the good sense and right feeling of the community strongly condemns the man who marries and brings children into the world without being able to provide for their present, and insure their future welfare. In no classes except those of the entirely uneducated, and of the clergy, does reckless improvidence fail to evoke censure from a man's social equals. We all admit how tragic it is that the march of civilisation should prevent early marriages. But so it is, and the conditions that press hard on the clergyman press equally hard on the lawyer, the soldier, the diplomat—and hardest, perhaps, on the country doctor, who most of all these men needs a home. Only in one profession is there a distinct feeling that others should be responsible for supporting the offspring of a particular class. Why?

The answer of most clergymen would, I suppose, be that they work very hard for the common good. It is true that a small proportion do probably work harder than any other individuals of the nation, and for no advantage but a bare living wage. All honour to them! They have their reward in the utter devotion of their parishioners. But it is a curious fact that these men are nearly invariably celibate, and do not ask the congregation to support their families. The average clergyman works no harder than other men—and very much less hard than the doctor. There are many, especially country clergymen, or clergymen in fashionable watering-places, who have a very easy time indeed. These are often the people who have such large families that they find it difficult to make both ends meet.

We hear a great deal about the indifference of the laity to the Church. It is perfectly true. A large proportion of the laity, though they regard the Church as a venerable institution, never think of it as an important factor in their lives. Most men are a little distressed if their son wishes to be a clergyman. And it would be as unfair as it would be untrue to say that it is from any fear of the privations he would have to undergo. Englishmen send their sons very nobly and unselfishly into posts of danger and hardship—witness the long list of gallant names of those who have lived and died in India. No, what these fathers feel is that the clergyman becomes on the whole a different kind of man from the man they wish their sons to be. Many people must have seen the faithful, if slightly brutal sketch of a certain type of fashionable clergyman given by Mr. Albert Chevalier at the Coliseum during September. One wonders if a caricature of the established religious teacher of their country would be received by any other nation in the world with such shouts of applause, save, perhaps, by Americans. The huge audience was not composed of rough or unmannerly people; it was a representative

gathering of respectable citizens from every section of the community. I remembered as I watched it that a gifted Frenchman, who had lived years in England, once said to me 'Why, whenever an Englishman mentions the word "parson" is it with a slight nuance of contempt? We often hate priests in my country, but we do not despise them.' The Coliseum sketch is not an isolated example. A very cursory glance at the place occupied by the English clergyman in fiction, on the stage, and in the comic papers, will prove that my French friend's criticism was not ill-founded.

The reason is not far to seek. The Roman priest, whatever his social position, has given up a great deal for his profession. He has practically renounced all that which to most men makes life worth living. The laity, whatever their religious opinions may be, recognise this, and in fairness pay a certain respect to the man who has done what they know they are not capable of. *A certain aloofness—a certain loneliness—comes at once into the* life of the man who has entered the priesthood. He dwells on the mountain peaks, and ordinary humanity in the vale. It is because of this aloofness that he becomes not only the teacher but the friend of humanity in all its great moments of stress. He who walks alone with God can help the soul that has suffered, the soul that has sinned, and the soul that is going alone into the great darkness. The ordinary English clergyman knows by bitter experience how seldom he is sent for by his parishioners when they are in trouble. Many devoted men chafe under this knowledge; they long to help, and cannot. *They have not given up enough.* For, because of all he has renounced, full measure of recompense is given the priest—the wonderful communion with his Master, the power to remit sins, the power to confer the Grace of God, the actual God Incarnate called into being by his hands. He stands—solitary indeed—but never alone, because with him is God Almighty, Very God of Very God.

I shall never forget once hearing a boy priest say his first Mass in the church of the small village where he was born. The building was crammed with women in their gay kerchiefs, and men who had known him a curly-headed urchin at his mother's door. A procession of little girls carrying white lilies led the boy, crowned with green leaves, to the altar. The sermon, preached by a youth but a few years older, a school companion of the neophyte, was strangely eloquent. He said: 'To-day many of you are thinking of what he gives up: Love, children, all the links that bind men to each other. And you say "What a sacrifice!" But what does he gain? Is it not enough to be the disciple of Christ, to be one of those who have power given direct from the Lord to raise the fallen, heal the bruised soul, and give the very

Body of God to those who ask? What have any of you got that compares with these things? My brethren, there was once a man who found a pearl of great price. You know how he sold all for that pearl. Behold one more who has found it.'

Then the other—white as death—began to say Mass. And suddenly at the consecration his faltering voice grew firm, and as he turned with the Host, a radiance not of this world came into his face. It was no boy who dismissed us with the great words '*Ite, Missa est.*' It was one who came down from the mountain top with the glory still upon his hair.

'Ah!' will say any Roman Catholics who read this paper, 'you plainly admit that we have the real thing, and that your so-called "Anglican Church" is but a poor maimed copy of the Roman.' This I emphatically deny. I believe as strongly as I am capable of believing anything, that our Anglican Church has as historic a continuity and is as truly a branch of the one and only Catholic Church as either of her great sisters. That we have sinned deeply, have for centuries rejected our high tradition, have bartered our birthright for a mess of pottage, I admit, as do all fair-minded Churchmen, in dust and ashes. But that our Church regrets her faults is also true, and this penitence is a greater sign of Divine Guidance than arrogance would be. If anything could increase the love and loyalty and faith in our Church which we already possess, it is the humble confession that Churches are, after all, but fallible, and only in their realisation that God alone is infallible can we ever hope to attain to some approximate image of what the perfected Church will be.

But to return to the subject in hand. There are signs in the air that in England the need for priests, as opposed to clergymen, is more general than is popularly supposed. I think the Church has come to the parting of the ways. The parson of the end of the eighteenth century, specimens of whom survived down to our own day—who hunted and shot, and was a pleasant man of the world and a first-rate whist player—is extinct. He was possibly a delightful person, but he was no more a priest than is the Prime Minister. His successor, whom Trollope has portrayed for us amongst his many types—the mild, inoffensive, slightly grotesque clergyman we all know—is also passing. We are beginning to take our priest seriously. The Oxford Movement, for so long only the leaven of the small minority, is beginning to work in the mass of the Church. And the demand for spiritual leaders and teachers is upon us. It is being met, and very nobly, by the few. The enormous strain put upon them, their great personal influence, tell their own tale. Are the bulk of the English clergy going to answer the call, or are they not? It lies in their hands to prevent 'the indifference of the laity to the

Church.' Below the apparent indifference there is a very hunger for help.

I remember a tragic case of the inadequacy of the 'clergyman' in a Midland village where I once lived. An old labourer, dying in tortures from cancer of the tongue, and in great depression of soul, was advised by a well-meaning lady to send for his parish priest. I asked next time I went to see him whether the clergyman had helped him. With a whimsical, sad little smile, he replied, 'Well, ma'am, he talked to me about his son in India.' Several Anglicans, seeing the trouble he was in, told him to ask Father ———, the Roman priest of the place, to visit him. I was struck at our next interview by the utter peace of that old man's face. He was received into the Roman Church directly, and died blessing the illness that had helped him to find reality. That man could have found equal help and comfort in our Church had the village possessed a 'priest' and not a 'clergyman.' Is it possible to convince the rank and file of the English Church of our requirements, or is the seed so nobly sown by Keble and Newman and Pusey, and now only bearing fruit after long years, to be garnered on the one hand by the Roman Church, and on the other by 'Christian Science' teachers, and the many other vague associations who believe in a more or less inspired carpenter? If the demand is to be met, it must be by the realisation, once and for all, that the man who wishes to become a priest should become one indeed, should recognise that if he is to do all that the priest claims to do he cannot be as other men, bound by the ties of home and kindred, and wife and child. He must obey the solemn command of his Master: 'So likewise whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple. Salt is good, but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewithal shall it be seasoned.'—Luke xiv. 26.

The enemies of celibacy would, I suppose, bring forward three cardinal objections to prove their point.

The first of these would be that grave scandals will arise should the clergy not be allowed to marry. I do not believe it. It is an insult to our clergy to say that they are only decent men because they are married. Both the Roman and the Anglican Church in this country are singularly free from scandals. There are bad cases now and then, in both branches. We perhaps hear more about them amongst our people, because with us the punishment is less severe, but to the credit of both orders be it said, there are wonderfully few such instances, and the fact that marriage is permitted in our Church does not prevent ugly lapses now and then, as we know from the daily papers.

The second argument against the celibacy of the clergy is not a difficult one to meet. 'Marriage makes them so much more

capable of understanding human needs.' Does it? Do people ever prefer a married doctor, or a married lawyer, or a married tutor, because they think that the fact of his having a wife will make him understand their needs better? Then why prefer a married clergyman? And do not any of us who know priests in both Churches know how much more frequently one meets human 'Roman' priests than human 'Anglican' clergy? And are not the human types one does meet in our communion almost invariably unmarried men?

The third objection is that the wife and family of the clergyman do such good work in the parish. That there are many splendid women who are wives of clergymen and daughters of clergymen, I do not for an instant deny. But that there are many wives and daughters of clergymen who are a byword in their parishes for silliness and scandalmongering is also true. Mrs. Proudie is not yet dead. And where they are not as bad as that, how little they matter in many cases, either way! The fine women in the community, be they wives of clergymen or simple lay folk, will always be a help or comfort in the parish. As for the others, it would be a relief to their immediate surroundings if they were eliminated, and so ceased to bring the Church into contempt. I would quote, in this connexion, two letters that appeared in the *Church Times* of the 10th of February 1911.

One, signed 'A Vicarage Lady,' complains bitterly that the laity wish the wives of the clergy to be 'dowdy.' One smiles at the hopeless incongruity of the wife of a priest setting up as a leader of fashion. It would be funny if it were not tragic.

The second letter, from a layman, signed 'Cherchez la femme,' states:

> It is also my misfortune, and that of a vast number of country churchmen, to know from personal experience what an exceedingly bad influence can be exercised by 'the Vicarage Lady'—an assertion which many laymen will bear out. I use the term in the vulgar tongue. I am quite alive to the fact that the wife of a country parson occupies a position of great difficulty. But it is not made easier by the deplorable want of judgment usually displayed by these good men in the choice of wives.

Both letters speak for themselves.

We come now to a graver aspect of the matter. No sane person can have any objections to a Protestant minister, of whatever denomination, marrying. He does not believe in the Sacraments—that is, he does not believe in any supernatural power as residing in the Sacraments. He does not believe in the Apostolic Succession. He is at best a moral and ethical adviser to his flock. The Anglican Church, on the other hand, preaches the Real Presence, the necessity for Confession, the miraculous

nature of Baptism. Let us take only one of these Sacraments—Confession. For Confession to be possible there must be a clear line of demarcation between confessor and confessed. Every man or woman of the world would pronounce it a dangerous and a false position for, let us say, a young and attractive woman to discuss the inmost secrets of her soul with a man, unless there were between them some absolute gulf which could not be bridged. It is nauseous to think of a girl relating her sins to a possible husband. Yet, without the safeguard of celibacy these things must occur. And because, as the conscience of the country awakens (which, thank God, it is doing every day), the inherent need of Confession to most, if not all, human souls becomes an acknowledged fact, so the need of the priest not trammelled by earthly ties will become more apparent. I do not say that a man cannot be an excellent person, a true friend and a public benefactor, as a married clergyman—there are many such. I only say that he can never be a priest, in the fullest sense of the word. He will never have that hold over his flock or that *direct* communication with God which a priest has.

'But,' says the average Englishman, 'I don't *want* a priest, it's just what I dislike. I want a *clergyman*—a cut above me perhaps in morals, but a nice jolly fellow who preaches interesting sermons about the topics of the day, and gives plenty of ripping hymns and music in the service, and has beautiful flowers on the altar.' By all means, my friend—but don't talk about 'belonging to the Catholic Church.' There are plenty of other nice bodies to belong to that fulfil all your conditions.

There is no reason why there should not be an order of lay married 'ministers' who read Matins, help in the village cricket matches, go to parties, organise private theatricals and bazaars, and give out soup tickets. It is an excellent opening for people with a taste for philanthropy and organisation. But they should not be allowed to celebrate the Sacraments. It is cheapening the Sacraments to allow anyone to administer them save those who—for so great a privilege—have renounced all. And the nation will never be won back to believe in the Sacraments till the Church again shows, by the reverence with which it handles them, that the Sacraments exist.

'But,' say my horrified readers, 'we are a Christian country—we *all* accept the Sacraments.' We are not a Christian country. To the great majority of us the Sacraments are a dead letter. If ever a country needed conversion it is England at this moment. And for the great fact of conversion to become true, the established order of things has to be swept away. 'Was fällt, das soll man auch niederreissen.'

Another class of readers will exclaim: 'Why hope to put flesh

and blood on the dead bones of the English Church? Why not join the Roman Communion?' Firstly, because I would repeat more insistently, that I believe that the Anglican branch of the Catholic Church is as living and as important as the Roman or Orthodox ones. That, in spite of its many faults and failings, its centuries of perversity and disobedience and cowardice, it is now trying to purge itself from its age-long faults. Because it is animated by a greater spirit of Charity, a wider comprehension of the teaching of its Founder, a more intense reverence for the practice of the Early Church, and because it has refused to admit those innovations which Rome has not only admitted, but made part of the dogma necessary for salvation. Finally, because I see by results that the Anglican Church makes for righteousness in a way that neither the Eastern nor the Roman Churches do. Anyone who has lived in either Orthodox or Roman countries must allow that these two great Churches have in practice, if not in precept, lost sight, as it were, of the wood for the trees. In the close observance of the letter they have confused the spiritual facts of which the letter is a mere helpful symbol.

What is more, I believe that, in the end, reunion will come to Christendom through us; that if only we hold fast to the faith that is in us, in God's good time the wounds will heal, and we shall be one.

But where divisions exist, because one branch of the Church is manifestly in the wrong, it is for that branch to make the first effort, and acknowledge the error. And this question of the marriage of the clergy is fundamentally an error, made by vast numbers of people in perfectly good faith, but nevertheless an error. No one who has studied the history of the Reformation in England can have failed to realise how the marriage of the clergy slowly crept in, fostered by men who wished to kill the spiritual life of the Church, and make of it an instrument for the use of the State. It was deliberately encouraged by those who hated the power of the priest, and knew that the surest way to undermine it was to weaken the priest's hold on the laity by making his standard a lower one. No one, I say, who has studied these things with an open mind can deny that the loosening of the tie of celibacy went sorely against the grain of all that was best and noblest in the Church. Even Elizabeth, who cannot be said to have been biassed towards Romanism, spoke her mind on the subject, somewhat crudely, perhaps, but with no uncertain voice.

Many of the clergy, and of the laity too, will say 'It is a great sacrifice, too great for us to make.' Of course it is a tremendous sacrifice, and one which should never be required of the very young. No man should be ordained before he is twenty-five. By that time he knows if he is fit for the priesthood. And

even then, let him wait till thirty before he takes the final Orders. Let the Church contain a body of trained men who help with the philanthropic and social work. There is an endless amount to be done entirely apart from what, for want of a better term, I may call consecrated service. And for the former the training required should be thorough, and the salaries adequate. But do not let us any longer confuse such workers, much as we should respect and venerate them, with priests. That has been done for too long. Men's souls are crying out for salvation. They are seeking real shepherds.

ANNABEL JACKSON.

RURAL DEPOPULATION IN ENGLAND DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The increased importance attached to all problems connected with the grouping and distribution of population gives an added interest to the Census Returns of the past year. These returns point to new tendencies in urban grouping of great significance, but even more noteworthy is their witness to the arrest in England of the rural exodus, the rapid progress of which had been strikingly demonstrated by the returns of the five preceding decades. It is easy, no doubt, to over-estimate the importance of the slight increase now recorded in the majority of rural districts. The increase is irregular, and very small compared with that of the towns. The proportion of the urban to the total population is even higher than before (78 per cent.). The depopulation, too, of the country parishes had already gone so far that in the nature of things a considerable slackening of the process was inevitable. At the same time there are distinct indications that the rural problem has entered on a new phase, and the present seems a suitable time for a short retrospect of some of its chief features, which may help us to estimate how far the causes of the exodus have really been removed.

That these causes should have been widely misunderstood, or at any rate very imperfectly appreciated, is not surprising. For more than half a century the urban population has preponderated over the rural to such an extent that the industrial questions of the towns have tended to monopolise the attention of the great majority of men and women interested in social problems. They have visited the country only for health or pleasure, and to escape from problems altogether. They have considered rural England as a field for physical or aesthetic enjoyment, not for economic or social study. To the aesthetic sense uncultivated heathland is more gratifying than arable, and the distant view of an ancient, half-timbered cottage, however insanitary, is almost invariably more satisfying than that of a modern six-roomed house of staring brick. Those parts of the country where the position of the peasantry is, from the economic point of view, most interesting and suggestive are the parts which the average visitor from the town seldom sees. The rural El Dorado of the jaded townsmen is

not the flat Fenland of South Lincolnshire, with its lands largely composed of market-garden produce, where almost available acre is cultivated, but rather a region like the Su Hills, where agriculture proper takes a subordinate place, where such parts as have not been left in their natural sta heath and forest have been laid out in parks and golf courses.

Then, too, the revolution in the rural districts has been, more than is the case with most revolutions of an econ character, gradual and silent. The passage of events in agr tural England has been singularly undramatic. There have few incidents likely to arrest public attention, such as the st or lockouts of the towns. Scattered, and often ignorant, workers in the country fields have lacked the opportunity of bination which has been the great weapon of the artisan. O the almost complete failure of the Agricultural Labourers' Ur in the 'seventies and 'eighties is a striking illustration.

In its earlier phases, moreover, the rural exodus was b means regarded with disfavour by those who had studie causes. Migration to the towns or emigration to other l seemed the easiest solution of the economic problems of peasant, and when it first began, was taken to indicate a wel increase in the mobility of labour. But this solution prov fatally facile that the old remedy presently became the c disease, and, as economists began to realise, a disease w affected the towns hardly less than the rural districts. When industrial expansion of this country began to receive its serious checks, when such urban problems as those of casual la and overcrowding in the slums began to be systematically inv gated, the continued influx of unskilled agricultural labou could no longer be defended on the old grounds. It could indeed be maintained that the recruiting of the town popula from the country was highly desirable. But this indicates cisely the most serious aspect of the problem as it presents i to-day. From the very beginnings of urban life the vitalit the town populations has been chiefly replenished by the strea rural immigrants. For the first time in history, the reservoir which this stream is supplied has been, relatively at least, al completely drained. In the future the vitality of the towns depend mainly on other factors, and partly no doubt on a ce fugal movement which will allow a larger number of urban wor to live in districts that, while becoming sub-urban, will re certain rural characteristics. Such districts, however, mus regarded as withdrawn from the area of Rural England, in accepted meaning of the term. There must remain, at any for several generations to come, many districts in the South Eastern, and Midland counties relatively unaffected by the out movement from the towns, districts in which the density

composition of the population will continue to be determined mainly by the economic and social conditions of agricultural life. It is to these districts that the conclusions as to the present position of the rural problem, which I have ventured to draw at the end of this article, are intended to apply.

The modern aspects cannot, I think, be rightly understood unless they are considered in relation to the historical development of the problem. So regarded, it presents two crucial questions. First, why did rural depopulation begin in the middle decades of the nineteenth century? Secondly, what is the explanation and significance of the remarkable variation in the rate and distribution of the decline—a variation so great that while in some rural registration districts the population in 1901 was little more than one-half that of 1851, in others, equally removed from urban or industrial influence, the number of inhabitants remained almost stationary, and in some actually increased?

The appended tables show the movement of population in five rural registration areas, selected for reasons which will be stated later in the article. The first set of figures gives the actual population of the respective districts in 1801 and in each census year from 1851 to 1911 inclusive, the second the percentage change for the first half of the nineteenth century and for each subsequent decennial period.

Why Rural Depopulation began in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century

The first point illustrated by these tables, and one which deserves emphasis, is the notable increase of population between 1801 and 1851. In this respect the tables are very typical. Even in the districts which have been most affected by the rural exodus, the decrease during the second half of the century was hardly equal to the increase during the first, so that in the great majority of rural areas the population in 1901 was greater than in 1801. The remarkable 'curve' shown, for example, in the Kimbolton table is representative of a very large number of districts. The suggestion naturally presents itself that the great upward trend between 1801 and 1851 may have a very intimate connection with the great downward trend between 1851 and 1901. Obviously the middle decades of the century mark an important crisis. The answer, in fact, to the first of the two central questions stated above is to be found in the understanding of the causes which produced this crisis. These causes broadly fall into two distinct groups; those originating in the Agrarian Revolution of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and accentuated by the poor-law policy in vogue before 1834, and those arising from the general position of English agriculture in the period subsequent to the Repeal of the Corn Laws.

Registration Area	1801	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	Agricultural Character of District
I. *Kimbolton* (West Huntingdonshire) 13 Parishes	5934	9339 +57.4	9349 +0.1	9126 −2.4	7919 −13.2	6836 −13.7	5991 −12.4	6141 +2.5	Heavy clay Poor corn land
II. *Bungay* (Suffolk) 14 Parishes	4597	6539 +42.2	6398 −2.1	6331 −1.0	5855 −7.5	5803 −0.9	5401 −6.9	5456 +1.0	Arable belt of 'High Suffolk'
III. *Barrowden and Great Easton* (Rutlandshire and Leicestershire) 24 Parishes	6029	7508 +24.5	7022 −6.5	6614 −5.8	6640 +0.4	6022 −9.3	5503 −8.6	5361 −2.6	Central uplands Pasture-farming
IV. *Evesham* (Worcestershire) 13 Parishes	5048	7696 +52.5	7897 +2.6	8324 +5.4	8321	9112 +9.5	10,509 +15.3	12,307 +17.1	Fruit-growing and market garden production
V. *Spalding* (Lincolnshire) Entire Registration District	10,751	22,388 +108.2	22,129 −1.1	23,184 +4.8	22,961 −1.0	21,733 −5.3	21,782 +0.2	23,497 +7.9	Fenland, rich arable Fruit and vegetables

Note on the Tables.—The Spalding area is an entire Registration District. The other four are 'sub-districts' under larger registration units. Allowance has been made for changes in the content of some of the registration areas in order to include the same parishes for the whole period. The figures for the different years are therefore strictly comparable. The districts selected are also purely rural, so that the composition of the population is not affected to any appreciable extent by extraneous elements.

A brief *résumé* of the profound changes produced by the Agrarian Revolution is necessary in order to make its bearing upon the problem of rural depopulation apparent. Its influence was certainly immense, but at the same time it has very frequently been misunderstood and misrepresented.

The Agrarian Revolution had three leading aspects. The introduction of great technical improvements in agriculture was the first. The systematic use of root-crops and the adoption of the four-course rotation, called the Norfolk course after the county where the new agriculture had its birth, made immense progress possible. The increased supply of winter food greatly enhanced the value of stock. By dispensing with the necessity of fallow, and by maintaining the properties of the soil, the new methods vastly increased the output of areas already in agricultural occupation; and, lastly, by the use of a special rotation adapted to light soils, they enabled sandy districts, hitherto little more than warrens, to be brought into profitable cultivation.

The second and closely related aspect of the Agrarian Revolution was the enclosure movement, which, although it had long been in progress, was now stimulated into much greater activity. With very few exceptions the great agricultural economists and experts of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries regarded enclosure as the necessary condition of the adoption of the new improvements. Where enclosure involved the substitution of consolidated holdings for the old open-field system of husbandry, it implied the removal of several defects. It prevented the waste of valuable land, caused by one-third of the area usually lying fallow and by the existence of the balks which separated the strips of the individual holdings. It prevented the waste of time entailed by these strips being scattered over the common field. It removed the inelasticity which made it almost impossible for the traditional system to be adapted to particular varieties of soils, although it was now increasingly recognised that different soils required different treatment. The consolidation of a man's holding meant that he could introduce new methods of tillage and improve his breeds of stock in ways which had been impossible under the old system. Where enclosure involved the 'approvement' of the wastes and commons, as distinct from the common-fields, it implied on the whole a real and substantial addition to the food-producing area of the country. The importance of this last fact is realised when we remember that the rapid rise of industrial centres, and after 1793 the exigencies of the Great War, were creating a demand for both corn and meat hitherto unparalleled—a demand which had to be satisfied almost entirely by home-production. Indeed, rapid and in some cases regrettable as the progress of enclosure and of the breaking up of waste land seems to us to have been, to many

contemporary authorities it appeared almost culpably slow. William Marshall, for instance, admittedly one of the ablest agricultural economists of that time, in a tract on *The Appropriation and Enclosure of Commonable and Intermixed Land* (1801), writes as follows: 'Through the uncertainty and expense attending private acts, a great portion of the unstinted common lands remain nearly as nature left them, appearing in the present state of civilisation and science as filthy blotches on the face of the country, especially when seen under the threatening clouds of famine which have now repeatedly overspread it.'

The marked tendency towards the engrossing of holdings and the growth of large farming, which is the third aspect of the Agrarian Revolution, was in its turn closely related to the enclosure movement. The growth of large farms at the expense of small freehold properties and yeoman holdings was due to the same set of causes which at the same period were eliminating the small master-workman and creating the capitalist manufacturer. Enclosures facilitated the process in several ways. In the first place they made the acquisition of holdings by capitalist farmers far more profitable now that they were consolidated than before, when they were scattered over the common fields. Secondly, they were so expensive that the poorer freeholders were often obliged to sell the parcels of land allotted to them. The adoption, too, of the new agricultural methods involved not only a considerable initial outlay of capital but also a willingness to break with the traditions of the past, whereas the smaller yeomen were, as a class, both impecunious and conservative. Many of them only held their own so long as the French war maintained exceptionally high prices. Their solvency depended on the military genius of Napoleon, and the peace of 1815 sealed their ruin.

Nor did the yeomen form the only agricultural class which was adversely affected by the Agrarian Revolution. Equally drastic was the change in the status of the still more numerous cottiers, who included both squatters on the wastes and villagers, landless indeed, or nearly so, but supplementing their wages by using the commons for turning out a few sheep or cattle, for turf-cutting, and so on. The cottiers, as a class, had no legal rights in the wastes or commons, and their claims, resting mainly on customary usage, were not recognised in many, if not in the majority of enclosures made by Private Bill in the eighteenth century and under the terms of the General Enclosure Act of 1801. It was otherwise with the enclosures which took place after 1845, under the terms of the General Enclosure Act of that year, but by 1845 the movement was nearing completion. The general result, therefore, was to make the cottiers agricultural wage-labourers pure and simple, without any additional sources of income. This

statement is, of course, only a generalisation, subject to many local variations and qualifications; but it gains in significance if we remember that at this very period when the commons were disappearing, the domestic industries carried on in so many rural districts were being destroyed by the advent of machinery.

We are now in a position to understand the relationship between the Agrarian Revolution and the rural exodus. It has often been contended that rural depopulation was the price paid for agricultural progress, and the defence of large-scale farming made by some of its chief contemporary advocates has seemed to support this view. Arthur Young, for instance, in his *Political Arithmetic*, wrote: 'The soil ought to be applied to that use in which it will pay most, without any idea of population. A farmer ought not to be tied down to bad husbandry, whatever may become of population.' Enclosures, in particular, have been regarded as a direct cause of depopulation. The careful investigation, however, which this contention has received in recent years leaves little doubt that the balance of evidence is against it. It is true that when enclosed land was put for the first time into permanent pasture, local depopulation was sometimes the result, but the main purpose of the enclosures of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was improved tillage, and at that period, previous to the introduction of agricultural machines, arable farming on a large commercial scale, and stock-rearing, when associated with the extensive cultivation of root-crops, demanded a great deal of labour. In many instances, as, for example, in the classical case of Coke's Holkham Estate, the new improvements clearly provided employment for a much larger number of labourers than before, when the land was badly cultivated or not cultivated at all. The majority of the districts most affected by the changes show a large increase of population between 1801 and 1851.

But indirectly the Agrarian Revolution was unquestionably one of the vital factors in the rural exodus of the second half of the century. It profoundly altered the structure of agricultural society. It greatly reduced the number of independent or semi-independent cultivators. It enfeebled, and in some districts almost eliminated, the class of yeomen and small freeholders, who at an earlier period had been considered the bulwark of rural England. It increased the number of landless labourers, and made the money-wage the sole measure of their interest in remaining in or leaving their native district.

The ultimate effects of these changes were certainly intensified by the vicious poor-law policy in vogue during the forty years or so previous to the Act of 1834. The system of supplementing wages out of the rates, which originated in a philanthropic desire to assist the poor in a period of exceptionally high prices, had far-

reaching consequences on the constitution of rural society. Its main features are so well known that it is only necessary here to emphasise three results which very materially concern the present inquiry. (1) The class most adversely affected was precisely that which had been hardest hit by the agrarian revolution—viz. the yeomen and small farmers. The large farmers not only for the most part escaped injury, but in many cases derived actual benefit from the 'Allowance System.' Under that system a wages-scale was fixed on the basis of the price of bread and the size of the labourer's family, and when the money-wage fell short of the required standard the deficit was made good out of the rates. The reduction of wages and the employment of paupers in preference to free labourers were the natural consequences. 'The employers of paupers,' says the 1834 report, 'are attached to the system, which enables them to dismiss and resume their labours according to their daily want of them; to reduce wages to the minimum of what will support an unmarried man, and to throw upon others the payment of a part.' The small farmer and yeoman, who employed little or no labour, gained nothing by the reduction of the wages bill, but had, on the other hand, to pay their full share of the rates, gradually reaching a colossal figure; they were, in fact, actually assisting to pay for the labour of the large farmer, with whom they were already competing on unequal terms. Thus was the class of small, independent cultivators still further depleted.

(2) Almost equally serious were the consequences for the free labourer, who suffered not merely from the high rates, but from the reduction of wages, and who, indeed, in cases where subsidised labour was present in such quantity that it could meet the whole demand, was unable to find employment at all.

(3) While life was becoming increasingly difficult for the free labourer it was becoming increasingly easy for the pauper. He was now secure of maintenance whatever the quality of his work, and as a result of the allowance system all motives tending to restrain his early or improvident marriage, or his rearing a large family, were removed. There naturally followed from this policy not only a marked deterioration in the *morale* and capacity of the labourers in the pauperised districts, but also an increase in their numbers, which bore no relation to the opportunities for employment in agriculture. But the drastic reform of the poor law in 1834, involving the virtual withdrawal of outdoor relief, threw the majority of these labourers upon their own resources, and made their continuance in the country districts depend entirely upon the demand for their services. There was now nothing to prevent the effects of the Agrarian Revolution in severing the ties which had once attached a large proportion of the peasantry, whether small yeomen or cottiers, to the soil of a particular locality, from

becoming apparent. Agricultural labour from this time forward was certain to migrate freely under any economic pressure.

It was precisely this pressure which the forces affecting the general position of English agriculture in the middle of the nineteenth century supplied. As the system of large farming, brought into existence by the changes already described, became gradually stereotyped, the demand for labour ceased to increase. The transitional period, affording additional employment in connexion with the bringing of new land into cultivation and the adoption of the new methods of cultivation, was over. Improvements indeed continued to be made, but after the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the withdrawal of agricultural protection, they were mainly in the direction of reducing expenditure. Even before the great crisis of the 'seventies, before America had yet begun seriously to threaten our staple forms of production, foreign competition was sufficiently severe to limit the further expansion of English agriculture and to compel the utmost economy of labour. But at this very period the field of industrial employment was being immensely widened. Industries of every kind were feeling the benefit of Peelite finance and of the removal of duties which, by limiting the introduction of foreign agricultural produce into England, had deprived most European countries of the power of purchasing our manufactures. The 'hungry forties' gave place to the 'roaring fifties.' The relative remuneration of agricultural and industrial employment rapidly changed. The power of the towns to absorb and maintain wage-labourers was increased at the very time that several causes had combined to limit the number which could be supported in the country. The removal of the surplus implied the beginnings of rural depopulation. The census of 1851 showed that it was imminent. The census of 1861 recorded the first definite decrease in the majority of rural districts.

THE VARIATION IN THE RATE AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE DECLINE IN THE POPULATION OF THE RURAL DISTRICTS

The aspect of the problem indicated by the above heading is one which deserves considerably more attention than it has usually received, for in the direct relationship which can be shown to have existed between a particular type of agricultural organisation and a particular movement of population we have an important clue to what is likely to happen in the future. The tables on page 177 are intended to illustrate this relationship, and frequent reference will be made to them in the course of the following argument.

English agriculture had, of course, never presented a uniform appearance over the whole country, but the Agrarian Revolution,

by permitting the land to be put to the uses for which it was best fitted, had led to much greater specialisation than before, so that, as the nineteenth century progressed, the leading types of agricultural economy became more clearly differentiated, both in distinctive characteristics and in distinctive localisation.

We have, firstly, the corn-growing type, predominant in the Eastern plain of England, which, as a geographical region, includes the greater part of Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and the East Riding of Yorkshire. This region, by virtue of its soil, its dry climate, and relatively high proportion of sunshine, is as a whole distinguished for its adaptability to arable farming, and is unsuited for pasture. It was precisely the region where large-farming and the reclamation of waste land had been most in evidence, and where the class of small cultivators had been most depleted. Moreover, the region as a whole is so far removed from the great urban centres that, even if its physical conditions were other than they are, it could not easily compete with districts like Cheshire in large-scale dairy-production.

Thus circumstanced, the counties of the Eastern plain have maintained in all essentials their original form or type of rural organisation, through all the great changes in the general position of English agriculture which the development of the New World and the revolution in the means of transporting foodstuffs over the ocean have produced. Unlike the Midland or Western counties, they could not easily change their agricultural system in response to the new conditions. Consequently no other region in England was so adversely affected by the great fall in the price of wheat and barley, which became more and more pronounced through the third and fourth quarters of the nineteenth century, for it still continued to grow these cereals as its principal commodities, and indeed at the present time produces about two-thirds of the wheat raised in the British Isles.

In these facts we have the key to the particular status and movement of agricultural labour in the Eastern counties. Before the introduction of labour-saving machinery, the demand for workers on the large arable farms in this region was considerably greater than in predominantly pasture districts like Leicestershire, but it varied much more with the seasons. The type of production which prevailed made labour employed for very limited periods, or for particular pieces of work, more economical than labour employed by the year or half-year. Hence in the middle of the century this was very significantly the region of gang-labour. The gangs were bands of labourers, mostly women, boys, and girls, collected and organised by a contractor with whom the farmer made all the necessary arrangements. It was not a very moral

system, but from the farmer's point of view it was a very convenient one, for it enabled him to employ labour exactly as he required it. The extensive use made of the labour of women and children at this period is very significant of the conditions obtaining where this type of agriculture prevailed. It was pre-eminently characteristic of the economy of the large arable farm, and was to a great extent the result of the low wage of the normal adult male labourer—a wage insufficient to support his family, now that the allowance system was at an end, unless he sold also the labour-power of his wife and children. The average weekly wage in the middle of the nineteenth century was about 9*s*. in the arable counties of the East, as compared with 10*s*. in the pasture counties of the West, and 11*s*. 6*d*. in the Northern counties. Thus even in the 'fifties and 'sixties, when the old form of husbandry was still relatively prosperous, the economic position of the labourers in the districts where it prevailed was insecure and unsatisfactory. It was to be still further undermined. The 'seventies brought the beginning, the early 'nineties the climax, of an agricultural depression which threatened the corn-growing districts with ruin. In some localities, as, for instance, in certain parts of Essex, whose derelict wheatfields were a byword twenty years ago, the land went almost completely out of cultivation, in others the farmers survived only by making use of the new agricultural machinery then coming on to the market, dispensing with hand-labour to the utmost extent.

For these reasons the rural exodus from the Eastern and Eastern-Midland counties between 1851 and 1901 assumed larger proportions than in counties where a different type of agriculture was possible. Of the five English counties whose population (in which that of the towns situated in them is included) actually decreased between 1851 and 1861, three belonged to the corn-growing Eastern plain—namely, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk. It is interesting to notice that in this same decade, while the population of Cambridgeshire decreased by 5 per cent., that of Durham increased 30 per cent., and that of Glamorgan 37 per cent. In the decade 1871-1881 Cambridgeshire again showed a decrease of 5 per cent., and Huntingdonshire of no less than 8.8 per cent.

Of the registration districts whose movement of population between 1851 and 1901 is shown in the tables, the first two have been selected to illustrate what occurred in the predominantly corn-growing districts. The Kimbolton table shows the exodus at its maximum in a *poor* arable district. The population of a group of thirteen parishes in West Huntingdonshire, mostly situated on heavy clay land, actually decreases from 9349 in 1861 to 5991 in 1901. The Bungay figures, on the other hand, illustrate

the rate and amount of decline in the richer and better-placed c
districts. The fourteen parishes included in this sub-district
situated in the arable belt of 'High Suffolk,' and in the sa
period of forty years show a percentage decrease of 15.6 per cer
as compared with 35.9 per cent. in the Kimbolton group. Fina
the revival of agriculture in East Anglia and the East
Midlands during the last few years is reflected in the slight
distinct increase in both districts during the decade 1901-1911.

The arable Eastern plain of England which we have just be
considering is approximately delimited on the west by the w
marked series of limestone ridges and clay uplands, which exte
from the Cotswolds in the South through the Northamptonsh
Heights into the rolling hills of Leicestershire. The large reg
lying between this series of uplands and the Welsh border is n
as distinctively pastoral as the Eastern belt is arable. It is b
perhaps, to describe it as the Midland pasture belt, but it may
taken to include also the counties of Wiltshire, Dorsetshire,
Hampshire south of the Thames, since the Chalk Downs, wh
occupy the greater part of their surface, present conditions
agriculture rather similar to those of the limestone uplands no
of the river. This Midland region can be again divided into t
great sections : (*a*) The upland pastures of the centre, as illustra
particularly by Leicestershire and Rutlandshire, where sto
rearing is predominant; (*b*) The lower-lying grass plains
vales of the West, where dairy-farming and in some districts fru
culture are the chief agricultural characteristics; of this t
Herefordshire, Worcestershire, and Somersetshire afford go
examples.

It is in this Midland region that the conversion of arable
pasture land has occurred on the greatest scale, as can be seen
a comparison of the maps published by the Board of Agricult
showing the distribution of cereals, of permanent pasture, anima
&c., in 1875 and 1895 respectively. Over a large part of
central uplands the conversion began earlier, as a direct result
the Agrarian Revolution, for owing to the character of the soil
region was so markedly adapted to pasture that the change w
considered a desirable one, even when corn prices were high.[1] T
agricultural districts of the West of England continued to gr
corn-crops in considerable quantities, until the changes of
second half of the century made a transition necessary.
region as a whole can be considered as one of 'converti
husbandry,' able to change the type of its agriculture and
adapt it to the new conditions.

This adaptation, although naturally it showed many variatio

[1] Marshall, writing in 1786, notes that: "Leicestershire, not long ago,
an open arable country: now it is a continued sheet of greensward."

tended to assume one of two well-marked forms: (a) The development of large-scale stock-farming, entailing a great increase of the area under permanent pasture. This was the normal transition over the greater part of the central uplands, and was naturally followed in most cases by a considerable decrease in the amount of labour required. The third table, showing the movement of population in the united sub-districts of Barrowden and Great Easton (Rutland and Leicestershire), is intended to illustrate the extent of the rural exodus from parishes in the pasture zone; (b) The development of intensive fruit culture and market-garden production in districts where the physical and economic conditions favoured this type of agriculture. In the Vale of Evesham we have a classical example of this type, and one which admirably illustrates its effects upon the stability of rural labour, for as it is situated at a considerable distance from the great cities, the composition of its population is not complicated by the intrusion of a suburban or residential element, as is the case with perhaps the majority of districts where this type of agriculture prevails. It is also of special interest owing to the fact that the beginnings of the fruit and kindred industries in the vale date from a time previous to the agricultural depression. They have, however, been immensely extended during the period in question, and present three features of special importance to the present inquiry. (1) They constitute a type of agricultural life which forms the nearest English analogy to that prevailing in Holland, Belgium, and many parts of France. (2) The type is one which in the Vale of Evesham, and in other districts of the same character, is associated with a relatively minute division of land and a large number of independent producers. (3) There has resulted a practically continuous increase of population, especially marked in the last three decades. The contrast, indeed, between the Evesham tables and those previously considered is altogether remarkable. In 1851 the population of the thirteen villages which comprise the Evesham sub-district was over 1600 less than that of the Kimbolton group. The census of 1911 shows it to be now more than twice as great.

The Evesham case, although exceptional, is by no means unique. Parallel instances of rural areas with a similar type of agricultural organisation and a similar upward movement of population, contrasting with the general decline, can be found outside the specially favoured vales of the Western counties and at considerable distances from the great towns. Other noteworthy examples are the Biggleswade district of Bedfordshire and the Wisbeach district of Cambridgeshire. The latter is typical of the trend of agricultural development in the Fenland, which now not only resembles Holland in its physical conditions, but to a large

extent in its agricultural practice also. The last table on page 177 shows that the population of the Spalding registration district has more than recovered the loss sustained during the height of the agricultural depression, and is now greater than it was in 1851.

It may be permissible to conclude this historical retrospect of the causes and extent of the rural exodus with a brief summary of some of the elements in the present position viewed in relation to the past.

(*A*) It is clear that some at any rate of the purely economic causes which produced rural depopulation in the first instance are to a large extent played out. The *surplus* agricultural labour which, for reasons that I have tried to make clear, existed in many of the country districts in the middle of the nineteenth century, has disappeared and has been replaced in many instances by a positive deficiency of suitable workers. During the last twenty years the complaint of the farmers that the younger men of good physique and character leave the villages, even when high wages are offered to them, has been general. There is strong evidence not only for the contention that the 'real' wages of agricultural labourers have risen very considerably since the exodus was at its height, but also for the bolder proposition that the average rural worker is to-day fully as well-off as the moderately skilled town artisan. The belief that town employments are almost invariably more remunerative than country employments has outlived the fact. Instances are innumerable of young men migrating to the towns attracted by the prospect of a higher money-wage, only to find that their 'real' wages are less than they could have obtained in the rural districts from which they came. This confusion between nominal and 'real' wages has probably been a distinctly important factor in the later phases of the exodus.

(*B*) The present position of English agriculture and the trend of its development seem to indicate the approach of a new *régime*, widely different from that of the days before the competition of New-World countries, like the United States and the Argentine, and of newly developed countries of the Old World, like Russia, challenged the staple productions of our farms. An agricultural transition has been in progress for forty years, and its ultimate consequences on rural labour may be no less far-reaching than those entailed by the Agrarian Revolution. This transition has been undoubtedly hindered in England by economic and social difficulties, relatively absent in smaller countries like Belgium, Holland, and Denmark, which were similarly affected by foreign competition, but were able to adapt their agricultural system to the new conditions far more quickly. Yet there can be little

ubt that many parts of rural England are tending to develop on
e lines indicated by these countries. In other words, the type
agricultural organisation already exhibited by the Evesham and
Visbeach districts is becoming far commoner. Physical as well
economic circumstances will no doubt limit and control its
xpansion, but it seems certain to become a frequent, if not the
ominant, type. If this is so, the prospects of a more numerous
nd contented peasantry are brighter than is often supposed, for
oth Continental experience and our own English examples of it
rove it to be the best guarantee for rural stability. It is note-
orthy, too, that even in districts where the older type of farming
still in the ascendancy, there is a marked tendency towards an
ncrease in the number of agricultural holdings. The latest
eneral Report of the Board of Agriculture (Agricultural
tatistics, 1910) contains the following significant summary:
The reduction in the number of the larger farms, i.e. those over
0 acres, which has been generally apparent in recent years was
gain evident in 1910. Within the last twenty-five years no less
han 1795 of such holdings have disappeared. . . . The large
arm of several hundred acres, which was at one time regarded
furnishing the most characteristic example of British Agricul-
ure, appears to be gradually losing its position, and at the present
ime little more than 3 per cent. of the agricultural holdings in
Great Britain can be so described. . . . The change is, no doubt,
nainly attributable to sub-division.' Apart from the increase of
he number of small farms and small holdings, the continuous
rowth of the allotment system is also remarkable. The combined
nfluence of these changes is undoubtedly in the direction of in-
reasing the number of those rural workers whose connexion with
he land is not solely dependent on the money-wage, a result which
almost the exact opposite of that produced by the Agrarian
Revolution.

(C) Throughout this article I have treated rural depopulation
s a phenomenon mainly attributable to economic causes,[1] and I
elieve that a careful study of the remarkable variations in both
he rate and the regional distribution of the decline confirms the
iew that these have been distinctly more important than social
auses. The statistics of the rural exodus certainly do not justify
he opinion, frequently expressed, that the specious social attrac-
ion of the town for the countryman has been chiefly responsible
or it. At the same time, it is certain that the attraction of town

[1] I have only attempted to deal with what may perhaps be described as the
rimary or underlying 'economic causes' of rural depopulation. The lack of
roper housing accommodation in so many villages, although a distinct factor
the problem, must, I think, be considered as subordinate to these and, to a
rge extent, as the result of the depression which they entailed.

life, or, more properly perhaps, discontent with village life, has been a contributory cause of increasing importance, especially since the Education Acts. Are we, therefore, to anticipate that, other things being equal, the increase of educational facilities in the future will be followed by a corresponding decrease in the number of rural workers? Not unless we are prepared to maintain the difficult proposition that education has the inevitable consequence of making men prefer the town to the country. If up to the present time compulsory education has tended to produce this result, it is, I believe, for reasons which are not likely to be permanent. Of these the most material are probably that education in the rural districts, with some splendid exceptions, is still very far from being properly adapted to the environment of those who receive it, and consequently has not qualified them to appreciate or take full advantage of the opportunities for happiness and self-development which life in the country offers in such full measure; and secondly that it has opened the eyes of the younger generation to the fact that the social organisation of country villages is often deplorably defective. For this the earlier economic changes, analysed at the beginning of this article, are no doubt partly responsible. They had the effect of replacing a society distinguished for its variety, composed of tenant farmers, large and small yeomen, small holders and labourers with an acre or two of land, each class grading into the next, by a society essentially rigid, in which the distinction between the propertied and non-propertied classes was usually very sharply defined, the social gulf between them very deep. The older system was far from ideal, but it had valuable connecting links which made the social life of the villages relatively a good deal more interesting than it became later. Partly, too, the dulness of the villages is due to the fact that so little has been done in them, as compared with the towns, to develop systematically a corporate life in which all can participate.

In the towns the growing bands of social workers complain of the lack of any obvious unit on which to concentrate their efforts. As a unit neither the parish nor the ward is ideal. In the country the units of corporate activity are clear, and it is only the organisation of them that is usually lacking.

That, from a national point of view, social effort, in the broad meaning of the term, is fully as important in the country as it is in the slums of great cities is a truth which is surprisingly little appreciated.

Signs, however, are not wanting that the social needs of the villages are at last beginning to receive recognition. They are to be found not only in the provision of institutes and in the improvement of the social side of parochial organisation, but in

the extension to the rural districts of such admirable self-governing, democratic movements as the Workers' Educational Association and the Adult Schools. All who realise the magnificent work which these organisations are performing in the towns will appreciate the immense effect which they are capable of producing in the enrichment of the intellectual and social life of the villages.

The census of 1911 has shown that the rural exodus has already been arrested. The census of 1921, there is good reason to hope, may prove not perhaps that the townsman can easily be brought 'back to the land,' but that an effective inducement, both economic and social, to remain can be held out to the labourers still left in the country fields and to a fairly large proportion of their children.

PERCY M. ROXBY.

THE AFTERMATH OF AGADIR:

SUGGESTIONS FOR A SETTLEMENT OF TERRITORIAL AMBITIONS

To those who have probed deeply into the foreign and colonial politics of the principal European countries during the last twelve months, especially in regard to Germany, several factors stand out very clearly in spite of official denials or evasions. These are: (1) That Germany has desired—does desire still—a station on the East Atlantic coast or on some Atlantic island, not merely the good harbour of Libreville in the French Gaboon (nearly under the Equator) but more especially to the north of the Tropic, and not far from the entrance into the Mediterranean; (2) that Russia desires to interfere with Persia almost entirely with the idea of getting a through route *viâ* Tabriz to the Persian Gulf, which would give her shipping and her trade goods an outlet into the warmer seas of the world; (3) that Germany has aspirations in the direction of the Congo Basin; (4) that Great Britain still cherishes the wish to link up her South African colonies with her possessions in East Africa and the Sudan; (5) that German aspirations for a great sphere of influence (in alliance with Austria) over the Turkish Empire in Europe, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Syria, are still fettered by French, Russian, Hungarian, and Italian objections; (6) that the revolution in China, though it may ultimately conduce to an enormous increase in the happiness of China through the better education of that country under a government more suited to twentieth-century ideals, may at the same time weaken the hold of China over her tributary provinces to the west and north, with the consequent raising of Russian, British, and Japanese ambitions or need for an interference in those directions; and (7) that the engagement of American (United States) officials to put in order the affairs of Liberia (on the Atlantic coast of West Africa), and of Persia, in conjunction with the American ten-year-old annexation of the Philippine Archipelago, cannot but raise the question as to the interference of New World Powers in the affairs of the Old World, at a time when more than ever the trend of popular feeling in America is to squeeze out gradually any pretension on the part of European States to rule in North, Central, or South America. In short, the world is faced with the possibility of a clash of interests between

one white Christian nation and another, or between several Christian Powers leagued together against a rival alliance.

Yet never did the world of intelligent educated people realise more than to-day the enormous cost of scientific warfare; its terrific risks in the way of national (one might almost write international) bankruptcy, social revolt, disease; and its weakening of the force of the white man in his relations with the coloured races, with the backward peoples of the world. If the non-Caucasian races are to be redeemed from the thraldom of rotten religions, preposterous customs, and that ignorance which brings about complete stagnation of intellect, it is necessary that the white man for many generations should be, in his united peoples, so preponderatingly strong that the 800,000,000 of yellow, brown, and black races must be constrained to follow his advice. The European, or white American, is checked from tyranny or misuse of his power by the lessons of history and of true Christianity; by that public opinion which is rapidly increasing in strength and unity of purpose amongst the civilised nations of the world, and which can now compel governments to behave with justice and kindness not merely towards their fellow humans of all types, but even towards the beasts of the field, the birds of the air, and the trees of the forest.

The only thoroughly dissatisfied nation of the white world at the present day is Germany. In common with several other writers on international relations, I have sought to show in this Review in what directions German aspirations might reasonably be satisfied without unfairness to those of other European Powers worthy of consideration. But the ideals of the thinking portion of the German people are somewhat changeable, and as the population and trade of Germany increases so does her appetite, until at last it would almost seem as if (judging from the German Press of November-December) she ascribes to herself a greater future than that to which she is justly entitled, and to Great Britain or to France a greater perversity or unreasonableness in checking those aspirations than really exists in the minds of British or French statesmen.

Visiting Germany in the autumn of 1911 I conversed with a number of persons qualified to discuss the aspirations of Germans, reasonable and unreasonable. They admitted that since 1909 no action had been taken by Great Britain unduly to check German intentions to play a great part in the opening up of Turkey in Asia, or an Austrian desire to be paramount in the Balkan Peninsula. Russia even was thought in 1910-11 to have accepted, however unwillingly, the idea of a future Austro-German predominance in these regions, no doubt with certain reserves regarding Armenia and the passage of the Bosporus and Dardanelles. I was told,

however, that France in various directions, chiefly of an underground financial nature, remained the chief opponent of the German railway and commercial advance in these regions, more especially in regard to the Levant (Syria and the Aleppo district). Among possible foes nearer home who might impede the eventual creation of a huge Austro-German Empire of many kingdoms, principalities, and republics, stretching from Hamburg to Basrah and from Memel to Trieste and Salonica, was the large and compact kingdom of Hungary, which by its Sclavonic province of Croatia intervenes (as regards direct continental connexion) between Austrian Carniola and Istria on the north, and Dalmatia, Novi Bazar, and Servia on the south-east (the newly-annexed province of Bosnia-Herzegovina though accorded a large measure of autonomy is the joint appanage of the Austrian and Hungarian Crowns). Consequently, any Austro-German railway or strategic advance towards the control of the Balkan Peninsula can only be undertaken with the sympathy and participation of Hungary. The population of Hungary consists of nearly 10,000,000 Magyars, who are the head and forefront of the Hungarian nation, but also of 5,500,000 Slavs (Croatians, Slovaks, Servians, and Ruthenians), 2,200,000 Germans, and 3,000,000 of Roumanians. Both the Germans in Transylvania, and Roumanians in that eastern portion of Hungary complained until very recently of harsh treatment on the part of the Magyar predominance in matters of education, religion, and local administration. But these complaints seem to have died down almost completely of late, either from the removal of the grievances or disabilities or a gradual adoption of the (tiresome Asiatic) Magyar language. Croatia also seems to be inclined more than before to make common cause with the government of Buda-Pest.

To the east of Hungary an Austro-German advance overland (economic as much as political) is checked by the autonomous province of Austrian Poland, to say nothing of the militant Slavs in Bohemia. This strategical difficulty might be quite sufficiently appeased if by some arrangement with German Austria the Hungarian kingdom agreed to the transference of Croatia to the Austrian system, taking in exchange the Ruthenian-Moldavian province of Bukowina, and agreeing likewise that the self-governing State of Bosnia-Herzegovina should depend rather on the Austrian than the Hungarian Crown. But would the obstinate Magyars who at present stand between Austria and the adoption of free trade (if she wished to change her policy in order to cheapen the necessaries of life) agree to any such rearrangement, even if they achieved a greater measure of independence? For many reasons, moral as well as material, the idea of a war between the Germans on the one hand,

or of Germany and Austria united, and the Magyars on the other—a war in which Germany would be the aggressor and Hungary the defender of its acknowledged rights—is felt to be a problem so dangerous and so distasteful that Germans prefer to turn away, and to contemplate some other means of approaching the colonisable territories of Turkey in Asia, or even abandoning any very serious enterprise in this direction in favour of an 'Atlantic' future.

Germany wants to get to the Mediterranean. This longing has existed for 2000 years and more amongst the populations of North Central Europe. But between Germany and this desired access to the genial lands lie Eastern France and Switzerland on the one hand, and the Austrian Tyrol and Carinthia on the other. In course of time the community of interests between the German-speaking population of the German Empire and of Austria proper and Western and Northern Bohemia must of necessity become as close as the ties between Bavaria and Prussia. With the existing Austro-German Customs union (only influenced by the Ausgleich, or 'compromise' of fiscal affairs between Austria and Hungary), Germany scarcely needs any other arrangement to make full use of Trieste as a German Mediterranean port. But the pact between Austria and Hungary does affect Trieste very seriously. And, on the other hand, there is Italy always lying in wait to join hands with Hungary some day, and attempt to wrest from Austro-Germany Trieste and Istria, on the ground that these countries form a part of unredeemed Italy. It is true that they contain about 500,000 Italian-speaking people, somewhat in sympathy with a coast and island Italian population in Dalmatia. (This last—subjects of Venice for some five hundred years—speaks a remarkably interesting and archaic form of Italian, which preserves a more Latin pronunciation.) But Trieste has never been an Italian town in the same sense as Genoa and Venice, Cattaro and Ragusa. It has always belonged to the Holy Roman or Austrian Empires since the break-up of the real Roman Empire ruled from Rome or Ravenna, and the population of the hinterland away from the coast is almost exclusively Sclavonic. Now that Italy has crossed the Mediterranean and established herself in the Tripolitaine, any aspirations she might entertain towards interference with Trieste, Istria, Albania, or any other part of the Northern or Eastern Adriatic coasts would really be utterly unreasonable and wholly undeserving of any sympathy in the United Kingdom.

Both Germany and Austria, in the minds of their private citizens, had entertained *velléités* in regard to the Germanising of the Tripolitaine through concessionnaire companies, and had based

them on the hope that Italy was not sufficiently keen on an African Empire to object to a German establishment in this direction. In these fancies they were no more blameworthy than the British have been in aspiring to control Egypt, or France in taking possession of Tunis. But the Italians had legitimate reasons for objecting to any Germanisation of the Tripolitaine, and took the only course they could to prevent it. This being the case, they have no justification, either geographical or political, for any interference with Austrian or with German ambitions in regard to the Balkan Peninsula or the Nearer East. Italy has got the utmost share to which she is entitled in this slowly-dissolving Empire of Turkey. Therefore it is extremely improbable that Great Britain or France would actively intervene to prevent a Germanising of Trieste, or to aid Italy in any scheme she may still cherish regarding the future of Albania.[1] On the other hand, both France and England, to say nothing of Spain, Portugal, and the United States, are fully justified in their apprehensions regarding the acquisition by Germany of any foothold on the coast of Morocco or on the Atlantic islands of Spain or Portugal. Such a foothold could only be desired as an ultimate naval base. Once it was obtained, the 68,000,000 of Germans (or 80,000,000 including those of Austria-Hungary), with their continually growing wealth in money, men, and other resources, would soon establish a splendid Atlantic fleet, and would irresistibly grow to the ambition of interfering in the affairs of America and of the Western Mediterranean. If Germany in her schemes of colonial expansion contemplates nothing more than a control, political or commercial, or both, over Turkey in Asia (minus Arabia), it would be unreasonable and unprofitable on the part of France or Britain to oppose her or to encourage Russia to do the like. Therefore, if she entered into an understanding or alliance on this basis with the two great Western Powers, her sea path through the Straits of Gibraltar to the Levant would always be assured to her, as well as their neutrality in any effort she and Austria together might make to obtain access to and a general control over the Balkan Peninsula.

Any British dislike to the absorption by Germany of the whole of the French Congo and Gaboon and the consequent acquisition of the harbour of Libreville on the eastern equatorial Atlantic (if it existed) may have been due to the feeling that France was being unreasonably plundered in return for the very narrow con-

[1] The eventual dissolution of the Turkish rule on the western side of the Bosporus and Dardanelles is inevitable, seeing that in European Turkey there are only about 1,300,000 Turks as against a non-Turkish, mainly Christian, population of over 5,000,000. The probable outcome will be the creation of a number of semi-independent, autonomous States, Albanian, Turkish, and Macedonian, united in some loose confederation with Austria, and consequently with Germany.

cessions which Germany was making in regard to Morocco. It may also have been based on the certainty that if such a tremendous sacrifice was agreed to on the part of France it would place Germany in a position to absorb the Belgian Congo likewise. But the matter was written of here and there in the British Press as though Germany had no port on this part of the Atlantic coast. This was an oversight, since the Germans already possess a very fair harbour at the mouth of the Cameroons River (Duala). But if Germany had *not* sent a gunboat to Agadir, and in her protest against the Frenchification of Morocco had stated most explicitly that she desired no foothold there herself; if she had not in one way or another within the last few years striven to obtain considerable claims to possess herself of Madeira or one of the Spanish Canaries, it is probable that British susceptibilities might not have been aroused regarding Libreville, any more than they were by the German acquisition of a landing-place for her cable at Monrovia on the coast of Liberia. Sir Edward Grey has justly observed that when you have a Power like Germany, with such a large population, such a perfect and huge army, such a growing navy, and—he might have added—such an intelligent Press (which is no more restrained than we are in its ambitions to found a world-wide dominion for its fellow countrymen), any nervousness on the part of the two great Western Powers is fully justified : for of necessity we are profoundly interested in the freedom of access to the Mediterranean and an unmenaced ocean route to South Africa and South America, and cannot but feel anxious when the least indication occurs of a special German interest in the coasts of the north-east Atlantic. A German establishment there in conjunction with the German hold over the North Sea coasts might crush the British naval power (and with it the French) between two fulcra. Owing to their much greater distance no such apprehension need be felt about Libreville, or the growth of German interests in the Western Congo or Angola. The only Power entitled to raise the most vivid objection to such a sacrifice as the surrender of the huge colony of French Congo would be France herself. But French interests in that direction are not of enormous commercial value, and France by her recent cession of hinterland strips has actually cut off French Congo from continuous land communication with French Central Africa. It would undoubtedly be wise for France to regard all her territories south of Wadai and Lake Chad as being lands to be eventually transferred to Germany in exchange for equivalent values.

What could such equivalents be, consistently with the stability and welfare of the German Empire? They might take the shape of the restoration to France of French Lorraine (the Metz district) and of a complete German *désintéressement* in the Grand

Duchy of Luxemburg, which might then leave the German Customs Union to ally itself more closely with France and Belgium. The retrocession of Metz to France, as far as the line of the Seille and Moselle, would give back to her the only portion of Alsace-Lorraine which is really French-speaking, and which has formed part of the French State prior to the reign of Louis the Fourteenth. It should finally dispose in the minds of all reasonable Frenchmen of any idea so preposterous as that of a war of revenge, to reannex to France a region where German is the natural speech of the people. It would also, combined with relaxation of German hold over Luxemburg, materially strengthen the independent position of Belgium, and thus free the two Western Powers from any apprehension of a German invasion of that country. The French right of pre-emption over the Belgian Congo might, so far as France was concerned, be passed on to Germany, and with some modifications be recognised by the other Powers interested territorially in Central Africa.

A modification should be introduced on behalf of the British Empire, and consist in a recognition on the part of Germany and France of the exclusive claim of the British Government to acquire from Belgium, if the Belgian Congo were for sale, in whole or in part, the Katanga district, the Luapula 'loop,' and the narrow strip between the north end of Tanganyika and Uganda originally intended to be leased to Great Britain under the mutilated Congo Agreement of 1894; also the acquisition by Great Britain or by the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan of any small remaining portions of the Belgian Congo lying within the basin of the Albertine Nile.

As regards the greater part of the Belgian Congo, no hindrance on the part of France or Great Britain would be put in the way of its acquisition by Germany from Belgium through any scheme of purchase or lease to which Belgium was quite voluntarily a consenting party; on the understanding, however, that all parts of the Congo Basin which might come under either German or British or other control should be placed under a *régime* of free trade—the free trade which was to have been applied to the Conventional Basin of the Congo, but which has been so monstrously set aside by the late King Leopold II. and by the French Government. It would, of course, be out of the question that Belgium should be coerced into parting with her Congolese territories, but it is quite clear that the conditions of fettered trade which still exist there cannot be allowed to continue indefinitely. They are the cause of Great Britain's official non-recognition of the Belgian annexation of the Congo State, and they would be a legitimate excuse for German protest if indulged in much longer. At the same time, if Belgium threw open her vast colonial domain to international commerce to the same extent and on the same lines as those pre-

vailing in British and German Africa, Europe and Germany would have to be content with that. But given such conditions the Belgian Congo would offer to German commerce a splendid field for its activities, and Germany would probably become as predominant there as she is fast becoming in the Dutch East Indies. Probably, however, German territorial ambitions might be satisfied, at any rate for a long time to come, by some small purchase or leasehold from Belgium which would enable Germany to rule the north-east part of the Congo State (after allowing for a British Cape to Cairo strip), and thus, by means of the northern lands of the Congo Basin (to be acquired from France in return for Metz), link up—only the narrow sea of Tanganyika in between—German East Africa with German Kamerun-Kongo. Under such arrangements Tanganyika might become a parallel to Lake Chad, only a far more navigable water space—an international lake (its waters in any case are international by treaty at the present day) on whose shores might meet the colonial possessions of Germany, Britain, and Belgium. Those who desired with fastidiousness to travel from the Cape to Cairo always under the British flag, could pass from the British South Africa Company's railway system, at the south end of Tanganyika, 400 miles northward up the lake to the Uganda railway system at the north end. But practical-minded folk would prefer to travel continuously by rail, even though the railway was in part a German or a Belgian line.

A portion of Africa fraught with very great possibilities in the way of mineral and vegetable wealth, and occupying a strategic position of some moment, is the Negro Republic of Liberia on the west coast of Africa, a strip of country about 300 miles long, lying between the British Colony of Sierra Leone and the French Colony of the Ivory Coast, and stretching inland to the watershed of the Niger. This region, settled in regard to the coast districts by the descendants of American freed slaves, is inhabited in its densely-forested interior by vigorous tribes of more or less pure-blood negroes belonging in the main to two linguistic stocks, that of the Muhammadan Mandingoes—one of the finest of African peoples—and the pagan and sometimes cannibal Krus. The civilised Liberians of the coast, even including the affiliated native element, scarcely amount to more than 50,000 people, and have shown themselves hitherto quite unable to control the warlike and turbulent million and a half of the interior. Yet these 50,000 English-speaking Christian negroes are gradually permeating the interior, and with some backing from a benevolent White Power might come in time to represent the real government of this little territory of 35,000 square miles. But in the recent past Liberian territory has been strongly coveted by France, who would like to add it to her West African possessions; by Great Britain, who would have

wished to see Sierra Leone influence extend in that direction; and by Germany, who on several occasions has attempted either to obtain a coaling-station, a landing-place for her cable (which quite rightly has been conceded), or even a protectorate. German trade with this region has gradually risen to the annual total of something like 150,000*l*. British trade is probably a little, but not much, below this figure. Another country having considerable commercial interests here is Holland. Perhaps both France and Britain would have been content to leave Liberia to her own resources, but for the growing interest felt in this country by Germany. It must be admitted that a German establishment on this coast would be a considerable embarrassment to the two limitrophe Powers, and would with the resources of modern engineering (which can create a port by mere expenditure of money) offer to Germany a position of strategic importance on the Eastern Atlantic coast which could not but raise anxiety in the minds of those who framed the naval policy of Great Britain or of the United States. The last named especially would not like to see Liberia made a base from which German fleets could operate on the coast of Brazil. Objections to the German acquisition of Libreville in the Gaboon (except on the part of France) might be regarded as foolish if raised by Great Britain, and still more so by the United States. But Liberia is perilously near to the coast of South America and to the narrowest part of the sea route to the Cape of Good Hope. Consequently, the recent intervention of the United States in the affairs of Liberia [2] has come as a happy solvent to what might have grown by degrees into a nasty little question, disturbing the relations of Germany, France, and Great Britain.

But although the great republic of North America may perhaps legitimately extend the right of intervention across to the equatorial coast of the Eastern Atlantic on the one hand and to the Asiatic Pacific on the other, it would be unfortunate and even unfair if she were to attempt unduly to interfere with the reorganisation of Turkey or of Persia—that is to say, to back up with her national strength the private efforts of American citizens. The United States cannot be expected to forbid American citizens to serve any foreign country; in fact, if she did so, American citizens would decline to pay any attention to the order of their own Government. It is sufficient that it should be intimated to them that if their engagement takes place anywhere in the Old World —except in Liberia or in Easternmost Asia—their employment is not held to give the United States any claim to intervene, provided her treaty rights are respected.

[2] It is scarcely necessary to remind readers that the State of Liberia was founded by the private enterprise of United States citizens between 1821 and 1848.

But the work of Mr. Morgan Shuster in Persia has perhaps en unfairly judged, and has been rendered extremely difficult the stupid way in which the Russian sphere in Persia was ranged. Russia's only legitimate claim to special interest in Persian Empire lies in the fact that that Empire (portions of nich have been annexed by Russia at different periods in her story) lies between the Russian Empire in Western Asia and warm waters of the Persian Gulf. Russia should have asked and have obtained as her sphere of influence a narrow strip of ritory connecting Transcaucasia with the north-west corner the Persian Gulf. This is a region inhabited not so much by ersians as by Kurds, Armenians, and Arabs. Across this strip ussia could have made her railway, and have then remained comratively indifferent to what was going on in 'real' Persia. milarly, Great Britain, by the demarcation of her sphere exactly here it is, separating Afghanistan from easy access—for gunnning—to the Persian Gulf, and controlling the eastern out from that gulf, might have regarded with far greater patience an she has shown the evolution of the modern Persian State. hen, under the guidance of any foreigner whom the Persians ight have selected or under any form of government they chose adopt, Persia could have been allowed a reasonable lapse of ne in which to achieve regeneration. Perhaps, after all, this an, which has succeeded so well in regard to Siam, may yet be opted as the solution of the Persian difficulty—a difficulty which approached with some unreason, not only by Russian and British aperialists, but by those somewhat sentimental idealists in reign policy who do not take into regard the utter ruin into hich Persia has been brought under its odious Turki dynasty, d the imperious needs on the part of the British-Indian and assian Empires.

H. H. JOHNSTON.

The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY *cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*

NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

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RECENT CHANGES IN ADMIRALTY ORGANISATION

The Memorandum and Minute by the First Lord of the Admiralty which were published on the 8th of January differ in many ways from the ordinary type of official papers. Not merely do they announce important changes in Admiralty organisation, they also contain detailed statements of reasons for making these changes, and of anticipated increase in efficiency and economy of naval administration which are to result therefrom. In reading the papers one is reminded of French procedure, which sets an *Exposé des Motifs* in the forefront of any formal *Projet de Loi* submitted to the Chamber of Deputies; only in the present case the statement made is for the information of the public, and no Parliamentary sanction is necessary except that which will be involved in approval by the House of Commons of the Vote for Admiralty salaries when the Navy Estimates for next year are presented. Mr. Churchill says that—

> details which require to be elaborated with precision in co-operation with the persons concerned will presently be embodied in a revised Table of Distribution of Business, issued by the First Lord, under the authority of the Order in Council.

He thus makes it clear that the administrative changes recently made fall within his powers as First Lord. In this particular there is no room for difference of opinion; but details of the new distribution of business will be awaited with much interest, and it is to be hoped that precedent will be followed and that Parliament will be informed—as was done seven years ago when Lord Selborne introduced important changes, some of which gave rise to serious objections as tending to affect prejudicially the efficient working of the Board of Admiralty.

Another notable feature in the Memorandum and Minute is the full recognition by Mr. Churchill of good work done in the past, by his predecessors in office and by the Departments which are affected by the changes now made. These changes are described as natural developments of previous arrangements, not as drastic or revolutionary departures from more or less discredited administrative methods. Changed conditions of naval warfare, and the desire to adapt Admiralty organisation more fully to present-day needs, are given as the governing motives of the action taken. This is obviously the proper course in the circumstances, although in some comments on the new scheme a contrary view has been taken, and the careful statement of the First Lord has been ignored, much more being claimed for the new arrangements than Mr. Churchill has said that he anticipated, while previous procedure has been criticised in terms which find no support in the official papers.

THE NAVAL WAR STAFF

The formal organisation of a Naval War Staff in three divisions —Intelligence, Operations, and Mobilisation—each under a Director, and the appointment of a Chief of the Staff, has naturally been regarded as the most important step recently taken. This action may be looked upon as a fulfilment of the view expressed about two years ago by the Committee of the Cabinet which Mr. Asquith appointed, in consequence of the appeal for inquiry made by Lord Charles Beresford. In their Report that Committee stated that they 'had been impressed with the difference of opinion among officers of high rank and professional attainments regarding important principles of naval strategy and tactics,' and it is notorious that these differences were serious, if not irreconcilable. The Committee took note of some steps which had already been taken by the Admiralty to remedy this evil, and referred to 'further advances which were in contemplation.' The Report stated also that the Committee 'looked forward with much confidence to the further development of a Naval War Staff.' In view of these

expression of opinion from a Committee of the character described, action was inevitable, and surprise has naturally been felt at the long delay which has occurred in moving in the matter. No good purpose would be served in speculating on the reasons for that delay, or on the fact that action has followed immediately upon the appointment of a new First Lord and a new Board of Admiralty. The all-important fact, in public estimation, is the creation of a Naval War Staff, and the appointment of the Chief of the Staff, three Directors, and their Assistants. Naturally there is a desire on the part of the public who are not conversant with naval administration to be informed as to the features in which the War Staff will differ from the previous organisation which dealt with the same subjects, and, at the request of the Editor, this paper has been written in order to make these facts known. For a long period the writer was closely associated with the Intelligence Department of the Admiralty; he served for many years at the Admiralty before the Intelligence Department was established, and he has carefully studied the official papers recently published. He can therefore speak from personal knowledge of the character of the work done in the past when comparing it with what is proposed to be done in the future.

The Naval Intelligence Department was first organised in 1883; but Admiral Sir Vesey Hamilton—who himself had served as First Sea Lord and was fully informed on the subject—spoke of that event as follows :—'The work of Naval Intelligence has necessarily always gone on within the Admiralty, but the institution of a Special Intelligence Department has been found, under the new administrative conditions, of signal value.' This is obviously the correct view. At all periods and in all circumstances accurate and full information respecting the naval forces and organisations of other maritime countries has been essential to the determination and strength which should be possessed by the Royal Navy in order that British sea-supremacy might be maintained. Before the era of steam and armour the work to be done in acquiring and tabulating information respecting foreign fleets was comparatively simple : since that era began each year has made the task more complex and difficult, in consequence of the rapid and extraordinary changes in naval armaments and the development of new navies. These are the 'new administrative conditions' mentioned by Sir Vesey Hamilton which have enhanced the importance of an Intelligence Department.

Acquisition and tabulation of information, important as it always must be, has never constituted the sole or even the chief task of the Intelligence Department at the Admiralty. Sir Vesey Hamilton put this point clearly in his admirable little book on

Naval Administration (published in 1896), and a few passages may be quoted:

> The [Intelligence] Department is purely consultative, and in no sense administrative. The essence of its work is officially described as preparation for war. . . . To this end the Director of Naval Intelligence has particular instructions. He is to collect, sift and lay before the Board all information on maritime matters likely to be of use in war: he is to keep ready a complete plan for mobilising the naval forces of the Empire; and, when directed, is to prepare plans for naval operations for the consideration of the Board; and he is to bring to the notice of the Board all points touching preparation for war. There is, however, an express injunction that the Intelligence Department is not to indicate to the Board any policy unless called upon to do so.

Here, then, it is clearly set forth that the Intelligence Department, as it existed so long ago as 1896, was charged with three great branches of work—Intelligence, Mobilisation, and Operations—exactly as the future Naval War Staff will be charged. Each of these branches had at its head a naval officer, and over all the branches was the Director of Naval Intelligence. From the commencement, officers of high professional reputation and large experience have been chosen for this important position. The first occupant of the office was Captain W. H. Hall, and amongst his successors stand the names of Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, Admiral Sir Reginald Custance, and Admiral Prince Louis of Battenberg—all of whom are recognised as accomplished students of naval history, strategy and tactics; well qualified for fulfilling the responsible duties with which they were charged, including plans of naval operations in case of war.

The First Sea Lord has always had the Intelligence Department under his personal control, and its Director has been one of his most valued assistants. Sir Vesey Hamilton, when referring to this arrangement (in 1896), used words which even now have interest, because they are in absolute agreement with what is proposed for the Naval War Staff. 'Some writers,' he said, 'regarding the Intelligence Department as a new factor in Admiralty procedure, have gone so far as to describe it as a potential "Brain of the Navy," capable of assuming a high directive function: but the truth is, that the First Sea Lord, who is the Superintending Lord of the Department, even if relieved of some of his many duties, must always, assisted by his colleagues, bear the grave weight of his supremely important advisory duties.' Elsewhere Sir Vesey Hamilton quoted Sir James Graham as having described the First Sea Lord as the 'first naval adviser'; and in his book he defined the particular province of that member of the Board of Admiralty as including advice 'upon questions of maritime defence and naval strategy as influencing policy.' The revised Distribution of Business laid down by Lord Selborne in

October, 1904, assigned to the First Sea Lord responsibility for advice in regard to 'preparation for war: and all large questions of naval policy and maritime warfare,' and gave him control of the Intelligence Department.

Since 1904 the principal changes affecting the Intelligence Department have been the separaton of the Mobilisation Branch, the appointment thereto of an independent Director, and the establishment (in 1909) of a 'Navy War Council,' which was presided over by the First Sea Lord, and included in its membership the Directors of the Intelligence and Mobilisation Departments, the Assistant Secretary of the Admiralty (a civilian), and the Rear-Admiral in command of the War College. There has been a considerable growth of numbers and cost of the Staff employed at the Admiralty since the Intelligence Department was established. Including naval *attachés*, twenty-seven officers and seventeen civilians are provided for in the current Navy Estimates, at a cost approximating to 22,000*l*. In addition, a considerable sum is spent on the salaries of officers and civilians employed in connexion with the war-courses of instruction at home ports.

Under the new arrangements the two sections of the Intelligence Department—Intelligence and Operations—are to be separated; each is to be supervised by a Director, and the Chief of the Staff is to preside over the three divisions guiding and co-ordinating their work. Mr. Churchill expressly says that 'the War Staff at the Admiralty will . . . be organised from the existing elements in the three divisions: the Intelligence division, the Operations division, and the Mobilisation division.' The divisions are to be equal in status; each Director is usually to be a Captain in the Royal Navy; frequent Staff meetings are to be held and attended by the Chief and the three Directors, so that each Director is 'to be kept fully acquainted with the work of his two colleagues'; one of the three Directors is to be always within prompt call night and day. It is also laid down that

> The functions of the War Staff will be advisory. The Chief of the Staff, when decision has been taken upon any proposal, will be jointly responsible with the Secretary for the precise form in which the necessary orders are issued, but the Staff will possess no executive authority. It will discharge no administrative duties. Its responsibilities will end with the tendering of advice, and with the accuracy of the facts on which that advice is based. Decision as to accepting or rejecting the advice of the Staff wholly or in part rests with the First Sea Lord, who, in the name of the Board of Admiralty, discharges the duties assigned to him by the Minister [i.e. the First Lord in his distribution of business to the members of the Board].

When one compares these provisions for the future with the description of regulations for the Intelligence Department given by Sir Vesey Hamilton and quoted above, it will be seen that

the work to be done by the War Staff will be identical in character with that which has been done previously; it will be divided into the same branches, each with its head; and all these branches will be supervised by a distinguished naval officer who is to be always of flag rank. In the past the Director of Naval Intelligence has usually been a Rear-Admiral. The powers assigned to the Chief of the Staff appear to be practically the same as those formerly exercised by the Director of Naval Intelligence: both of them by their Instructions are charged with purely advisory duties. The First Sea Lord remains responsible, as he has always been, and must be. One point now specifically laid down is that the First Sea Lord shall be authorised to give decisions 'in the name of the Board of Admiralty,' while he is placed under no obligation to consult his naval colleagues before deciding. It may be noted that no such obligation has been formally laid upon the First Sea Lord since radical changes in the Admiralty system were introduced by Sir James Graham eighty years ago. It is recognised (with regret) that the further change which was made by Lord Selborne in 1904 seriously affected the position of other naval members of the Board in relation to the First Sea Lord. On the other hand, everyone who has been conversant with the actual administration of Naval affairs will agree with an experienced ex-First Sea Lord (Sir Vesey Hamilton) when he describes the ordinary practice of the First Sea Lord as one in which he was '*assisted by his colleagues*' in bearing the heavy load of responsibility inevitably placed upon him. Equally correct was his reference to the duty of the Director of Naval Intelligence as including the bringing '*to the notice of the Board* all points touching preparation for war.' The last word must always rest with the First Sea Lord, who is certain to be senior to his colleagues, and whose primary duty it is to act as principal Naval adviser to the Government through the First Lord: but it must be an enormous advantage, even to the most able and experienced officer, to have at hand the power of consulting other Naval men whose experience and professional ability have led to their selection as members of the Board of Admiralty.

Mr. Churchill recognises the fact that established principles of organisation are to be developed in the establishment of the War Staff. He says, when describing its functions:

It should not be supposed that these functions find no place in Admiralty organisation at the present time. On the contrary, during the course of years all, or nearly all, the elements of a War Staff at the Admiralty have been successively evolved in the practical working of every-day affairs since the organisation of the Foreign Intelligence Department in 1883.

His intention is 'to combine these elements into an harmonious and effective organisation; to invest that new body with a significance and influence it has not hitherto possessed, and to place it in its proper relation to existing powers.' Mr. Churchill is of opinion that 'the *personnel* of the War Staff must be considerable in numbers, and that it must consist of officers representing most grades and every specialist branch, fresh from the sea, and returning to the sea fairly frequently.' These conditions for appointment to the Staff of the Intelligence Department have held good in the past; all grades and specialisations have been represented in the Staff, and Naval officers serving thereon have come from and returned to the sea. It would appear, although it is not specifically stated, that the work and numbers of the Operations division are to be especially increased, and this would be in accordance with the opinion expressed by the Committee of the Cabinet and quoted above.

There must, of course, be universal agreement in the opinion that a thorough study of the operations of Naval war, and the preparation of plans of campaign to meet probable or possible contingencies, is essential to the maintenance of British supremacy at sea. Apart from that action there can be no trustworthy basis for estimating the Naval force which is required for the defence of the Empire; because there will be no clear perception of the duties which the Imperial Navy may be called upon to perform, the numbers and types of ships required, the locality and equipment of Naval bases, and other matters which are of vital importance. These are, however, no new discoveries, nor has action in this direction been wanting in the past. It is not my duty or intention to attempt any defence of the past work of the Intelligence Department in regard to its study of operations and strategy: it would be an impertinence for me to appear in that rôle. My official duties, however, brought me during a long period into touch with this side of its work, and gave me familiarity with its extent and character. It may therefore be permitted me to say—from first-hand knowledge—in view of recent criticisms made by persons not fully informed in regard to the facts, that all the great programmes of shipbuilding carried out during my long period of service as Director of Naval Construction and Assistant Controller of the Royal Navy, were framed on the basis of elaborate plans of campaign. For these plans the First Sea Lord was primarily responsible, and in the preparation of them the Director of Naval Intelligence and his staff gave great and valuable assistance. This testimony will be corroborated by all who served in the Admiralty during the period mentioned It is, therefore, much to be regretted that state-

ments should have been made of late in which it has been asserted that the study of Naval operations is now to be undertaken for the first time at the Admiralty in an effective or extensive manner. Mr. Churchill gives no ground for such statements in his Memorandum, and it has been shown that he realises what good work has been done in the past. The First Lord may be right in thinking that more requires to be done in this direction, and that the 'thinking department' requires to be strengthened. It is a very different thing, however, and an absolute misstatement of fact, to say that in the past there has not been a thinking department. If the history of the great shipbuilding programme introduced and carried by the late Lord Spencer is ever written, it will be found that it rested upon a complete scheme for the Naval defence of the Empire, its commerce and communications, against all possible attacks which could then be made upon them. This scheme included an 'Establishment' for the ships of various classes required by the Royal Navy, provision for manning and reserves for the fleet, arrangements for stores and coals, the creation and improvement of Naval bases, and other contributories to Naval power and Naval operations. The man responsible for this great plan was Admiral of the Fleet Sir Frederick Richards, G.C.B., then First Sea Lord. In its preparation his Naval colleagues on the Board and the Director of Naval Intelligence, as well as other heads of Departments, were consulted. As an instance of wise prescience and large views of naval strategy, the scheme will ever remain a great example of administration for those charged with the corresponding responsibilities. This scheme did not stand alone during my service at the Admiralty: other schemes were framed before and after its conception, and since my retirement it seems inconceivable that so well-established a procedure can have been abandoned or sensibly departed from. Mr. Churchill does not hint at such a change, but he thinks improvement possible and desirable; and he is right, as the responsible Minister, in giving effect to that conviction in what he may decide to be the best way.

Details of his scheme cannot be considered or criticised until they have been thoroughly worked out and published. One or two important details have been made known already, however, and may be mentioned. Candidates for admission to the War Staff are in future to undergo a preliminary course of training at the War College, and the selections for service as Staff officers are to be made from amongst graduates of that College. A specialist branch of Staff officers is thus to be formed, corresponding to existing specialist branches in gunnery, torpedoes, and other duties. These Staff officers are to be employed at

the Admiralty and on the staff of Flag-officers afloat. Regular periods of sea-going executive duty are to alternate with Staff duties in order that officers in that class may be kept up to the necessary standard as practical sea-officers. These statements, of course, must be read in connexion with the passage quoted above, in which the First Lord lays down the regulation that on the War Staff 'most grades and every specialist branch' will be represented. Mr. Churchill also says that 'the formation of a War Staff does not mean the setting up of new standards of professional merit, or the opening of a road of advancement to a different class of officers.' These conditions must be rigidly enforced if the *personnel* of the Royal Navy is to maintain its high traditions for unity of feeling and purpose. Each grade and specialised class must retain equal opportunities for promotion and employment if its work is to be done efficiently, and lack of service on the Staff must never be allowed to be a bar. There can be no doubt also as to the advantage which will be obtained hereafter, even when the new system of training for the Staff has been put into thorough working order, by making some appointments to the War Staff from amongst officers who have not been specially trained in the regular way, but are known to have special ability or knowledge acquired by personal study outside the ordinary course. These things will doubtless take care of themselves, but they are mentioned because they are already the subject of discussion in naval circles.

Appointment of an Additional Civil Lord.

Hitherto, with a single and brief exception, there has been one Civil Lord of the Admiralty, and that office has been held by a member of Parliament. The duties attaching to the office have included the control of appointments to and promotions in the civil staff of the naval establishments, Greenwich Hospital business, dockyard and naval schools, and other miscellaneous subjects. The principal charge entrusted to this political member of the Board has been the supervision of the Department of Director of Works and of the naval works carried out under special Loan Bills during the last sixteen years. The last-mentioned works have involved great extensions and improvements of dockyards, harbours, and naval bases, the total expenditure thereon being estimated at thirty millions sterling.

In March 1882 an Order in Council was issued, under which an additional Civil Lord was appointed. His qualifications were described as follows: 'He is to be possessed of special mechanical and engineering knowledge, as well as experience in the superintendence of large private establishments.' It was also

laid down that this new member of the Board should assist the Controller of the Navy, who is a naval officer, and during the last thirty years has been continuously a member of the Board of Admiralty. Mr. George Rendel, who had been long associated with Lord Armstrong in the management of the great works at Newcastle-on-Tyne, was appointed Additional Civil Lord, and it is well known that the creation of the office was chiefly due to the desire to have the benefit of the advice and assistance of that eminent ordnance engineer during a critical period in transition from muzzle-loading to breech-loading guns. The appointment was non-political, but the tenure of office as a member of the Board was similar to that of other members. When Lord George Hamilton succeeded Lord Northbrook as First Lord in the summer of 1885, a new Board of Admiralty was appointed, including new naval members, and the office of Additional Civil Lord was abolished.

Mr. Churchill now proposes 'to revive the office of Additional Civil Lord, though for a somewhat different purpose.' He defines the position and duties in the following terms:

> The occupant of this post will be a member of the Board of Admiralty. He will be appointed for a *fixed tenure*. He will be non-parliamentary and non-political. Under him will be placed the various branches of Admiralty departments connected with contracts and purchasing. He will conduct the business and commercial transactions of the Board and all their relations with the great contracting firms. He will, in short, be *the Admiralty buyer and business manager*; and it will be his duty to furnish the Third and Fourth Sea Lords with all that they may require in order to build, arm, equip, and supply the Fleet. Except as a member of the Board, he will have *no responsibility either for the adequacy of naval preparations or for the technical suitability of materials ordered.* These duties can only be discharged by the Sea Lords responsible for the various departments. It is for them to choose and for them to supply; and these functions, which are sympathetically related, are to be discharged in harmony by both parties, and with full knowledge of each other's spheres. [The italics are ours.]

Readers unfamiliar with Admiralty organisation may better understand the arrangements proposed if a brief explanation is given of pre-existing methods for dealing with naval contracts, and of the duties assigned to the Third Sea Lord, who is better known as Controller of the Navy. In 1869, when Mr. Childers, as First Lord, made drastic changes in Admiralty organisation, the Controller was first made a member of the Board, and so remained until 1872, when Mr. Goschen was First Lord and decided that it was better to revert to the earlier practice. In 1882 the Controller again became a member of the Board, and still remains so. The duties attaching to the office are varied, extensive, and onerous the Controller being responsible under

the First Lord for naval *matériel* and dockyard administration. These duties have grown enormously during the last twenty-five years, in consequence of great developments in the Royal Navy and large increase in numbers, dimensions, cost, and complexity of modern warships. Mr. Churchill, in his Minute, dwells upon these great and growing responsibilities, the magnitude of which is indicated by the fact that expenditure during the current year under votes administered by the Controller will exceed twenty millions sterling, out of a total naval expenditure of about forty-four millions. The First Lord naturally does not give particulars in his Minute of the actual organisation of the Controller's Department by means of which these responsible duties are carried out —and it may be said are well carried out; it may be useful therefore to sketch the principal features of that organisation, as they have an important influence on both the present and the future efficiency of the Navy. Reference to the Navy List will show that distinguished naval officers who, for a period averaging from three to five years, come from sea-service to occupy the great position of Controller of the Navy and then return to sea-service, have during their occupancy of that office the assistance of a numerous and efficient professional staff of a permanent nature distributed in a number of branches, each of which is under the control of a responsible and permanent official who has been appointed because of proved ability and large experience in the duties to be performed by him. Each branch is manned by a capable and numerous staff of assistants specially trained and qualified for their several duties. Amongst these officers the following may be mentioned. The Director of Naval Construction is professionally responsible for the design and supervision of the building of ships. The Superintendent of Construction Accounts and Contract Work is specially concerned with details of shipbuilding finance and the execution of contracts for warships. The Superintending Electrical Engineer deals with the design, manufacture, and installation of electrical fittings and appliances. The Engineer-in-Chief is responsible for the supervision of designs and construction of propelling apparatus and auxiliary machinery in the ships of the Royal Navy. The Director of Dockyards assists the Controller in the management of our great naval arsenals, each of which is placed under a naval superintendent and endowed with a competent staff of professional and clerical officers. The Director of Stores is responsible for the finance, custody, maintenance, and issue of naval stores for the fleet and dockyards, including coals; but in regard to the last-mentioned item he acts as assistant to the Fourth Sea Lord, who is responsible for supplies to the fleet. The Inspector of Dockyard Expense Accounts deals with the finance of Dockyard Expendi-

ture. The Director of Naval Ordnance was formerly one of the principal officers in the Controller's Department; in recent years that section of Admiralty work has been placed under the control of the First Sea Lord, the Controller dealing only with naval ordnance questions affecting the construction and alterations of ships. In addition to these professional officers, the Controller's Department has a large and experienced clerical staff which undertakes correspondence and financial work connected with contracts for ships and machinery.

Contracts for and purchases of ships and machinery have fallen within the category of the Controller's duties since the Admiralty administration was reformed by Sir James Graham in 1832; and the Controller is also consulted in regard to the purchase of shipbuilding materials for use in the dockyards, as well as naval stores other than those coming within the province of the Fourth Sea Lord. There have been proposals to remove the supervision of contracts for ships and machinery from the Controller's Department, the last having been made about twenty-five years ago by a Departmental Committee presided over by the late Sir Arthur Forwood, who was then Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty. A dissentient report was made by Admiral Hotham, who was then serving as Fourth Sea Lord, and represented the naval members of the Board on the Committee. Admiral Hotham therein emphasised the fact that contracts for ships and machinery were based on drawings and specifications of a technical character, which were necessarily prepared by the professional officers in the Controller's Department, and could only be properly interpreted by them during the execution of contracts. For that reason he opposed the transfer of the business connected with such contracts to the Contract and Purchase Department. Lord George Hamilton, as First Lord, concurred with this view, and the only changes made had relation to details of procedure in dealing with tenders when received and placing orders for ships and machinery. In these matters the Controller of the Navy remained the member of the Board upon whom initiative rested, the Parliamentary Secretary and the First Lord being consulted and having the final word in deciding on recommendations made by the Controller.

During my long term of office as Director of Naval Construction and Assistant Controller of the Navy, the actual procedure in regard to contracts for ships and machinery was as follows: The firms to be invited to tender on each occasion were selected by the Controller and Financial Secretary from the Admiralty list of contractors, which list was amended or extended from time to time after the premises and plant of private firms had been surveyed and reported upon by professional officers of the

Controller's Department. Inquiries in relation to the financial standing of firms were made confidentially by the Director of Navy Contracts, and reports were made by him on the subject to the Controller and Financial Secretary. When tenders were received the designs and specifications for machinery were detached and sent to the Engineer-in-Chief, in order that he might report to the Controller on the technical merits of the designs submitted by individual firms. The Director of Naval Construction also had to report on the suitability or otherwise of the designs of machinery for the space and weight assigned to these items in the design for the vessel. That design and specification had been prepared by the Director of Naval Construction, under instructions of the Board conveyed through the Controller. Upon the Director of Naval Construction rested full responsibility for all technical features of the design in regard to weight, strength, stability, and speed; contractors were held responsible only for carrying out the instructions contained in the drawings and specifications for ship and machinery. These Reports were made by the Engineer-in-Chief and Director of Naval Construction *without any knowledge of the tender prices submitted by the various firms*. With these reports before him the Controller made recommendations as to the placing of orders with particular firms; these recommendations were considered by the Financial Secretary and the First Lord, whose decision was final. Standing forms of contract, settled under the advice of the Treasury solicitor, were used in completing the business arrangements, and comparatively little labour was involved therein.

From this brief statement it will be understood that the Controller of the Navy and his professional officers are, and must remain, necessarily and inevitably responsible for all technical matters connected with contracts for ships and machinery, including the inspection of the work during progress, the conduct of trials, the certification of instalments of the contract price, and other details which need not be mentioned. Whoever may be entrusted with *strictly business correspondence*—which is of very limited extent in connexion with these contracts—the main work and responsibility must remain as at present. The inspection of shipyards, engine works, and factories of all kinds must be undertaken by technical officers, and these officers ought to continue to be members of the staff of the Controller's Department. Tenders also must be dealt with on the technical side as they have been hitherto. In fact, so far as an opinion can be formed from past personal experience at the Admiralty, and having had experience also as a contractor to the Admiralty, in my judgment neither the Controller nor his officers can hope for any sensible reduction of work or responsibility in consequence

of the new appointment of an Additional Civil Lord, since that official will be non-technical and must refer all technical matters for the Controller's decision.

No detailed reference is made in the First Lord's Minute to the work of the Contract and Purchase Department at the Admiralty, which deals with the business side of all contracts other than those hitherto entrusted to the Controller's Department and some contracts dealt with by the Director of Works. Mr. Childers set up the Contract Department about forty-two years ago, and it has proved most advantageous in the public interest. Prior to that time three or four of the principal officers of the Admiralty, who were created by Sir James Graham, purchased independently of each other, even when articles of a similar nature were required. The new department was therefore formed to be the 'Admiralty buyer' for all purposes, except for ships and machinery, and for works supervised by the Director of Works. Armour, timber, and shipbuilding materials are bought through the Director of Navy Contracts, as well as naval, medical, and victualling stores. The statements of requirements and conditions to be fulfilled by firms with whom orders are placed are prepared by the departments requiring the supplies, and the inspection test and receipt of the articles or materials is undertaken by representatives of those departments, whose heads are consulted by the Director of Contracts before tenders are accepted. These arrangements have worked well, but that fact does not dissipate or even weaken the force of the previous statements in regard to contracts for ships and machinery, which differ essentially in their character.

Mr. Churchill, in his Minute, hopes for considerable results from the appointment of the Additional Civil Lord, and with great propriety and force dwells upon the desirability of relieving the Controller, as far as may be possible, of 'routine and administrative functions,' so that he may be 'set free to advise the Board upon the supreme subject in his charge.' That supreme subject is elsewhere defined as seeing 'that the right types of ships are built to carry out the war policy of the Admiralty, and that they are ready at the proper dates.' It must not be overlooked, however, that the decision as to the right types of ships is of essential importance in connexion with preparation for war, and that the First Sea Lord is primarily responsible for advice in regard to such preparation. Furthermore, in the past, in the selection and approval of the right types of ships it has been customary for the First Sea Lord and Controller to consult the Board of Admiralty, and especially the naval members. Undoubtedly in this matter the Controller has to assume great and direct responsibility: but

he does not occupy the isolated position which an ordinary reader of Mr. Churchill's Minute might suppose him to occupy.

> Leisure to reflect upon the great and novel issues which are constantly presented . . . and, above all, to visit the Fleets themselves, and by personal observation and practical contact with the working of the latest types to satisfy himself about the improvements which are possible in future designs,

are opportunities which the First Lord desires to provide in future for Controllers of the Navy. Such leisure and action would be of great value if they were attainable. My conviction is, however, that the appointment of an Additional Civil Lord and the most complete fulfilment of duties assigned to him in the Minute of the First Lord possible under unavoidable limitations, will not and cannot give an amount of leisure such as is anticipated. The Controller of the Navy, as was said above, comes from and returns to the sea-service after occupying his post at the Admiralty for three to five years. There have been occasionally longer periods of service, but the results of these departures from custom have not been satisfactory, and the general feeling in the Navy appears to favour continuance of the practice by which the Controller never loses touch of the service afloat, because he is not long enough absent from it to do so. From the nature of the case, as it appears to me, no Controller can find leisure for continuous study or for long visits to the Fleet during his period of office, because duties pressing upon him personally, and incapable of devolution, make demands upon time and energy which are incompatible with such leisure. Even when all possible relief has been given, either in the manner now to be tried or in any other way conceivable to me, if the Controller is to remain responsible for the *matériel* of our great naval service he must be very hard worked. His personal responsibility cannot be lessened or subdivided without serious risk of diminished efficiency in naval administration. There is no suggestion or evidence that, up to date, the work of the Controller's Department, heavy as it is, has not been well done. The staff of that department has been increased considerably as work has grown; it should never be permitted to become inadequate for the due fulfilment of the duties. Subject to the provision of ample assistance and to devolution by the Controller to his assistants of such work as he may decide thus to deal with, the organisation which has met the strain and stress of the last twenty-five years will not fail to meet demands which will arise in the future.

It will be understood that the foregoing remarks have been made in no hostile spirit, either to the action taken by the First Lord or to the appointment of Sir Francis Hopwood to the position

of Additional Civil Lord. Sir Francis Hopwood's past career and achievements make it certain that everything possible will be done to make the new system work smoothly and efficiently. No one more heartily wishes success to the First Lord in his administration of the Navy than myself. His responsibility is great, and his courage in facing difficult problems is undoubted. Experience and study of the past history of the Admiralty have led me to form the opinions expressed above: if the course of events should prove my forecast to have been mistaken, I should rejoice in any increase of efficiency of Admiralty administration which may result from the changes above described.

W. H. White.

ELEVEN YEARS OF FOREIGN POLICY

Recent events have forced foreign policy very prominently into the foreground. We have emerged from a crisis that brought us to the threshold of a great European conflict, the consequences of which would have been beyond human foresight to gauge; and although the tension of the situation is now relieved, the event has provoked a general desire to survey the field of international affairs and to take a general review of foreign policy.

The functions of diplomacy cannot escape analysis and criticism in the process of such an inquiry.

Diplomacy has hitherto resolved itself into an affair of single combat on a secret and secluded arena. The long period during which Parliament and the nation have been content to leave the direction of this sphere of policy purely to foreign ministers has, however, passed away with a rapidity which is startling. To-day we are faced with a growing demand for less secrecy. The people are becoming impatient to know what is being done behind the scenes. The point is taken that our foreign policy is shaped by the few for the many, and that by means of secret treaties a democracy is left in ignorance of momentous obligations.

It will be obvious that difficult and delicate negotiations can never be popularly controlled. Peace would indeed be imperilled if foreign policy were left to the see-saw of a popular vote. It may, in fact, be vital to the interests of peace that democracy should be blindfolded and left in the street while treaties are being made behind closed doors; but it is equally certain that this can only continue to be possible so long as the masses have the conviction that the foreign policy of the day is directed on lines which correctly interpret their wants and desires.

Time was when the minister who hit foreign Powers the hardest was the best beloved of our own people. Nowadays the Palmerston method is out of favour, and the fashion in negotiating has swung round so far that the studied policy of some politicians has involved them in the charge of being the friends of every country but their own. This seems to originate in a recognition that the democracies of the Western world are claiming kinship, and that there exists a subtle and invisible fraternal chain along which waves of sympathy pass.

It cannot be denied that there is evidence of international class combinations, and that foreign policy has to take note of growing social forces and requires to make 'crowd study' part of its diplomatic equipment. No statesman can to-day ignore that the world's peace depends on the world's content, and that a closer sympathy and sentiment with the social problems that touch us as they touch European countries may lessen the danger of possible conflict; but in this process no Power can afford to surrender any of its conceptions of nationality, least of all the members of the British Empire. It is only on national lines that the British Empire can hope to reach the fulness of its development, and it is only in the fulness of that development that we see the prospect of other world-Powers existing and expanding alongside of ours without any fear of a collision of interests.

If these may be taken as the master-lines of British statesmanship, it is interesting to examine the course that British foreign policy has taken during recent years. To grasp the position fairly some recapitulation is necessary.

A new course was set to British foreign policy, which may roughly be said to date from the conclusion of the South African War. It was the hinge of our future policy.

In the hour of trial England began to broaden and congeal into an Imperial organisation which, as it solidified, should assure the independence of the several democracies and the safety of our Imperial administration. But it also exposed the animosities of all the Western Powers to England. With that war the landmarks of the Salisburian epoch and *régime* vanished. The war, indeed, showed England in a flash that she had not a friend on the Continent, with the possible exception of Italy.

In a word, 'splendid isolation' was very nearly spelling a concerted attack by a coalition of opposition. The United States, it is true, met us in a spirit of neutrality, but coincident with her attitude followed the surrender of our rights over the Panama Canal. The official attitude of Germany was correct throughout, but national sentiment flamed out and could not be restrained. A statesman even having behind him the relative naval power we possessed at the beginning of this century could not regard such a prospect without grave anxiety.

A new departure was inevitable, and the policy of alliances and *ententes* at once began to formulate itself. The dual alliance of Russia and France, with their ambitions running counter to our interests, became a matter of first concern. The Russian menace in the Far East was met by the counterpoise of the Japanese Alliance, and to attain this object no sacrifice of our Pacific interests was regarded as too great. Here we pursued our traditional conception of preventing Russia obtaining her outlet to the

sea. The then Government's apprehension of danger nearer home was met by an *entente* with France and the settlement in 1904 of our outstanding Colonial disagreements.

The prospects of a European coalition being formed against us were thus effectually dispelled. Russia was kept busy in the Far East, while France was successfully detached to England's side; to effect this object, great sacrifices were made. Lastly, the existing Mediterranean differences between France and Italy were also dispelled, largely by this country's good offices.

In all this there has been no word of Germany; yet Germany is the pivot on which the change in our diplomatic action turns.

The industrial expansion of Germany was but dimly recognised in this country, and whatever prosperity she derived from the unrestricted access to British markets was readily and unstintingly extended to her. Moreover, no conflicting territorial interests stood between us and Germany to interfere with our cordial relations. Going back as far as 1862, no occasion arose for any estrangement between this country and Prussia. Bismarck, whose mind remained concentrated to the end on the field of his greatest triumphs, and who cared little for colonial adventures, always acted on the assumption that we could best be made to subserve his European ends if friendly relations were maintained with us.

But a series of circumstances have recently intervened which have suggested to both nations uneasiness and grave suspicion. To many minds in England even the German sympathy for the Boers was merely an episode and not the beginning of a new departure in policy. What really first aroused attention in this country was the floating of the great Navy Law in 1900 during the height of German feeling over the Boer War. In a moment all seemed changed. Until the advent of a new continental naval Power into the field there was no imperative necessity upon England to blanket Russia in Manchuria or to placate France in Morocco.

There can be no question that in this country the new departure in Germany aroused a feeling of intense surprise, and in some quarters apprehension and anger. French attacks during the war were regarded as not unnatural, coming from a country with which we had twice in the 'nineties been on the verge of war. To British opinion, German action on the contrary savoured of aggressive assertion and perilous opportunism in an hour when British prestige had suffered a set-back.

The changes in the relations between certain Powers necessitated the adjustment of the others to the new conditions. These adjustments were natural in themselves, but were viewed with apprehension by those who watched them. England had thought

it necessary to safeguard herself by *ententes* and agreements; Germany thereupon perceived her own vulnerability in the sphere of her vast oversea trade. This weakness once recognised, it became a commonplace of self-preservation to add to her navy. This act, in turn, however, aroused England's attention suddenly to Germany's importance both in commercial and naval matters, and we then began to scrutinise her possibilities for aggression. In some such way as this the 'snowball' has grown, and the game of 'snowballing' goes on.

It was under these circumstances that the Government, responding to the pressure of public opinion, withheld its assent from the Bagdad Railway scheme, while Venezuela left behind it a fresh legacy of bitterness. Every increase of tension between the two Governments redoubled British anxiety to strengthen and extend *coûte que coûte* the system of *ententes* and alliances, and German zeal to quicken the pace of naval construction—and so the story has gone on page by page and chapter by chapter.

After France—Russia. The rise of Japan to the status of a first-class Power was largely advanced by the benevolent assistance of England. She emerged from the war with greatly enhanced prestige, but Russia, not only checked, lay crippled and prostrate after her military and naval sacrifices. The Eastern neighbour had for the time being ceased to exist as a military Power. The sudden menace on that frontier which chilled even Bismarck's audacious spirit was for a season gone. France was isolated in Europe. What if Germany might be tempted to try conclusions with her only formidable military rival left?

The situation produced the solution. The power of Russia was for the time being paralysed. The immediate effect was to ease and therefore strengthen Germany, to unbolster and consequently weaken France, and to open up an approach between England and France and an abatement of their antagonisms. Our predominant trade interest in Morocco, even Morocco itself, was one of our concessions to secure the French *entente*.

This method of disposing of an entire country with which Germany for years had made great efforts to establish trade-relations was resented by her, and it naturally became the point at which Germany chose to test the solidarity of the dual understanding. The *entente*, however, held, and after some critical months the Act of Algeciras more or less confirmed France in her Moroccan prospects. The situation left Germany resentful, and every day which saw Russia impotent urged English and French statesmen to a great effort to help Russia through her difficulties and to bring her out on the side of the *entente*.

It was a difficult and delicate task which now fell to Sir Edward Grey, who contrived to reach an understanding with Russia which involved interests in Persia.

On this occasion it was Austria that applied the first test to the reality of the new triple *entente* by the annexation of Bosnia. This stroke of policy was the culmination of the abandonment by Austria of the policy of common Austro-Russian action in the Near East. It struck a blow at Russian interests, and offered her no compensation. It placed us in a very difficult position alike as signatories of the Treaty of Berlin, as friends of the new *régime*, and as would-be backers of Russia. If we objected to the annexation we estranged Austria; if we held back we offended Russian susceptibilities.

Sir Edward Grey decided to take a strong line against Count Aehrenthal. How far he was influenced by his care for Russian susceptibilities, how far he desired to exhibit his friendliness to the new *régime* in Turkey, and how far to uphold the moral rights of Europe against the breakers of solemn covenants, it is impossible to say. In any event the result was plain. We received a rebuff and blow to our prestige, and for the moment the triple *entente* practically ceased to exist. We had indulged in protests and menace, but gave no hint of enforcing our attitude by military and naval intervention. Russia had never intended fighting for what were primarily her interests, not ours. France has few interests in the Near East, and could hardly be expected to be enthusiastic for war. Months of diplomatic intervention and wire-pulling left the situation in a highly critical and explosive condition, and Austria stood mobilised and armed at the gate.

Germany selected this moment to end the tension by intervening in the situation, and announced herself the pronounced ally of Austria: that was the answer to our remonstrances. There came no reply from London, Petersburg, or Paris to this demonstration; war was averted, and an episode which left the two central Powers dominant in Europe came to its close. This time it was prestige and not territory we had been obliged to sacrifice to the idea of the triple *entente*. We had lost the friendship of Austria and earned nothing in exchange.

Nor can it be said that we were particularly successful in our diplomatic relations with Turkey. The cordiality with which she received our new Ambassador in Constantinople afforded unmistakable signs of a desire for a renewal of our former terms of intimacy. Our diplomatic intercession in matters concerning the Bagdad Railway, in which Turkey was financially largely interested, was not a particularly happy manœuvre; nor had she occasion to feel gratified at the ill-success which attended the efforts of financiers in this country to float a Turkish loan, which had it received official and more general support, must inevitably have greatly strengthened our position with that country.

To sum up, in the three great diplomatic encounters between

Great Britain and Germany which have taken place since the South African war, we were more or less successful in the first and the last and failed in the second. During that same period we kept Germany out of Asia Minor and out of Morocco. Indirectly, through the rise of Japan, we checked her ambitions in China; while the Germans at least believe, and perhaps with some substratum of truth, that the British Navy has been a force operating to prevent a Colonial adventure either in South America, the West Indies, or the Portuguese African possessions.

On the whole, then, we have succeeded in our game, if that game was to check German expansion.

In order to balance the account we must write off several items:

(1) We have placed a foreign Power across our Mediterranean route to the East.

France at Toulon and Bizerta, with her consolidated North-African position, obviously controls the Suez route far more effectively than would Germany at, say, Bizerta and Kiel. In the latter case the German fleet is cut off from its Mediterranean object or squadron by these islands. In the former case we have nothing but the guns and dockyards of Gibraltar and Malta to oppose the French fleets, based in one case directly on the whole resources of France and in the other on a vast North-African seaboard territory. Lord Rosebery, no doubt, had this vital consideration in mind when he criticised Lord Lansdowne's Moroccan policy in an important speech after the conclusion of the Anglo-French Treaty.

This fact alone made the form which the German protest took at Agadir a matter of imprudence. Did Germany imagine that, having imperilled the Suez route to India, and having allowed France to take up a flank position on our West African trade-line, we could afford to put another Power on the edge of that one route left to us? We paid toll to France in the Straits of Gibraltar; were we going to pay tribute to Germany for the Atlantic and the Cape?

That the relations of European Powers are not immutably fixed the history of the last seventeen years is in itself a living proof. There is in fact no European Power with which we have not been on bad terms successively in the last 150 years. Does the new diplomacy think only in decades? And is our present friendship with France fixed as by the laws of the Medes and Persians which alter not? Alas! the mere mention of a formal enactment reminds us that all our sacrifices have not even purchased from France such security as a formal treaty of alliance brings. And that we consider France a powerful force, and not a decadent nation, is proved by the mere fact that we have sought her friendship at such a tremendous cost.

(2) We lost in a week our old historic and valuable friendship with Austria. Even Orders carried by the suave hands of Lord Rosebery will not give us back what we lost over Bosnia.

(3) We have further diminished our influence in the Mediterranean by our tacit acquiescence in Italian aggression in Tripoli.

(4) We are engaged in watching to-day in silent acquiescence the Russian advance on the Indian Ocean—an advance the frustration of which has been the object of British statesmen for half a century.

In a word, while our communications with India have been weakened at one end they are being threatened also at the other by the presence of Russia on the flank of our Indian Empire. This is indeed a heavy price to pay for checking German expansion.

Again, only this month came in the sudden news that Mongolia had been formally or informally annexed; yet there have been at present no Bosnian heroics over this rumoured episode.

(5) Our whole position in India, the Far East, and the Pacific has been thoroughly weakened by the withdrawal of the greater part of our naval strength in those waters.

The primary reason of this withdrawal has been the naval necessity of concentrating our fleets in home waters in order to keep the narrow seas against the high-sea fleet. This weakening of our power in the Pacific virtually compelled us to renew the Anglo-Japanese alliance, which had otherwise done its work in keeping Russia back from the Sea of China, and would probably have been allowed to lapse. The effect of the renewal of the alliance has undoubtedly been detrimental to our prestige in the East in the following respects:

(*a*) The provisions made for Japanese assistance for the defence of India have had the worst effect on Indian opinion.

(*b*) We can no longer assert the right of British subjects to commercial concessions in China for fear of offending Japan, who is a keen competitor in these ventures.

(*c*) Australia is alarmed at the rise of Japanese power and at her own defenceless position. America views our policy with suspicion; and finally, the visit of the United States fleet to Australia set going some thoughts on both sides of the Pacific.

(*d*) We relinquished our naval station in Chinese waters and surrendered our supremacy in the Pacific to Japan.

All these developments can be traced more or less directly to apprehension in the North Sea.

These items in the debit account must bring home to any mind the fact that we have made vital sacrifices in world-politics for our success in checking the extra-European expansion of the German Empire. *Has it been worth it?* Were there not inherent causes in the situation arising out of the Japanese war which insensibly

drew France and England and even Russia closer together; and if Germany was rightly considered the storm-centre, why should it have been impossible to treat directly with her?

In stating this case for argument I must not be taken to imply that the policy of *ententes* and alliances has been wrong from start to finish. In decisions which make for friendship or enmity, the tempers of nations or individuals are factors as important as the real interests which divide or unite them.

The feelings which the Jameson Raid incident and the animosity displayed during the South African war had aroused, left embers which could only die by degrees. Indeed, one subtle effort was made to lay the foundation of a great 'world's peace' policy by a commercial and political understanding between England, Germany, and the United States. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain[1] came forward as the champion of this conception, but his Leicester speech in 1899 was frostily received by the Press of the United States, and German diplomacy[2] failed to respond by a similar and simultaneous pronouncement of support to that policy. The secret of German lukewarmness is disclosed in the German Press comments on Mr. Chamberlain's speech. 'Every nation,' Bismarck once shrewdly remarked, 'must eventually pay for the windows broken by the Press.' This remark is peculiarly appropriate to this international incident. The attitude of scuttle taken up by German statesmanship over this incident drove the lines of

[1] 'I have almost as many friends in the United States as I have here, and I can conceive of no greater disaster which would befall the two countries, or which could befall mankind, than that they should find themselves in a hostile attitude towards each other. The same sentiments which bring us into close sympathy with the United States of America may also be evoked to bring us into closer sympathy and alliance with the Empire of Germany . . . and if the Union between England and America is a powerful factor in the cause of peace, a new Triple Alliance between the Teutonic race and the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race will be a still more potent influence in the future of the world. I have used the word 'alliance' sometimes in the course of what I have said. But again I desire to make it clear that to me it seems to matter little whether you have an alliance which is committed to paper or whether you have an understanding which exists in the minds of the statesmen of the respective countries. An understanding, perhaps, is better than the alliance, which may stereotype arrangements which cannot be accepted as permanent in view of the changing circumstances from day to day. . . . Both interest and sentiment unite us to Germany; but in the case of nations alliances do not rest upon interest alone. . . . The world is not governed entirely by interest, or, in my opinion, particularly by interest. Sentiment is one of the greatest factors in all our affairs, and there is no reason why the sentiments of the two countries should not be in accord.'—[*The Times*, December 1, 1899.]

[2] Prince Buelow in the German Reichstag said, with reference to England: 'We are entirely prepared to live in peace and friendship with that Power on the basis of complete reciprocity and mutual consideration. But it is exactly because our international position is a favourable one that we must utilise it to make ourselves secure for the future.'—*The Times*, December 12, 1899.

approach wider asunder, instead of making them converge on a common centre.

Besides, the German conception of England was still that of a modern Carthage, a nation of wealth-accumulators; and the course of the South African war did not establish our reputation in their eyes as a military people, in spite of the appreciative verdict given in our favour by their own military experts. The vast resources of an historic world-wide Empire were as little understood by the average German as they were by Napoleon himself.

At a moment, moreover, when our prestige was considered to be in abeyance, and this country was not in a mood for friendly concessions to Germany, it was improbable that a mutually satisfactory understanding could have been achieved. There are occasions indeed when the only way to come to an understanding with a man or a nation is to show at first how objectionable and formidable you can be. These were the circumstances at the time when Lord Lansdowne felt impelled to change our foreign policy and abandon the principle of isolation.

Having decided on this course King Edward, Lord Lansdowne and their advisers bent themselves with indomitable energy, and no little skill, to the policy whose development I have already sketched in outline. They suffered from one nearly fatal weakness in the material at their disposal—the lack of British military strength.

I would venture to suggest that it is to this cause that we must attribute most of the failures and faults of the new diplomatic course. The magician who based the whole city of Parthenope on a single egg was nothing to the Foreign Secretary who approached a continental system with a suggestion of joint action, but with no promises of strong land support in case that joint action should lead to war. The trouble might arise in Thibet or Kiao-Chau, but the issue might have to be decided on the plains of Poland or by the forests of the Vosges.

The Unionist Government missed its opportunity after the war of placing our military forces on a proper footing. From a Liberal Government, presumably, nothing of the kind is to be expected. Hence the two great weaknesses of our recent and present foreign policy.

In the first place, we have to make enormous concessions for the support of foreign Powers—concessions which no nation in arms need have made, because the help of a powerful British army alone would have been ample.

In the second place, after all our sacrifices, we have never got a stable and formal alliance which would make an attack on us to mean an attack on the Dual Alliance.

The logic of events points only to two possible conclusions. Either we must, by strengthening our land forces or by some other means, make the triple *entente* a military reality, or we must alter in some way a policy that is bringing us to the verge of a war which we may be left to fight alone. We cannot continue indefinitely the policy of paying tribute to our allies for their hypothetical support, in order that we may drift inevitably into a war in which we shall possess no guarantees of assistance.

My contention is that we must either have the alliance at any price, or we must see whether an accommodation with Germany which is agreeable to France and Russia is beyond the bounds of possibility.

In the last few years the English and German peoples have come by the course of conflict, not of suave assurances or peace deputations, to recognise each other's powers and capacities. This mutual knowledge, contrary to the copy-book maxims of the professional pacificists, might just as well lead to war as to peace. The issue is in the hands of the two peoples. But if we are in for war, let us be ready for it; if we do not mean war, let us make for peace. Nothing is more fatal to a nation than indecision, or attempting ends without contriving means.

Is it not certain that the present pent-up condition of forces and passions on both sides of the German Ocean must lead in the long run to a collision if nothing is done to relieve the tension? But before we make ourselves ready for battle, let us speak for a moment of the prospects of peace.

One might take two instances to prove that a reasonable accommodation with Germany has not always been impossible in cases where we have chosen to pursue an opposite course.

First of all the Bagdad railway. It is natural for Germany to look for new openings for her commerce, her colonisation, and her capital investments. One of these openings she attempted to discover in Asia Minor and in the Bagdad railway. The scheme was frustrated less by the deliberate desire of the British Foreign Office than by the pressure of public opinion. The feeling in England was natural, but I do not think that it was wise, on three grounds:

(1) The great difficulty of dealing with the German Empire is that in case of war she gives to fortune by her defeat at sea nothing but some relatively indifferent Colonies and her sea-borne commerce, on which her livelihood in no way depends. We put on the table everything that makes up our life and our national greatness. But if Germany had had a large colony and vast interests locked up in a country whose bases are on the surrounding seaports and not on land transport, we should have held that vast investment as a hostage in case of a successful naval war. Such a fact would

have been an immense inducement to Germany to keep the peace.

(2) As I have pointed out already, we have not succeeded in maintaining the integrity of Northern Persia by our resistance to the Bagdad railway scheme. We have had to give the game into Russia's hands to secure her doubtful assistance against Germany. Is it not possible that Russo-German competition in that area would have kept Germany and her Eastern neighbour apart in the European field, while neither would have let the other advance an inch into Persia? We should have been left to protect the *status quo* as the *tertius gaudens*. In a similar instance Austria and Russia have checkmated each other in the Balkans from the Treaty of Berlin to the Bosnian annexation.

(3) Is it not certain that a vast mass of that superfluous energy, military and civil talent, population and capital with which Germany is now crammed to bursting-point would have found in that work a real channel of utility? I doubt if Germany would be so disinclined to peace if she had all the opportunities abroad which the British Empire has had, of proving that that very peace 'has its victories no less renowned than war.'

So much for the first instance. It illustrates most of the ways in which German expansion might not only militate in favour of peace, but might be of positive advantage to British local and Imperial interests.

The second instance is the recent crisis, and with this I will deal very briefly.

Admitting at once that the despatch of the *Panther* to Agadir was a wanton and imprudent performance, was not the diplomatic attitude of this country a contributory cause? The action of France in Morocco, though dictated by local necessities which overrode all other considerations, was a clear breach of the Algeciras Agreement, and Great Britain had recently treated with almost pedantic rigour the setting aside by Austria of that far more obsolete document the Treaty of Berlin. The military action of France, which could portend nothing but a virtual protectorate over and occupation of Morocco, entitled Germany to some compensation for the loss of actual interests or potential influence there. Yet the impression made by Sir Edward Grey's statement in the House was that our Government, so far from contemplating the matter from the point of view of the greatest impartial signatory of the Algeciras Agreement, was entirely engaged in indicating silently to France that, whatever she did, His Britannic Majesty was behind her.

Surely the more natural and dignified part would have been to come forward as an intermediary—to have told Germany that we

desired nothing but justice and the maintenance of the spirit of agreements, and that we would as a friend plead with France for a prompt recognition of compensation claims. Simultaneously the Foreign Secretary should have informed the French Government that we would support her against any German attempt to take advantage of her military action in Morocco, but that we thought Germany had a case which merited prompt attention and a just settlement.

The settlement was come to, but it is no thanks to Sir Edward Grey that war did not come first. Surely the action suggested would have produced a better result than the despatch of the *Panther* and the speech at the Mansion House. It is this attitude of *parti pris* on both sides which alarms many patriotic Englishmen, for it is the attitude which can only precede one thing—the sound of cannon.

Are there any general principles on which a pacific agreement with Germany, that would be to the advantage of this country and of the whole of Europe, could be reached?

I think that there is at least a line of suggestion which might be followed by Great Britain.

If Germany after all her experience of our power to hold her up is still unwilling to treat for a reasonable settlement, this country will have no alternative but to prepare herself for the worst, and to do it thoroughly. But it would be reckless not to make the attempt.

I would venture to lay down the following principles as axiomatic in any such attempt:

(1) That nothing must be proposed to Germany without the full previous knowledge and consent of France.

(2) That the question of the limitation of armaments shall not be allowed to enter into the discussion.

(3) That the natural and legitimate desire of Germany to expand her commerce and population into other parts of the world should be recognised as far as is compatible with vital British interests; and that we should express the belief that such an expansion would in many ways be to our interest.

(4) That we should recognise that a restriction of German commerce and the consequent failure to improve the condition of the German working classes is of no business advantage to us, and makes directly both for underselling in this country and for a war which will burden our industries and working classes for years even in the event of success.

(5) That as a corollary of these views we indicate our readiness to assist Germany, wherever we can, to attain her colonial outlets, and that we give a promise that when an Imperial tariff system is

established her products shall be in no way penalised to the advantage of other external Powers; on the understanding, of course, that she likewise will indicate her readiness not to discriminate against us.

The first suggestion will be accepted by any sane and honourable man, and it is conceivable that (3) and (4) might find support among all parties.

The remaining suggestions could not be adopted by any Liberal Government with whole-heartedness. Their adoption would mean the acceptance by Liberalism of a view of national life which is utterly foreign to the whole creed. No Liberal could ever understand what was meant by a national interest—the very term is to the Liberal mind half-jingoism and half-materialism.

Inasmuch as Germany's whole mental attitude in foreign affairs is compounded of a mixture of the two, of the altruism of personal service to the greatness of the nation and of the self-seeking of the industrialist, it is difficult to see how Liberalism can ever come to terms with the German nation—no, not even with its Socialists. To make friends with a man, one must hold some common views, one must be able to sympathise and understand. A party which persistently and no doubt honestly declares that the German tariff, the rock on which modern Germany is built, is the product of a grasping and tyrannical individualism akin to that of the Manchester School, and has suggested to the German Government, every national interest of which it was vehemently opposing at the time, that the limitation of armaments was the solution of the difficulty, is unlikely to be the medium of a mutually satisfactory and lasting understanding between the two Powers.

There can be no discussion of armaments—for that touches the whole question of national honour, organisation, and efficiency at the root, and such suggestions savour to every German, whatever his politics, as the product of hyprocrisy.

Liberalism can understand neither of the two main expressions of the German thought—the industrial tariff or the Imperial army and navy—for both things are to them alien conceptions.

My appeal, then, lies to the Unionist party. If nothing irrevocable falls in the meantime the issue of peace and war will be in their hands. The Unionist party has every reason to sympathise with German aspirations, for it endorses most of the essential principles of the German people. It believes in the tariff as the basis of national life; it believes in a Colonial Empire as part of the full development of a people, for it has always been the great instrument of Imperial expansion; it believes in the doctrine of the national interest, because it has always been both practical and patriotic. It also believes in the elevation of the condition of the

people, and is consequently most firmly opposed to those low conditions of life abroad which enable foreign and sweated goods to take the livelihood from our own workers. Furthermore, the firmness of the Unionist party on questions of defence makes it certain that no negotiations with Germany will lead it into the one error which would certainly prove fatal to those negotiations—the relaxation of our naval and military preparations, or an attempt to deal with Germany on those lines.

I believe that a Unionist Government might effect, on the lines that I have indicated, a settlement which would solve European difficulties for a quarter of a century, and would follow, in fact, as the logical outcome of our national and Imperial development.

British diplomatic relations were in former days guided and determined by other than economic interests. Our policy was in the last resort framed with an eye to Colonial expansion, or to maintaining the security of our Empire and the markets we monopolised. These elements in determining our foreign policy have now almost disappeared. No longer does expansion or aggression govern our policy. No longer can we attempt to monopolise our Colonial markets. The administration of our Colonies has now passed into the hands of Parliaments responsible only to the people who elect them, or if governed from home, they are administered solely in the interests of those countries. There has thus been a lessening of the Imperial basis of our foreign policy, which was only remotely economic, and a simultaneous rise of interests which are primarily and almost exclusively economic.

Hence our foreign policy is likely to be influenced more and more by economic forces in future. We are urged to this conclusion the moment we realise the dislocation to British industry resulting from a war with, say, Germany. Our own annual trade with that country now approaches a total of 100,000,000*l.* sterling. The effect on our commerce, factories, and credit if this enormous trade were threatened with even temporary disruption—indeed, the devastating nature of these consequences—can never be far removed from the minds of our Foreign Minister or our Ambassador.

It may frequently happen in the future that the full realisation of this fact alone must avert war and turn an ultimatum into a compromise. For after all are not foreign countries equally concerned to permit no interruption in the smooth course of their trade with us?

It is more true to-day than ever before in the world's history that our foreign policy is and must be determined by our economic interests, and these in turn must be measured by our trade interests. We who have concerned ourselves during recent years with the tariff problem have noticed that in neutral markets the

prestige and influence of diplomatic representatives at the Chancelleries of foreign nations have grown or diminished in proportion to the trade interests they represent. We have noticed this tendency, and by our policy have suggested an effective remedy. Treaties of commerce with foreign countries would be as effective in cementing friendships as formal treaties of alliance.

The Imperial policy of the Unionist party would do even more: it would enhance British diplomatic prestige, and our Foreign Minister, supposing he represented our Imperial economic interests, must necessarily exercise greater power and influence. In the case of Germany alone our trade interests of 94,000,000*l*. sterling would be at once increased to an Imperial interest measured by 156,000,000*l*. sterling, and must accentuate the advantage to both Empires of developing and increasing their friendly relations.

Of course, if German motives and intentions are of the character believed by many distinguished Englishmen, no accommodation is possible. But in that case let us have the situation in all its reality, and at once. If proper overtures are rejected, we can prepare for an alternative procedure. But no policy is more dangerous than that of drift, which not unfrequently leads to rash and impulsive action, so often mistaken for courage. We have no more striking illustration of this policy of drift than the statement, uttered almost with pride, of the Foreign Secretary, that we have no military alliance with France.

Never again ought this country to find itself in the position of last year, brought to the verge of war when a great Labour crisis was at its height.

We might well ask the question, Was the Government, was this country and India, were our oversea Dominions sufficiently informed of the situation and prepared for the probability of a total collapse of credit arrangements in this country on a declaration of war? What was the position of our gold reserves? Were our coal supplies safeguarded? Were our food supplies adequately secured? Could we land an expeditionary force on the Continent without relying on the Reserve of a National Service Army? Would France enter into engagements with us without the support of such an army?

To all these questions, which must perturb the mind of any intelligent Englishman, the Government would have found difficulty in providing reassuring answers.

I am sufficiently optimistic to believe that a Unionist ministry will either come to terms with Germany or consolidate a real alliance of all who fear her ambitions. The interests of the two nations are not in reality in conflict. We possess all the territory

and the population that we desire. Our efforts must be directed during the present generation to developing the resources in men and material and character which we have neglected too long. Germany, on the other hand, has developed her existing resources to the uttermost and is looking for a new field for her energies.

Again I ask, whether between these very different interests may not a way of accommodation be found?

C. S. GOLDMAN.

THE TRUE STORY OF THE MOROCCO NEGOTIATIONS

In a paper published in the November issue of this Review I submitted that the time had come when Englishmen, whatever their views on ordinary questions of political controversy might be, should ask themselves in all soberness where the *entente* with France was leading us. That month, as it transpired, was to witness a perfect avalanche of revelations directly bearing upon the query. Under their weight public opinion was momentarily staggered. At the end of the month a distinguished and skilled physician administered a sedative with soothing effect. Englishmen are now being told, although the cause of their disquiet has become singularly aggravated, that they should forget all about these revelations. They are counselled to imitate the custom which legend attributes to the ostrich; to bury the events of the past six months in decent oblivion; write *Finis* over the part played by British diplomacy in the Franco-German quarrel over Morocco, and thank the Almighty that their relations with foreign Powers are in the hands of calm, cool, collected, thoroughly well-informed, clear-sighted men of affairs.

In the face of information now publicly accessible, this advice could only be followed by a nation which had ceased to think for itself and had parted with its political sanity. For December and January have also brought their revelations, and a careful study of the whole crop discloses, *inter alia*, that those who control the nation's foreign policy have displayed neither calmness nor coolness, still less that they have exhibited ordinary foresight such as an average individual would extend to his own business concerns; that they have been incapable of appreciating themselves, and getting others to appreciate, the value of Britain's friendship to third parties; that they have given to agreements signed with certain Powers an interpretation warranted neither by their texts nor by any sort of national authorisation; and that they were prepared to involve the people of this country in all the immeasurable consequences of a great war on the strength of that unsanctioned interpretation. Passing from the general to the particular, an examination of the cards—British, French, German, Spanish—

now placed upon the table proves most clearly that the fundamental reason explanatory of the attitude of the British Cabinet towards Germany in the crucial month of last July, as communicated to the House of Commons by the Foreign Secretary on November 27—viz. that the German Government was planning a partition of Morocco between Germany, France, and Spain from which arrangement Britain was to be excluded, *bore no relation to facts*. This, I venture to believe, will be made good out of the mouths of our French friends themselves in the course of this article.

Now the attitude adopted by the British Cabinet at that moment is admittedly the governing factor in our relations with Germany to-day. It is equally certain that the common-sense in the nation declines, to use Mr. Bonar Law's phraseology, to believe in the inevitableness of war with Germany, and most emphatically does not desire such a war; is indisposed to weaken its defences by a single item so long as there is danger of it; is prepared to make any further sacrifices that may be required of it to maintain its unquestionable superiority on the high seas; would strike with all its giant strength if attacked; but is not in the least inclined to pull the chestnuts out of the fire and burn its fingers for someone else's benefit. Public feeling is becoming more and more persuaded that a better feeling with Germany would be possible if only it could get down to bedrock. It is somewhat puzzled and uncomfortable. It wants *facts*. It echoes Lord Selborne's demand for facts. It takes the measure of the German jingoes just as it does of its own—of the men on both sides of the North Sea who indulge in the criminal task of distilling venom, piling up suspicions, distorting history, and creating an atmosphere which makes for war. But it is not so foolish as to suppose that German public sentiment in the mass, including elements that have long worked for an improvement in relations, can suddenly become hostile—and this is the phenomenon with which public opinion here has to reckon—out of sheer 'cussedness.' Somewhere, somehow, some gigantic misunderstanding must have arisen, some malign influence must be at work. As a people Germans are level-headed, trade has become their dominating passion; we are their best customers. Why, if the Franco-German agreement is, in the opinion of many Germans, more favourable to France than to Germany should German opinion, now that it is concluded, respect the French as hard bargainers and view us with angry eyes? Why, if Russia, with whom we have an understanding, can come to a business arrangement with Germany, should the fact that seven years ago we settled various outstanding disputes with France and established cordial relations with that country, debar *us* from arriving at a business under-

quarrelling with Germany? Where, in any part of the world, are we suffering from Germany's action? *Per contra*, where have we stood in Germany's way? What have we done to earn this sudden enmity, when only last May the formation of an Anglo-German Friendship Society, supported by men of eminence representing every phase of political and religious thought, seemed to presage the emergence of both peoples from the unhealthy atmosphere of mutual recrimination and suspicion in which both had for several years been plunged? Well, we can only attempt an answer to these questions by contemplating honestly in their nakedness of detail the events of the past few months and the events leading up to them; by forcing ourselves to look at the *facts*.

Briefly—I shall make the assertion good—a study of the facts reveals beyond possibility of doubt two things of vital moment to the nation. First that the Anglo-French 'Declaration' of April 1904, which was an understanding strictly limited in scope, affecting specific causes of dispute between ourselves and France, has been converted by a Liberal Ministry into something entirely different from that which its text, both the public and the lately issued private text, proclaims; into something entirely different from that which the Foreign Secretary in the Unionist Ministry responsible for negotiating it declares its purport to have been. As tested by the Morocco affair, it has been transformed into an arrangement under which a British Foreign Secretary has undertaken to make the French case, in an interest purely French, his own; and consequently, but without its consent, that of the nation. It has become at once the justification and the excuse for a policy which was prepared last summer to contemplate war with Germany; nominally on the ground of a suspicion which I shall show to have been altogether unfounded, that Germany was seeking to acquire a territorial position in Morocco; in reality, as I shall prove, over the precise acreage of equatorial African jungle which France was willing to cede to Germany in exchange for a French protectorate over Morocco. There is, as Admiral Fremantle remarks in the *United Service Magazine* for January, 'no secret' that a Liberal Ministry had actually determined to go to the extremest lengths in assisting France—or rather, the more intractable and jingo elements in that country—to reap the fullest advantage from the violation of an international Act to which Great Britain was a signatory party, and that the people of this country narrowly escaped suffering the consequences of that monumental folly. The people of this country are to-day confronted with the situation that, without their knowledge or consent, they have become enmeshed in a sort of military convention binding them to uphold the actions of ephemeral French Governments, here to-day, gone and forgotten to-morrow; so

irresponsible that—as the disclosures before the French Senatorial Commission record—Foreign Ministers initiate negotiations without consulting their colleagues, Prime Ministers act likewise, French ambassadors abroad are bewildered by contradictory instructions, secret engagements are entered into by this or that member of the Cabinet on his own initiative, not only without the knowledge of the French Chamber, but outside the ken of his fellow-members; so badly served that their foreign department is admittedly honeycombed with intrigues and rival factions, the most confidential documents frequently communicated to favoured journalists, the most extraordinary 'combinations' resorted to in interests often personal and sometimes venal. It has come to this—that the British people must turn to the columns of a Parisian journal, whose foreign editor appears to use successive Ministries as he lists, in order to be informed of the nature of their national commitments. Thus it was to *Le Temps* that the British people were indebted for their acquaintance with the secret clauses of the 1904 'Declaration.' It was to *Le Matin* that the British people were indebted for their knowledge that France had, seven years ago, with the concurrence of the Foreign Office, arranged for a partition of Morocco with Spain at the very time that M. Delcassé was solemnly assuring Europe, and the Sultan, of French disinterestedness—a fact, only known two months ago, which should induce Englishmen who have not lost all sense of fair play to revolutionise their judgment of German Moroccan policy in 1905. It is again *Le Temps* which in its issue of the 30th of November informs them, *inter alia*, that in 1905, in 1908, and again in 1911 the military liabilities ['engagements'] of Britain and France led to combined action being prepared by the respective Headquarters Staffs.

Now if there is one thing which stands out with crystal clearness it is that this unwarranted transmutation of the 1904 'Declaration' involves us, and must continue to involve us while it is tolerated, in a condition of perpetual antagonism with Germany, accompanied by recurrent panics as unworthy of our greatness as they are inimical to the normal march of our material affairs. To speak of a *rapprochement* with Germany while these unauthorised liabilities remain unchallenged by the nation is useless. That is the dominating factor in the situation. It appears to have been steadily burked in the Parliamentary discussions of December. And yet we are sacrificing everything to it, shedding attributes which British statesmen of far higher calibre than this generation has produced regarded as inseparable from the national greatness, pitching our moral cargoes overboard and neglecting our commercial interests. How potent this factor has become in confusing plain issues and turning general

principles topsy-turvy is but too apparent. Englishmen used to pride themselves above all other nations in keeping faith. 'An Englishman's word is as good as his bond' was, and was considered to be, a national asset. One need not necessarily be a 'crank,' a 'fanatic,' or a friend of every country but one's own to experience a shock of mingled alarm and shame at the way in which reminders of this erstwhile boast are contemptuously dismissed nowadays as food fit only for sentimentalists and fools. There must be something seriously wrong with our rulers when the latter wave aside with a few perfunctory words such solemn obligations as we undertook towards Persia and Morocco. The airy manner in which the Act of Algeciras has been elbowed out of the Morocco controversy is astounding. If our adherence to the Act of Algeciras in 1906, with its announced object of assisting the Shereefian Government to bring about certain reforms, 'based upon the sovereignty and independence of H.M. the Sultan and the integrity of his dominions,' was inconsistent with our previous commitments towards France, why did we adhere to it? Why did we sign an Act—constituting in effect the Public Law of Europe in relation to Morocco—which laid down that if the provisions of antecedent treaties, conventions, and agreements between the signatory Powers and Morocco conflicted with the stipulations of the Act, *the latter should prevail*, if we did not see our way clear to uphold the Act? Having done so, we not only raised no protest when the French started the process of tearing up the Act, but we supported them. That attitude is defended on the ground of 'honour,' of our obligations contracted towards France by our 'Declaration' of two years before, in which we agreed to disinterest ourselves in Morocco so far as that Power was concerned, in exchange for substantial advantages elsewhere. But what an astonishing perversion of the word such an argument involves! Our disinterestedness in any selfish sense affirmed in 1904 was undoubtedly confirmed in 1906, but upon it had been grafted a joint responsibility with France to preserve the independence and integrity of Morocco. In short, while in the 'Declaration' of 1904 we abandoned our traditional policy of an independent Morocco for which British diplomacy had worked, with German support, for many years, the Act of 1906 bound us to uphold the independence of Morocco. After Algeciras our 'honour' was primarily concerned in honouring our own signature at the foot of the Act. If it is a question of honour, British honour lay in the direction of helping the rulers of a people declared by us to be independent, whose only crime was their weakness (as it is that of the Persians), and who, after leavening the Occident with their intelligence and their civilisation, had fallen upon evil days. In thus interpreting our national honour we should,

moreover, have been acting in accord with the repeated declarations of French statesmen, who over and over again denied with the most solemn asseverations that they entertained any notion of infringing the integrity of Morocco. Honour is the very worst ground which the apologists for the attitude of the British Foreign Office could possibly have selected. Let us call it expediency, or infatuation, or, if we *will* persist in calling an extreme narrowness of outlook genius, the highest concept of political sagacity; but in common decency let us leave the word honour out of the discussion, whether in application to ourselves or France or Spain or Germany, alike responsible in varying degrees for a Treaty cynically disregarded.

But this peculiar interpretation of British honour is not more striking than the subordination of the national interest to the supposed interests of Republican France. I assume that no sane man is prepared to urge that the national interest would not have been better served by French designs in Morocco being consummated—presupposing the inevitableness sooner or later of their accomplishment—without giving rise to a dangerous state of tension with Germany, in which we could hardly avoid being involved. On that assumption did not ordinary prudence suggest a totally different line than that actually followed between the bombardment of Casablanca and the occupation of Fez? Since we were apparently determined, despite the Act of Algeçiras, to throw the mantle of our protecting *aegis* over the *Comité du Maroc*, over the Etiennes, the Tardieus, and the rest who made the *affaire Marocaine*, we might at least have stipulated for some share in calling the tune, instead of giving *carte blanche* and reaping dead sea fruit. It was surely infantile to imagine that Germany was any more likely in 1911 than she was in 1904-05 to agree to France securing Morocco without positive guarantees as to the open door, and without paying her bill of compensation even as France had found it necessary to pay the British, Spanish, and Italian bills. To Britain, relief in Egypt; to Spain, almost the entire northern and part of the Atlantic coasts of Morocco, with a goodly slice of hinterland thrown in; to Italy, a free hand in Tripoli; to Germany—nothing! That was clearly impossible. The national interest imperatively demanded that the mistake committed in 1904, the mistake primarily due to M. Delcassé's obstinacy—that of leaving Germany out in the cold, treating her as a negligible quantity (a *volte face*, as I showed in my last article, from the Delcassé policy of 1901)—should not be repeated. It was not as though the character of the men and the school desirous of perpetuating the anti-German policy of the past was not known to us. We knew its irresponsibility, its dangerous and heady jingoism, only too well. The men who wished to confront

Germany with the accomplished fact in Morocco, so that no further Conference save one based upon that accomplished fact—and thus useless from the German point of view—would be entertained, were the men who had engineered Fashoda and, but for their miscalculations and the ability of the British representative at Addis-Abeba, would have succeeded in supporting Marchand with an army of Abyssinians. They were the men who nearly precipitated an Anglo-French conflict on the banks of the Niger and the Mekong, as well as on the Nile. We had suffered from their unscrupulousness and the occult influences they enjoy over the French Foreign and Colonial Departments for a very long time; indeed, we are still suffering. Ordinary foresight dictated by experience required that the British Foreign Office should not permit the national interest entrusted to its charge to be used as a cat's-paw against Germany. Patriotic and clear-sighted Frenchmen not a few saw clearly that a perpetuation of the 1904 policy of ostracising Germany could only be followed at the certain risk of a rupture. M. Francis de Préssensé and others of his school uttered warning after warning. The feeling even found expression in the heart of the French Colonial party itself at the important 'Congress' relating to North Africa held in Paris in October 1908, M. Réné Millet, for example, saying openly that: 'If Germany is to leave us in peace in Morocco, we must offer her satisfaction elsewhere.' We could and should have made it absolutely clear between the end of 1907 and the end of 1909, that we considered it essential to a peaceful and final settlement of the Morocco problem that France should not prolong a questionable situation without coming to definite terms with Germany.

But if such an attitude were called for then, how much more was it needed during the months which preceded the march to Fez? British friendship was the pivot upon which everything turned in Paris. Does any responsible person in this country really believe that the Fez expedition, and the events leading up to and preparing it, would have been undertaken if the French had not been assured of British support? On that support we were in a position to put a price, since our grant of it made us accessories to the destruction of the Act of Algeçiras. The national interest demanded that we should have done so; and that price should have been a definite understanding between Paris and Berlin on the basis of compensation to Germany for the crowning step which was to convert Morocco into 'another France,' as the French Minister of War made rather tactless haste to proclaim immediately after the signature of the Franco-German convention of last November. Here again our diplomacy should have known—if it was accurately advised by our French friends must, indeed, have known—that the permanent

occupation of Fez by General Moinier's army would be regarded by Germany as a re-opening of the whole Moroccan question. The evidence is conclusive. Yet Sir Edward Grey told the House of Commons on the 27th of November that Germany did not 'protest,' thereby allowing it to be inferred that her subsequent action in sending the *Panther* to Agadir did not arise from France's occupation of the capital, so far as any preliminary warning on her part was concerned. It is painful to have to write it, but either this was hair-splitting or it was due to one of those lapses of memory on vital issues which have been a conspicuous feature of the Foreign Secretary's handling of the Congo and Persian questions. We were aware, of course, three weeks before Sir Edward Grey made that statement that the German Government had formulated 'explicit reservation,' and had announced beforehand its 'liberty of action' if the French troops stayed in Fez—but that was a German version, and so was passed over lightly. How emphatic and repeated were the German warnings to France the examination of the French Foreign Minister before the Senatorial Commission has disclosed:

During to-day's (26th of December) cross-examination of M. de Selves—runs the authorised account of these proceedings—it was ascertained that in preliminary conversations between the German Foreign Secretary and the French ambassador in Berlin with regard to the French occupation, first of Rabat and then of Fez, Herr von Kiderlen Waechter made repeated and definite reservations as to the eventual attitude of Germany in case the occupation were prolonged. As regards the French march to Fez, Herr von Kiderlen Waechter had from the outset insisted that this step would become inevitable after the advance to Rabat. To this suggestion M. Cambon at first demurred, but in the face of subsequent events he was compelled to admit its accuracy. Herr von Kiderlen Waechter then urged that if the French went to Fez they would remain there. M. Cambon again demurred, but Herr von Kiderlen Waechter replied that an evacuation in the circumstances would be unprecedented. M. Cambon ultimately admitted the possibility of the occupation of Fez, whereupon Herr von Kiderlen Waechter replied that in that case Germany would resume complete liberty of action as regards Morocco.

And, in the face of this, British diplomacy has persistently accused the German Government of having re-opened the Morocco question in sending a gunboat to Agadir! An astounding story, in truth! When will the bandages fall from the eyes of the British public, one wonders. What millions already spent in war preparations, what millions yet to be expended, would not have been saved the peoples of Britain, France, and Germany if British diplomacy had been conscious of its power and its responsibilities and, above all, its opportunities!

But if the national interest in the period Casablanca-Fez was thoughtlessly made ancillary to the anti-German tendencies of

French Colonial jingoes, against whom several members of the cabinets which succeeded one another so rapidly after M. Briand's fall struggled in vain, what can one say of subsequent manifestations similar in character? The average man has been so deluged with official printed matter on the whole subject that it is not to be wondered at if he gives up the task of attempting to see daylight throughout the mass. But how remarkable it is that only one member of the British Parliament who took part in the recent debates should have put his finger upon the real operating cause of Mr. Lloyd George's famous speech, the *point de départ* for that explosion of German feeling which in all certainty will cost the British taxpayer many millions sterling. And yet we cannot *begin* to understand the German view; we can take no stock of our bearings for the future of our relations with Germany, which all but a few wild men agree it is in the national interest should improve, unless we grasp the key to that speech and the state of mind and atmosphere which produced it. There is no excuse for not doing so now, because the speech delivered by the French Foreign Minister on the 15th of December and the proceedings of the French Senatorial Commission have provided the links which were still needed to reconstruct the story.

On the 1st of July the German Ambassador informed Sir Arthur Nicholson (in Sir Edward Grey's absence) that his Government had ordered a war vessel to Agadir, an open roadstead on the south-western coast of Morocco—a coast, always dangerous, upon which the Atlantic rolls its mighty billows for ever and ever, breaking in long lines of angry surf, a coast thrashed from May to November with almost uninterrupted storms, making access often utterly impossible; a coast whose dreary monotony as you coast along outside its white-flecked fringe is only relieved by the marvellous effects of refracted light, which convert the tongues of foam running up the low mud cliffs into shimmering cascades of opalescence and transform the distant sand dunes into enchanted castles of roseate beauty. Agadir itself is a spot accurately if disrespectfully described as a 'mud-hole,' requiring as many millions to convert into a naval base 'as it would take to turn the beach, say, at Brighton to a similar purpose.' The Ambassador explained as the chief cause for this action the necessity of safeguarding the interests of German nationals and German property.[1] He also stated that the proceedings of France,

[1] 'The Germans hold more land in Morocco *paid for in cash* than all other nations combined, and without massacre or pillage, they have established industries and performed genuine pacific penetration.' *Light for John Bull on the Morocco Question*, by Charles Rosher.. (London: Hendersons, 66, Charing Cross Road.) 'German trade is establishing itself everywhere.' M. Marchant at the North African Congress, Paris, October 1908.

especially since the occupation of Fez, were such that the Algeciras Act had become illusory; that it might be difficult under the circumstances (of the occupation of Fez, &c.) for France to return to the *status quo ante*—i.e. the *status quo* of the Act of Algeciras —and that the German Government was prepared to discuss with France the means of arriving at a definite understanding with that Power, 'compatible with the interests of other signatory Powers.' On the 3rd of July Sir Edward Grey sent for the German Ambassador and informed him that the despatch of the vessel to Agadir was a 'serious and important'[2] step, and would be considered by the British Cabinet. Sir Edward Grey has told us what was the effect upon his mind of the German communication. Briefly it amounted to this: He feared that Germany contemplated negotiating a solution of the Morocco question, probably in the form of a partition with France and Spain, from which Britain was to be excluded. That view he doubtless impressed upon the Cabinet, because on the 4th of July he again sent for the German Ambassador and told him that 'a new situation had been created' by Germany's action, and that Great Britain 'could not recognise any new arrangement which might be come to' outside her. That view evidently continued to linger at the Foreign Office, for on the 12th of July—between which date and the preceding 4th no communication had passed between the two Governments—the British Ambassador at Berlin referred to the subject in a conversation with the German Foreign Minister to the effect that 'there had been at one time some mention of a conversation *à trois* between Germany, France, and Spain, the inference being that we were to be excluded from it.'[3] In reply, the German Foreign Minister told our Ambassador to inform his Government that 'there had never been such an idea'[4]—this 'as an official statement of the German Government.'[5]

Hence from the 3rd of July to the 12th of July the Foreign Office suspected Germany of an intention to negotiate a final solution of the Morocco problem, on the lines possibly of a partition with France and Spain, from which solution, possibly partition, Britain would be excluded. Such an intention was categorically denied by the German Government. It was an 'hallucination.'[6] Be it noted in this connexion that Germany, in the convention she concluded with France in February 1909

[2] Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons on 27th of November.

[3] Sir Edward Grey in the House on 27th of November. The German Chancellor's version in the Reichstag on 5th of December is substantially similar (Cd. 5964).

[4] Sir Edward Grey, *id.* [5] The German Chancellor, *id.*

[6] German Foreign Minister's statement to the Budget Committee of the Reichstag, 17th of November (Cd. 5992).

and published to the world, had expressly repudiated any other than 'economic' interests in Morocco.[7]

Now let us turn to the speech of the French Foreign Minister, M. de Selves, on the 15th of December, recalling, what it is of moment to bear in mind, Sir Edward Grey's statement that 'the French Government consulted us at every point where it seemed at all likely that British interests might be affected—most loyally at every point.'[8] M. de Selves's speech, afterwards corroborated afresh by the proceedings in the French Senate, furnishes a complete confirmation of the truth of Germany's repudiation of Sir Edward Grey's suspicions. Those suspicions *were* 'hallucinations.' What are the three points of capital importance in M. de Selves's speech, reinforced by the examination of sundry Foreign Ministers by the Senatorial Committee? First, that the French negotiations with Germany, which had lasted intermittently all through 1910, assumed a precise form when the expedition to Fez was decided upon. In the German view this step 'profoundly modified' both the Algeciras Act and the Franco-German convention of February 1909 (whereby France had declared herself 'wholly attached to the maintenance of the integrity and independence of the Shereefian Empire'!). *Secondly*, and this is of the utmost importance, *that the 'first word'* (*la première parole*)[9] *uttered by the German Foreign Minister had consisted in admitting the principle of a French protectorate over Morocco,*[10] *and that this assurance had been repeated immediately after the despatch of the Panther to Agadir in words equally emphatic,*[11] but accompanied by a demand for compensation, seeing that France had compensated Britain, Spain, and Italy. Indeed, the 'compensating' principle would appear, from the discussion before the Senatorial Committee, to have been spontaneously agreed to by the French Ambassador at Berlin. Thirdly, that the idea of Spain coming into the negotiations would, in the view of the French Government, have been contrary to French interests, and had never been contemplated. Could there be more emphatic testimony to the baselessness of Foreign-Office suspicions that Germany meditated a partition of Morocco with France and Spain, or was desirous of conducting a conversation *à trois* to the detriment of British interests? When our French partners themselves assert that far from meditating any such thing, Germany conceded from the very outset the principle of a French

[7] *L'accord Franco-Allemand*, etc.

[8] Sir Edward Grey (Cd. 5994).

[9] From the *verbatim* report.

[10] 'Le Maroc vous l'aurez. Installez y votre protectorat, libellez vous même l'accord qui doit en déterminer les précisions,' *id.*

[11] 'L'Allemagne nous a dit; Soit! nous acceptons. Prenez le Maroc, installez y votre protectorat.'

protectorate over Morocco, how can the attitude of the Foreign Office be explained? How in particular can we reconcile that attitude, the hugging of these suspicions, with Sir Edward Grey's statement that the French Government had kept him informed 'at every point' in the negotiations?[12] Do not the German Chancellor's words, 'that it must not be mistrust which guides the pencil' on the slate, if Anglo-German relations are to improve, appear reasonable in the face of this revelation? Does not M. de Selves's speech suggest that those who assert the existence in, or in connexion with, the Foreign Office, of influences opposed to that improvement are not quite the 'fanatics' and the 'cranks' denounced by certain wiseacres in Fleet Street and elsewhere?

Let us resume the narrative, for we now approach the crux of the whole sorry business, the Lloyd George speech and its explanation. The 12th of July closed with a flat denial on the part of Germany of suspicions now seen to have been entirely without foundation. A week passes. Suddenly the scene shifts from Morocco to the Congo—that plague spot of contemporary history. A bomb explodes, what may be termed the compensation bomb, and the calmness and coolness which are supposed to reign in Downing Street disappear in a dangerous attack of nerves. Its bursting was eminently calculated to strengthen the diplomatic hand of France and to weaken that of Germany. *The Times* of the 20th of July announces that Germany has 'demanded' from France the cession of that portion of the Congo comprised between the coast and the Sangha river (about one third of the 'French Congo' or 'French equatorial Africa' as it is now termed). The German 'demand' bears all the appearance of a virtual *ultimatum*. It is accompanied by a leading article, of which the following is the crucial passage:

> German statesmen, as our Paris correspondent says, must know perfectly well that no French Government could for a moment entertain them (the demands). They must know equally well that no British Government could consent to suffer so great a change to be made in the distribution of power in Africa, even were a French Government to be found feeble enough to sanction it.[13]

At this stage we may pause for a moment to consider whether the German 'demands' were couched in such a vein as to amount to anything in the nature of an *ultimatum*. The account given by M. de Selves does not bear out that view, and there is really no evidence whatever—and not a little evidence to the contrary—that Germany ever desired to push to a rupture with France. The

[12] Confirmed by M. de Selves, *id.*

[13] *The Times* also stated that Germany had demanded the transfer to her of France's right of 'pre-emption' to the Congo State, but Sir Edward Grey did not mention the allegation in his speech, and M. de Selves does not state that Germany made this demand in his.

examination of M. Cruppi, French Foreign Minister in the Monis Cabinet (in office at the time of the Fez expedition), by the Senatorial Committee, shows that, in June, compensation in the French Congo was being discussed by the French Ambassador at Berlin with the German Foreign Minister. The only question was how much of the French Congo and what part of it was to be ceded. That German desires first bore upon the particular part of the French Congo indicated in *The Times'* map is probably true. In the opening encounter of most negotiations the man who wants asks more than he expects to receive; the man who stands to give does not state the *maximum* he is prepared to concede. Germany is, doubtless, a hard bargainer. Her 'demand' was presumably in the nature of a first feeler. Moreover it was accompanied by offers—offers to cede German territory in West Africa to France by way of exchange. *The Times* did not mention this. But the French Foreign Minister is explicit:

> M. Cambon, looking at a map with M. Kiderlen Waechter, the Secretary of State, said to him: "Very well, we can arrive at some exchanges. We will abandon you Togoland, we will give you territorial concessions in the Upper Cameroon. But this is what we ask, etc." [14]

The picture of these two elderly gentlemen bending their heads and waving their respective forefingers over the map of Africa is very different from the pistol-to-your-forehead, stand-and-deliver, Claude-Duval sort of thing portrayed for the edification of the British public in *The Times*. As a mattter of fact the bargaining has ended in Germany obtaining a little less than one-fifth instead of one-third the French Congo, and giving a small fraction of the Cameroons instead of Togoland and the whole of German Bornu (Upper Cameroons). And the British Government, not even directly concerned, was prepared to stake a war on it!

The day after the appearance of *The Times* announcement Sir Edward Grey sent for the German Ambassador—i.e. on the 21st of July. He said, he 'had been made anxious by the news which appeared *the day before* as to the demands which the German Government had made on the French Government.' Those demands, he went on to remark, 'it was obviously impossible for the French Government to concede.' The negotiations might break down. 'According to native rumours,' the Germans were landing and negotiating with the tribes round Agadir,[15] and if the negotiations came to nothing Britain would

[14] '*Voici ce que nous demandons.*' But demander means to 'ask' rather than to 'demand.' If the Germans had meant 'demand' in the sense attributed to them, the sentence would have read, '*Voici ce que nous* RECLAMONS,' or '*Voici ce qu'il nous faut.*'

[15] The rumours were untrue. They do not appear to have been credited in France, 'Mais il nous est apparu, d'après nos renseignements, que si l'Allemagne envoyait un bateau à Agadir, elle n'avait pas l'intention d'y opérer un débarquement.' M. de Selves, *id.*

have to 'become a party to a discussion of the matter.' In giving an account of this conversation to the House, Sir Edward Grey made it clear that he was still labouring under what the French Foreign Minister has conclusively demonstrated to have been an 'hallucination,' viz.—that Germany was meditating a partition of Morocco, and that assuming the failure of the projected Congo compensation settlement, the negotiations would be forced back 'upon something in the nature of a partition of Morocco'—that is to say, really, the acquisition by Germany of a portion of Morocco, because France and Spain had, *with the knowledge of the Foreign Office*, already partitioned Morocco between them by the secret Franco-Spanish Convention of October 1904. Without giving the German Ambassador time to communicate with his Government, Sir Edward Grey saw the Prime Minister and Mr. Lloyd George, and *the same evening*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made a speech at the Mansion House, in the course of which he said:

> But if a situation were forced upon us in which peace could only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement, by allowing Britain to be treated where her interests were vitally affected, as if she were of no account in the Cabinet of Nations, then I say emphatically that peace at that price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure.

The purport of those words was unmistakable. *The Times* punctuated them the next morning: 'Mr. Lloyd George on British prestige': 'Significant reference by Mr. Lloyd George': 'Firm British attitude.' Such were the headings accentuated by a leader very similar in tone to that of July 20, entitled 'The European Crisis,' in which German policy was *inter alia* compared with the proceedings of 'Dick Turpin.' Taking their cue from *The Times* other papers followed, and the clamour of denunciation became general.

In the light of our present knowledge, a survey of the events of the 20th and the 21st of July induces a feeling of utter amazement. British diplomacy had taken upon itself to interfere provocatively on the side of France, not in pursuance of any British interest in Morocco which France might be supposed to be defending, not, indeed, in connexion with Morocco at all, but in order to reduce, at Germany's expense, the bill which France had placed herself by her own acts in the position of having to pay. Whether the bill as originally presented constituted an overcharge or not, was not our affair. France was not a baby in arms. We had no call to play the part of wet nurse. In the very territory which Germany asked for, British commercial interests had been treated with contumely and the Act of Berlin, which applied to the greater part of it, cynically disregarded to British

detriment. The Foreign Secretary had not even given himself the trouble to ascertain what we now know to have been the case from the French themselves, that Germany, in presenting a bill in one hand, had presented a credit note for rebate in the other, in the shape of a German dependency [one of the most flourishing and best administered in West Africa, as Miss Mary Gaunt has recently borne witness], and a substantial part of another. (Note that Sir Edward Grey, in defending his attitude before the House of Commons, made no allusion to this very important factor in the Franco-German bargaining.) The Foreign Secretary had adopted the 'Dick Turpin' version of the compensation conversations; had afforded the German Government no opportunity of stating its case, for bear in mind that the Congo compensation question *was never raised by the British Foreign Office before the 21st of July*; and, saturated with the anti-German prejudices which permeate the minds of his advisers, had dictated to the Chancellor of the Exchequer an utterance not, perhaps, very dignified in itself, and nicely calculated, in view of all the circumstances, to produce that bitterness and resentment from which the whole European situation and our own interests in every part of the world almost are now suffering. The 21st of July may have been a good day for the great manufacturers of war material. It was a bad day for the British taxpayer. On that day a policy of blind defence of French colonial interests—a policy which has no sanction in any arrangement or understanding or commitment known to the British people, a policy which the British people would reject unhesitatingly, if Britain possessed to-day public men of sufficient courage and independence to place its nature and its effects before them—touched high-water mark. God grant the nation may awake to its peril before folly and heedlessness, autocratic obstinacy, lack of imagination and personal prejudices have swept it into the abyss of carnage and of suffering. We stand at the parting of the ways.

It is useless to examine further the history of these proceedings. The increasing tension which followed, the war preparations which ensued—for all this, and for whatever the sequel may be, we have to go back to those first three weeks of last July and the lack of foresight which preceded them. But what of the future? Fair words we have had in plenty. 'Words, words, words,' they are worse than useless if the influences responsible for the episode of last July are to prevail, and if the national interest is to continue to be subordinated to factors in France which, in the name of France, are bringing upon that country the direst perils. Is it not time that we considered France a little less and Britain a little more? The attraction of personality

lends a picturesque touch to our national discussions. But it is sometimes apt to blunt plain issues. Among those who are driven to criticise adversely the policy identified with the present Foreign Secretary, there are probably none who do not respect and even admire the personal qualities of the man. They admire his detachment from selfish ambitions, his disinterestedness, his courageous obstinacy. They feel the sympathy of deepest respect for a tragedy which in some men's lives lays a grasp of ice upon the soul. But pushed beyond reasonable limits sentiments of this kind become a danger to the State, and it is in the highest degree threatening to the national interest that they should be allowed to blind the public to the perilous paths the nation is being made to tread. The 'accept-my-policy-or-I-resign' attitude is incompatible with the requirements, the responsibilities, and the enormous stakes of a modern democratic commonwealth whose multifold interests place it at the mercy of those who direct its foreign policy, and whose future may be compromised for a generation by prejudices, whether temperamental or other, in the management of its relations with foreign Powers. It is no longer possible for one particular department in the State to be entirely isolated from the national life; to cut itself off completely from all contact with those deep-seated currents which, in the long run, govern the destinies of the peoples; to keep wholly out of touch with national sentiment save for an occasional and perfunctory debate in a congested House of Commons.

A point has been reached in our relations with Germany when a change for the better must ensue or speedy war result. That war we have narrowly escaped in connexion with the transfer, in which we ourselves were not concerned, of a slice of Equatorial African forest, sparsely populated by primitive races and by a handful of fever-stricken white officials and rubber exploiters; *sombre, savage, primeval in the gloom of its great trees and matted creepers.* Criminal absurdity could touch no lower depths. That risk must not be repeated. That war must not be; will not be, if the nation rouses itself to a realisation of what has taken place. If those who govern our foreign policy have persuaded themselves of its inevitableness, the nation cannot afford the luxury of retaining them in power. They must give way to men without fixed ideas and prejudices, less haughtily indifferent to public feeling, and with a keener appreciation of the revolution in national interests which growth of population and the international interlocking of industrial and commercial needs have wrought.

The best minds in France are just now grappling with an identical problem as it affects the French people. They are giving us an example from which we may profit with advantage.

The course has been taken of appointing a Senatorial commission on non-party lines, composed of the leading and most experienced statesmen in the nation, to sift to the bottom the whole story of the Moroccan affair. Successive Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries who have been concerned in these transactions are hailed as witnesses and cross-examined. The substance of the investigation is given to the nation. The step is unprecedented. But so is the story to be dissected. From first to last, from M. Delcassé's first secret negotiations with Spain in 1901 to the Anglo-French 'Declaration' of 1904, with its secret clauses, and M. Delcassé's secret Convention with Spain in October 1904, signed with British concurrence, whereby Britain, France, and Spain combined in the unsuccessful attempt to exclude Germany from a position she had lawfully acquired, and whereby, without the knowledge of the French nation, France was dragged into the Morocco adventure, ignorant of the fact that virtually the entire Mediterranean littoral had, by the act of her Foreign Minister, passed from her possible control; through the whole gamut of the abortive negotiations over the French Congo conducted by the Briand and Monis Cabinets, the N'Goko Sangha scandal, the intrigues of the Tardieus and Etiennes, and so on; the plots and counterplots woven by diplomatists in the process of strangling the Moors, who are now engaged, and presently will be on a much larger scale, in laying down their lives (and killing as many French and Spanish peasants as possible before they do) in the defence of their independence solemnly guaranteed by the Powers, are as inexpressibly revolting as they are utterly opposed to the interests of the peoples whose destinies are juggled with as though they were merely counters in the game. The sordid background of personal ambitions and financial manœuvres which lies behind it all accentuates, to those who know something of it, the disgust which honest men must experience as the narrative slowly unfolds. That the people of Britain, France, and Germany, perhaps of Austria, Russia, and Spain as well, were very nearly precipitated into murderous strife as the result thereof, is a greater incentive to the growth of really dangerous, because irresponsible and non-constructive elements in society than all the writings and appeals of which the supporters of conditions that can produce such a travesty of human government stand in so much dread. That the French have been able to appreciate the gravity of the issues so far as they are concerned is a tribute to that genius for statecraft, and for something deeper than statecraft, which has manifested itself at critical periods throughout their history. It almost leads one to hope that a process of purification may be the ultimate outcome, which will purge French political life, and especially free the great Foreign and Colonial

departments from unscrupulous financial intrigues, and the band of dangerous lobbyists, concession-mongers, and *journalistes d'affaires* whose power over successive ministries has attained in the last decade alarming proportions: a menace to the health and security of the French nation, and, assuredly, a menace to France's friends.

But have *we* nothing to investigate and to alter here at home in the face of these revelations of the past few months? Even in 'autocratic' Germany, with its mistakes born of youth and realisation of prodigious industrial progress, the upshot of these events has been a strengthening, for the future, of the controlling power of the elected assembly of the nation over the foreign policy of the Empire. Are the British people alone to remain content with a system under which they can be led blindfold to the edge of the precipice of war with little, if any, greater knowledge of the direction in which they are stumbling, and why, than they would have possessed three hundred years ago?

The above was written before the resignation, first of M. de Selves, then of the Caillaux Ministry; and before a further increase in the German navy became, as I fear it has now become, a virtual certainty. The curse of a secret diplomacy works out its inevitable course. The late French Premier may have made mistakes. But his was a position of singular difficulty. A man of broad and logical mind, he was faced, as his predecessors had been faced, with the fundamental contradiction between M. Delcassé's secret arrangements with Spain and Britain (taken in conjunction) and the public engagements of France towards the world, which, in the concrete, meant towards Germany, under the Algeçiras Act. Whereas his predecessors flinched before, or toyed with the issue, he realised that the only way out was a frank, full, and thorough understanding with Germany. As M. Rouvier had found in 1905, so M. Caillaux found in 1911, that the head of the French Government must react against the warlike element in his Cabinet if peace was to be preserved. As in 1905, so in 1911, the peace party in the French Ministry of the day experienced embarrassments and obstacles in the influence wielded against it from centres of British foreign policy in Paris, Vienna, and Berlin—especially in Paris—operating through the columns of famous newspapers. That influence, in 1905, had striven desperately against the Algeciras Conference: in 1911 it determined the events of the 21st of July. Yet on both occasions the peace party in the French Ministry was not one whit less patriotic, or less sensible to the true interests of France, than the men in the opposite camp. I assert with deliberation what I know to be the truth, and many thoroughly reliable Frenchmen, partisans

of the *entente*—but such as it has been sanctioned by the British and French peoples, and not as it has been distorted by recent diplomacy—also know to be the truth—viz., that powerful influences, not wielded from British Cabinet circles but connected with the British diplomatic machine over which they exercise at present very considerable sway—are and have been using their utmost endeavours to prevent the growth of cordial relations between France and Germany, greatly assisted therein by the admittedly chaotic state of the French Foreign Office.

As for the further probable increase in the German navy, already denounced here in the anti-German Press as a further aggressive challenge against Britain, it would seem to be the necessary consequence of the events of the past summer and autumn as determining factor, coupled, doubtless, with the Russian shipbuilding programme, the conceivable consequences of the Tripoli affair, and the activity of the Spanish dockyards under British supervision. The 'indiscretions' of 1905 in regard to plans for seizing the Kiel Canal and the landing of 100,000 British troops in Schleswig-Holstein were followed by the cry for 'ships, ships, ships.' So the 'indiscretions' of 1911 as to the mobilisation of the British fleet and the landing of 150,000 British troops in Belgium have had the same results. The Germans feel themselves menaced—that is the plain truth of the matter. The whole of Germany is seething with the conviction that British foreign policy is inspired by deliberately aggressive intentions, and that the genuine popular feeling in Britain favouring improved relations is powerless to cope with the influences at work. Moderate men, men of business standing and experience with heavy stakes to lose, even the Socialists, have become, since last July, imbued with this conviction. It is no use Englishmen protesting, and with the utmost sincerity, against these suspicions. The nation harbours no such designs. But it is time that the nation made up its mind, quietly and firmly, to have done with the diplomatic methods which have caused a belief in such designs to become an article of faith in the breast of every patriotic German, to the detriment of the British national interest.

E. D. Morel.

JUSTICE TO IRELAND

'My firm belief is that ... were Ireland detached from her political connexion with this country and left to her own unaided agencies, it might be that the strife of parties would then burst forth in a form calculated to strike horror throughout the land.'—W. E. Gladstone, *17th of February* 1866.

Members of Parliament, irrespective of parties, who take their duties seriously and still cherish some respect for the functions of the House of Commons, look forward to the coming Session with the utmost foreboding. They are convinced that if the programme for 1912, as foreshadowed before Christmas, takes shape without modification, the Parliamentary machine will be smashed for all time. Of this far-reaching calamity some persons will be glad; more will be sorry, but all will recognise in it the one enduring monument to Mr. Asquith's Coalition Ministry. 'Payment of members' does not, unfortunately, stop at 400*l*. a year from the State. The Prime Minister has other bills due for payment in various quarters of the House of Commons on account of value received; hence Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment and Manhood Suffrage (with Female Suffrage thrown in, perhaps, and Redistribution probably shelved in the preamble) are to be rushed through our Single-Chamber Parliament in the course of one brief year; leaving but the dregs of time and energy for the discussion of really urgent and serious problems connected with Finance, India, the Navy and the Army. It goes without saying that every one of these questions of vast Imperial moment will suffer incalculably by such a process, and it is more than doubtful whether real justice can possibly be done either to Ireland or to Wales whilst such manifest injustice is being meted out to the Empire as a whole.

But, given that three Bills of such magnitude are to be presented to Parliament before Easter, it is impossible to understand how the mere physical difficulty is to be surmounted which requires the representatives of the people to be in constant attendance at Westminster during the passage of these measures whilst, at the same time, their constituents will be most properly anxious to have detailed expositions and explanations from their members of Bills which vitally affect the political and social life of the

nation, but of which absolutely nothing is known to the nation up to the present time. 'The art of government,' says an old French proverb, 'is to foresee'; the new English practice re-writes the maxim, 'the art of government is to tell nothing.' Whilst there is time, however, and before these measures are thrown at the head of the House of Commons, it may perhaps be worth while to examine some of the reasons why one of them, the Home Rule Bill, should be rejected in the name of 'Justice to Ireland.'

One is sometimes inclined to despair of ever making Home Rulers believe that we who are Unionists do not spend the whole of our lives imagining how best we can throttle Irish aspirations or shackle Irish liberty; that we are quite as anxious as they are to foster the former and to protect the latter, but that we are convinced that both these objects can be achieved by methods far less revolutionary yet more progressive than those suggested by Mr. Gladstone and his successors. It is idle to answer that 'eighty Home Rule members sent over to the British Parliament year after year must surely know best what is good for their country.' It does not follow at all. I do not suppose that seventy of them will either have been consulted or will have the faintest inklin of what is in the Bill until they see it in print; but they will, nevertheless, say 'ditto' to Mr. Redmond and his three or four intimates who form the Nationalist Cabinet. Nor does it follow that the bulk of the Irish party represent in any true sense the voters in the constituencies for which they sit; for all that happens at election time is that they are nominated, and the United Irish League, with its well-known methods, does the rest. Whilst such tyranny is stalking unchecked through the land, it is not safe to vote against its candidates, and every Irish landlord, farmer, shopkeeper and peasant knows it. But if it were, even approximately, true that Irish Home Rulers know best what is for the good of Ireland, it is surely extraordinary that no Nationalist since the Act of Union was passed has himself drawn up and presented a Home Rule Bill to Parliament.[1] They hold themselves free to write '*pro tanto*' across one of Mr. Gladstone's Bills, '*provisional*' across the other, and to fling Mr. Birrell's Irish Council Bill into the gutter, but they do not appear to know so accurately what the Irish want that they can formulate their desires on paper; so they leave the work to be done by a Saxon and despise him for his pains.

Nothing is more exasperating than the vague language used by the leader of the Nationalist party in explanation of what he

[1] 'It is a grave difficulty that there is no public opinion in Ireland as to the form of the Irish Constitution' (p. 191, *The Framework of Home Rule*, by Erskine Childers).

really means by Home Rule. On English platforms he begs his audiences to take their courage in both hands, just to add one more Parliament to the twenty-eight now existing within the British Empire, and thus to make Ireland loyal by making her a 'nation.' Such words always secure, I am told, generous applause from a generous people. But the audiences are not really wiser until they discover that among the twenty-eight Parliaments referred to are Assemblies so enormously different in powers and composition as those of the Dominion Parliament of Canada, the Provincial Parliament of Quebec, the Crown Colony Parliament of the Bahamas, and the microscopic Parliaments of Guernsey and the Isle of Man! Mr. Redmond's hearers then appreciate the fact that he has been playing with them, and has left them to guess whether the Parliament which he asked them to secure for him would make Ireland a nation like Canada, a province like Quebec, a dependant of the Colonial Office like the Bahamas, or a small and quite efficient administration under the Home Secretary like the Isle of Man. This much, however, they do see: that if Mr. Redmond & Co. are out for a Parliament like that of Canada or Australia, they cannot expect subsidies from or representation in the Imperial Parliament at Westminster; for neither Canada, Australia, nor South Africa demand any such privileges.

And there are other tangles, too, which must be unravelled before the ordinary lay mind in Great Britain can fully understand what Home Rule really signifies to the brain of the Nationalist party; for the definitions of that wonderful phrase 'Home Rule' are capable of such infinite variety. We learn, for instance, from Mr. Hugh Law, M.P., at Ilkley, that it means 'Irish control of purely Irish affairs, such as Irish education, public works, local government, drainage of Irish rivers and afforestation of Irish waste lands.' But, we argue to ourselves, these powers, which Ireland already possesses in the main, will not *per se* convert Ireland into a nation if she is not one already. So, leaving the follower, we turn to listen to his Master's voice: and we hear Mr. John Redmond telling the Gaelic League, in September of last year, that their ideals 'will soon be realised, when Ireland will not only be self-governing—and will not be self-governing as a province of a foreign nation, but in the sense of a fully self-governed and self-reliant nation.' These are sentiments which the orator ought to express on British platforms; they are so much more easily comprehended of the people than a vague desire to be allowed to shine as the twenty-ninth Parliament-star in the British firmament of twenty-eight constitutional bodies. So far, then, we have the 'drainage' and the 'self-reliant nation' definitions of Home Rule, but there are others from within the

same party. Mr. Joseph Devlin is reported in the *Irish People*[1] as having said in the United States some years ago—and Mr. Redmond described him in 1910 as 'the *de facto* Chief Secretary of Ireland'—

> When we have the police and the judiciary in our hands, then will be the time for those who think we should destroy the last link that binds us to England to operate by whatever means they may think best to achieve that great and desirable end. . . . I am quite sure that I speak for the United Irish League in this matter.

How useful it would be to have this view put forward on a British platform. It is so very easy for the simplest mind to grasp. Or if Mr. T. P. O'Connor would only say to us, as he said at Haverhill, U.S.A., in 1909—

> Give to us as you gave to Parnell and I'll promise you that within a few years the land of Ireland will belong to Ireland; her liberty will be won so that her emblem will take its place along with the other flags of the world's nations.

Then we should know for certain that the 'drainage' and the 'self-reliant' definitions were only so much eye-wash, and that Separation is the ultimate end and object of all the agitation. But, as things are, the people of Great Britain do not realise this elementary fact in the situation; it is carefully concealed from them by the Nationalist party. English Radicals take it as axiomatic that the Irish members must know best what is good for Ireland, without even troubling to inquire whether they themselves are agreed upon what Home Rule means, what it could achieve, and whither it will lead.

It is because the Unionist party has acquainted itself with these and earlier utterances that it cannot surrender one inch to the demand for the Repeal of the Union which lies behind the honeyed supplication for Home Rule. No greater injustice to Ireland could be conceived than this, at a time when her prosperity is increasing by leaps and bounds: to deprive her of the moral and material credit which she derives from absolute unity with the richest country in the world, and to throw the reins of her future welfare to the guidance of men who, however well-intentioned, have never been trained to the administration of public affairs.[2] Were Great Britain to sanction a step so insane, three results would certainly ensue: bankruptcy for Ireland within a very short time; civil war, of the character indicated by Mr. Gladstone's words quoted at the beginning of this paper; and an immediate intrigue on the part of the victorious party for final separation from Great Britain and annexation to some stronger

[1] *Irish People* June 21, 1902.

[2] Cf. letter from Mr. A. J. Kettle, ex-Treasurer of the United Irish League, in the *Freeman's Journal*, July 18, 1907, regretting that scarcely any business men are found within the ranks of the U.I.L.

Power. It is heart-breaking to think that we must *envisager* such a prospect at the bidding of the party whose votes keep Mr. Asquith in office. Could we feel that they had a strong backing in Ireland among the responsible and respectable classes we might be inclined to reconsider the position. But our deepest convictions lie in the opposite direction. Every man who purchases his farm under the Wyndham Act, and who means to work it, becomes a settled opponent of political agitation which threatens to upset his business and destroy his credit; the funds of the United Irish League have gone steadily down from 5550*l.* in 1907 to 3500*l.* in 1909, and Mr. Redmond had to complain, on his return from the United States in February 1910, that 'the Irish National party would have been bankrupt in this election were it not for the success of Mr. O'Connor's mission to America.' A pretty confession to have to make whilst he is trying to persuade Great Britain that the great soul of Ireland is pining for Home Rule! I believe the Nationalists claim that there are 3,500,000 Home Rulers in Ireland alone: if each of these were to subscribe but one penny a month to 'the cause' the total would reach 175,000*l.* a year; but in point of fact only 3500*l.* was forthcoming in 1909 from Irish patriots resident in Ireland. There is, I submit, no tangible evidence that the Home Rule agitation has any sound democratic support in Ireland amongst those who are counted (rightly or wrongly) as Nationalists.

But it has an unfaltering and vehement opposition from every Unionist living in that country, that is to say from something between one-third and one-fourth of the total population. None but the most purblind politician can deny this; evidences of it are written large for all who have eyes to see, and the statesman who cannot appreciate the preparations which are going forward to resist Home Rule in Ulster ought to be confined as a criminal lunatic. It is a source of constant wonder to many of us why the Prime Minister chooses, at this grave moment, not only to be blind to the meaning of all that is going on in the North of Ireland, but also deaf to the representations made by Sir Edward Carson on behalf of Irish Unionists. How comes it that a man of Mr. Asquith's calibre elects to believe that solemn warnings, uttered by a man of Sir Edward's world-wide reputation, are all bluff, but that every word spoken by Mr. Redmond (who claims no reputation except in certain districts of Ireland) is to be taken as gospel-truth? I confess that the answer baffles me; and I can only conjecture that Mr. Asquith, who was 'free born,' has forgotten the great price which the men of the North had to pay for their freedom in 1688. It is the recollection of what the great Revolution cost them and secured for them that gives to Ulster men the grim and steadfast determination never

to surrender their birthright and heritage of citizenship of the United Kingdom; and it is sympathy with this noble aspiration which should make Great Britain the quicker to apprehend the evidences of uncontrollable hostility with which Ulster always has met and always will meet any attempt to barter away the rights of loyal men, at the bidding of those who have not been ashamed to describe themselves as rebels in the past.

Justice to Ireland, then, demands that Home Rule shall not be thrust upon her without a great deal more proof than is at present forthcoming that she wants it, or that she could live happily under it if she got it. For, as trustees for Ireland, the people of Great Britain are in honour bound to see to it that the Irish people do not suffer eternally, simply because we, in our ignorance and folly, choose to believe that the voice of the agitator is the voice of Ireland, and therefore consent to grant the demand for an Irish Parliament. Two courses alone are open to us: either to persevere in the policy of well-doing which is fast regenerating Ireland, and to ignore the threats of agitation-mongers; or to surrender Ireland to the clamour and the tender mercies of the Nationalist party and 'see how it works.' The latter course must be unthinkable to honourable men who have given to this question the amount of study that it deserves. We know that, in the matter of finance alone, Ireland is in the awkward position of having a debt, for last year only, of 2,000,000*l*. (roughly) on account of her local expenditure exceeding her local revenue by about that sum—according to the Chief Secretary himself—and of being unable to pay a penny towards her share of the National Debt or of Imperial charges which, taken together, amount to about six-and-a-half million pounds a year.[4] Is this the moment to hand over Ireland to a band of amateur financiers to extricate her from her present and very real difficulties, which can only be surmounted by the most careful management on the part of trained administrators and by further pecuniary aid from Great Britain as her expenditure increases? We Unionists feel that we love Ireland too well to consign her to any fate so cruel, and we know the Nationalist party well enough to make us doubt their capacity for handling problems of so difficult a character with any chance of success. 'Knowledge is power; thought is power, but *talk* is not power,' said an eminent Frenchman long ago; and the trustees for Ireland's welfare (as well as for the security of nearly 200 millions of British money invested in Irish land purchase) are bound to examine the credentials of those to whom they are asked to hand over the administration of

[4] Note also that in 1911 the indebtedness of Irish local bodies was 22,066,834*l*.; the rateable valuation of all Ireland was only 15,698,530*l*. The difference was borrowed on the strength of Ireland's connexion with the British Treasury.

an important part of the United Kingdom. We are prepared, on the other hand, to see her through her financial difficulties in no niggardly spirit; but the Government must remain with those who find the money in order that Ireland may rise above the tidal wave of taxation beneath which the present Chancellor of the Exchequer threatens to submerge all classes of the community.

This attitude, however, does not commend itself to the self-styled 'economists' of the Nationalist party. We may point out the parlous condition into which Home Rule would plunge Irish finance, and urge the necessity of British credit for Irish use at the present time. 'No matter,' writes Professor Kettle, in the *English Review* for January; 'we prefer freedom to fleshpots . . . a settlement which calls for men who are statesmen before they are actuaries.' Could any words be better calculated than these to prove how criminal it would be to entrust Irish finance to a Cabinet of Irish Celts in which Professor Kettle might reasonably hope to be Chancellor of the Exchequer; could any language [5] be chosen more certain than this to sow in British minds the profoundest distrust of committing any further capital to Irish purposes if it is to be administered by so riotous an exponent of political or social economy? It is certainly not in this spirit that Lord MacDonnell approached the same problem in his temperate article last month in the pages of this Review.[6] He supplies an excellent antidote to Mr. Kettle's visionary theories; though he, too, seems to think that the British Exchequer has a bottomless purse upon which Ireland may make perpetual and almost exclusive claims, whilst he does not recognise that the British taxpayer and man of business has very little confidence indeed in those Nationalist politicians to whom he is expected to confide his money; for it goes without saying that both Lord MacDonnell and Professor Kettle require very large sums of British money to be forthcoming to start Ireland along the unknown paths of Home Rule.

Before leaving the question of Irish finance, I would wish to make one or two observations upon certain general proposals which have been advanced whereby, in certain directions, Irish expenditure might be diminished if controlled by the Nationalist party, although in other directions that expenditure would certainly be increased. We have been told that Old Age Pensions will be immediately reduced when Mr. Redmond and his friends are masters of the Parliament in College Green. That is one of the arguments used by the Nationalists in England; but I doubt whether it will be particularly popular among the

[5] Except Mr. John Redmond's (*Freeman's Journal*, November 14, 1910) 'What do we care for material reforms in Ireland? They may fill the stomachs of the Irish people. That will not satisfy their spirits.'

[6] 'The Finance of Irish Government: a Retrospect and a Prospect, [illegible] 1912

peasantry in Ireland who, most probably, have not yet heard of it. To Mr. Kettle, no doubt, an old age pension is merely a 'fleshpot,' and is not to be compared with the inestimable advantage of 'freedom'; but we must wait and see how the idea commends itself to the aged poor of Ireland and to the electors of that country generally before building any extravagant hopes of economy on this foundation.

In the second place, a substantial reduction of the Royal Irish Constabulary is declared necessary, and large savings are said to be possible under this head. It is, however, doubtful whether this conjecture is well based. It must be remembered that the duties of the R.I.C. are by no means limited to the preservation of law and order in town and country in Ireland. They include a large variety of functions which are not performed by policemen, so far as I am aware, in England, Scotland or Wales. It is common knowledge that the Irish Constabulary have to act (1) as inspectors of Weights and Measures, (2) as Census officers, (3) as inspectors under Food and Drugs Acts, (4) as enumerators of emigrants, (5) as Customs officers, and (6) as excisemen to prevent smuggling and illicit distillation. Moreover, they may be called upon to perform (7) the duties of a soldier, (8) of a billet-master, (9) of an auctioneer for sale of distress; they must (10) enforce certain Acts of Parliament, including the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, the Fishery Acts, and the last Children Act. These are only some of the duties now devolving upon an Irish policeman according to his contract with Government; for these I cannot say that I think he is overpaid, but rather the contrary, considering the ordinary duties which fall to his lot in some turbulent districts that I have visited. But of this we may be certain, that every one of these functions is an important one in any civilised country, and that someone must be paid for discharging it. If the policeman is relieved of such duties he will, doubtless, be thankful; but the expenses incurred for their performance will only have to be charged under another head in the estimates presented to Parliament, and the resulting economy (if any) will be infinitesimal indeed.

The third item, popularly supposed to be one upon which public money can be saved, is the Civil Service in Ireland. In furthering this idea, Professor Kettle (this time in *The Academy*) is very precise indeed—up to a point. He is both grieved and angry that in Ireland there are no less than 4397 officials 'above the income-tax line,' whereas in Scotland there are only 944; the total salaries being 1,441,131*l*., as against 319,287*l*., and this is quoted from the last Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue. At first sight it would certainly

civil servants wantonly quartered upon her revenue. It would seem, from the above figures, that the 4397 officials already mentioned were all civil servants battening upon moneys provided by the Irish taxpayer; it would seem that, as regards Scotland, all Scottish work was done by 944 persons in North Britain. But, fortunately or unfortunately, the extraordinary comparison suggested by the Commissioners' Report is capable of an explanation undetected by the learned Professor, but supplied by the Secretary to the Treasury in the House of Commons. From this highly-placed minister we learn that the figures (*i.e.* 4397 officials in Ireland and 944 in Scotland) 'are not strictly comparable'; also that 'the figures for Ireland include, *inter alia*, in addition to Government officials' salaries, *the emoluments of a large number of clergymen of the Church of Ireland, paid by the representative body of the Church*, to which nothing in the figures for England and Scotland corresponds'; and that under the head of 'salaries, etc.' are included 'salaries, annuities, pensions, stipends, fees, wages and perquisites or profits assessable under the rules for charging tax.' He tells us, moreover, that of the 4397 'Government officials assessed to income tax in Ireland,' no less than 2527 receive their 'salaries, etc.' from sources other than the Irish votes, and of these 2190 do not receive a penny out of moneys provided by Parliament. This analysis, therefore, leaves only 1870 Irish officials whose salaries are above the income-tax line and are included in Irish Parliamentary expenditure, instead of 4397, as the Professor imagined; so that he will only be able to wreak his reductions and economies upon this lesser figure, if the whirligig of fortune should ever compel him to carry his theories into practice, and we may well be pardoned if we are already sceptical as to the value of his proposals.[7] The foregoing examination, then, discloses the melancholy fact that the only economies suggested in Irish expenditure to meet Irish liabilities by Nationalist financial experts will conduce (a) in regard to Old Age Pensions, to lower and not to raise the standard of living among the aged poor in Ireland; (β) in regard to the Constabulary, merely to transfer the cost from one estimate to another, or to reduce the efficiency of administration; and (γ) to cripple the Civil Service of the country if indeed, now that the necessary corrections have been made in the Professor's figures, anything at all can be saved under this head.

I suggest, therefore, that all these proposals are, for the practical purpose of the reduction of debt, almost wholly illusory; and that, under any Home Rule scheme, Ireland must be saddled

[7] Professor Kettle and his colleagues in the new University will be included in the next Report of the Commissioners as Irish officials drawing 'salaries, etc., [illegible]ove [illegible]e inco[illegible] li[illegible].'

with a deficit so enormous and so inevitable that nothing but British credit and British cash can extricate her from immediate bankruptcy. I need not stay to argue what moral or material claim Ireland can justly put forward for still further assistance from the taxpayers of Great Britain to enable her to meet her liabilities, for this aspect of the question has already been exhaustively and most effectively examined by Mr. Edgar Crammond in the October issue of this Review. I will only add that it will take a very long time to persuade the people on this side of St. George's Channel that their own pressing claims upon the British Exchequer are to be indefinitely postponed—that is to say, until the pecuniary and political demands of Irish Nationalists are completely satisfied.

Elementary justice to Ireland, then, demands that Home Rule should be resisted on the primary grounds that we have no valid proof that she desires it, that she cannot afford it, and that consequently the concession of it would hamper and delay all her present advances towards contentment and prosperity. The worst enemies of Ireland are those of her own household, who create and foment agitation among those whom they ought to love and cherish, and who are paid their wages for this miserable work *not* by the people on whose behalf they arrogantly pretend to speak, but out of funds subscribed largely by professed enemies of Great Britain beyond the seas. To these men the evidences of an Ireland growing daily in material happiness and self-reliance are worth nothing; they are only variants of the 'flesh-pot' argument, and may be treated as negligible. But Great Britain has her duty even to these men, to save them from themselves and their country from the inevitable results of their headstrong machinations. Earlier in this article I indicated my conviction that no ordinary strife will certainly follow in Ireland if a Home Rule Bill be passed; for the loyal minority in Ireland (who, by the way, contrive to be loyal without the bribe of Home Rule to make them so) have a very present fear for the future of their wives and families when the government of Ireland is controlled by a Nationalist Legislature directed by a hierarchy which has, to the profound regret of all men, identified itself with the fortunes of the Home Rule party. The news that they are promised 'guarantees' that they shall not be down-trodden as a minority moves them to derision. They know what these paper guarantees are worth; for has not Mr. Dillon himself proclaimed (at Salford, November 21, 1911) that 'he attached no importance to these guarantees at all. He did not believe that artificial guarantees in an Act of Parliament were any real protection'? And when Mr. Redmond makes specious promises about 'respecting the rights of minorities [illegible]

was passed in 1898, and notes that (thanks once again to the despotism of the United Irish League) the Unionists of Munster, Leinster and Connaught have only fifteen representatives out of nearly seven hundred members on the County Councils of those provinces.[8] There will be neither toleration nor respect for the minority in Ireland under Home Rule, of that we may be perfectly sure; for these high-sounding words are as empty of real meaning as is the promise to maintain the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament—a patent imposture upon the credulity of the British people. For what does it mean?—that wherever the Imperial Parliament judges that the Irish Parliament is acting *ultra vires*, the latter will give way. Does any sane person imagine that an Irish Parliament would do anything of the kind? If so, he must be reminded of Mr. Redmond's article in this Review (October 1892), before the introduction of the second Home Rule Bill: 'We would expect a clause in the Home Rule Bill to specifically provide an undertaking that, while the Irish Parliament continued in existence, the powers of the Imperial Parliament to legislate for Ireland would never be used'; and of the same gentleman's speech in Parliament on the 14th of February 1893 (after the introduction of the Bill), to the effect that there should be *no* appeal to the Imperial Parliament on the acts of the Irish Executive. It will be remembered that Mr. Gladstone gave the British Privy Council status to interfere if the Irish Legislature exceeded its powers; but it was pointed out at the time that, even if the Privy Council in London so acted, there was no power *short of armed force* to enforce its judgment. As Mr. Chamberlain said, 'The weapon of the veto breaks in your hands the very first time you attempt to use it.' If, by granting a Parliament to 'Ireland a nation' Great Britain grants the whole control of Irish administration to an Irish Executive, she abandons *ipso facto* her real supremacy. It is futile to imagine that the Imperial Parliament retains any supreme authority whatever over the subordinate institution if, as Mr. Redmond has decreed, it is neither to legislate for Ireland nor to interfere on occasion with the legislation of an Irish Parliament.[9] If, on the other hand, Mr. Gladstone's safeguards —ineffective as they still seem—are to appear in the Bill of 1912, then the old struggle against British interference will begin all over again, and 'finality' will be as far off as ever.

It cannot be too strongly impressed upon English and Scottish

[8] *Cf.* Mr. John Redmond, July 18, 1902, at Cork: 'We have in our hands a weapon recently won . . . of freely elected County Councils and District Councils, who, to-day, form a network of Nationalist organisations all over Ireland.'

[9] 'We have before us the best chance which Ireland has ever had of tearing up and trampling under foot that infamous Act of Union.' Mr. John Redmond, December 15, 1909.

Liberals, who are inclined to vote for Home Rule in order 'to get the Irish Question out of the way,' that they cannot have effective safeguards for British supremacy and a complete cessation of Nationalist agitation provided *in the same Bill*. If they intend, in order to protect the minority in Ireland from the fate of the Protestants in Quebec, to retain supreme control over Irish legislation, they will be for ever encountering Nationalist efforts at Westminster to gain further independent powers, and therefore we shall be no nearer to securing the whole time of the British Parliament for dealing with British affairs. In this matter, I am bound to say, I think that logic rests with the Nationalist party. If Home Rule is to be granted in order that Ireland, for the first time in history, may become a nation, her legislators are bound to try and secure for that nation independence from outside control and full liberty to increase her revenues to equal or surpass her expenditure. From their point of view they are right to seek control of customs and excise, and to demand the power to levy tariffs upon exports and imports if such seem profitable in their eyes. We know that Mr. Redmond stands 'where Parnell stood,' and Mr. Parnell's attitude on this question of tariffs was very illuminating. At Wicklow in October 1885 he used these words:

> I claim this for Ireland, that if the Irish Parliament of the future considers that there are certain industries in Ireland which can be nursed by Protection . . . that Parliament ought to have power to carry out that policy; and I tell English Radicals and English Liberals that it is useless for them to talk of their desire to do justice to Ireland when, with motives of selfishness, they refuse to repair that most manifest injustice of all, the destruction of our manufactures by England in times past.

But, if these powers are to be granted, it is hardly necessary to point out that all effective security for British loans[10] (now amounting to very large sums indeed) is thereby abolished, and that in the matter of commercial treaties international complications of the gravest possible character may easily ensue. Such large powers would, of necessity, include the lesser powers of levying taxation that would fall most hardly upon the mercantile classes who form the bulk of the loyal minority, and yet the British Parliament would have to stand aside in silent disapproval and see that minority suffer.

One further point remains to be touched upon, for I do not propose in this article to refer to the question of the retention or dismissal of the Irish members now in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, nor to the difficulty of deciding what are Imperial and what are Irish affairs; these problems utterly baffled Mr. Gladstone (as he frankly admitted), and they are not more likely to be solved at the hands of lesser men. I want rather

[10] Over 230,000,000*l*. has been advanced by Great Britain in gift and loan to Ireland since the year 1879.

to refer to the tendency exhibited in certain quarters to set the decrees of the Vatican above the laws of the land, and the consequent intrusion of priests *quâ* priests upon the secular administration of the country. This is what is meant by the 'religious difficulty' in Ireland, and it is not to be overcome by shirking it. Once again I try to view the problem honestly from the standpoint of our opponents in this matter, and once again I admit the relentless logic of their position. The Roman Catholic Church is the Church of the majority of the Irish people, and to its decrees its congregations are bound to conform. The Roman Church holds itself responsible for the welfare of its flock both in this world and the next, nor does it draw a hard-and-fast line between spiritual and worldly or political concerns. Hence the '*Ne temere*' decree, forbidding mixed marriages, which has wrecked and will yet ruin many innocent lives: hence the recent promulgation of a well-known ukase, forbidding ecclesiastics to be sued in the civil courts of the country without episcopal consent, under pain of excommunication for all concerned. It is worth noting that if these writs are to run in Ireland, in conjunction with Mr. Redmond's veto upon Imperial legislation or interference, there can be no exercise of British Parliamentary supremacy of any kind whatever, and there can be no doubt of the parlous position of the minority under such despotic conditions. For the Church of Rome holds every species of Absolutism dear, be it Papal, Kingly, or Popular, and is ready to ally itself with each in turn; the same nature being common, as Aristotle has truly said, to demagogue and courtier. When, then, the democracy demands self-government, and the Church demands from the democracy discipline and obedience, it does not require the eye of a seer to forecast which will be the supreme power in the land. It will certainly *not* be the Imperial Parliament at Westminster. But those who live in Ireland know full well the tremendous power already wielded by the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the priesthood in that country. The Nationalists make infinite use of it; they invite the parish priest to be chairman of every branch of the United Irish League throughout town and country; he constantly presides at branch meetings; he allows collections to be held on behalf of the League outside his chapel gates after High Mass on Sundays; he often makes spirited speeches on its behalf, and he has frequently been known to use his influence to the detriment of those who do not see eye to eye with him in matters political. And he is, I suppose, within (what he considers) his rights in so doing, when we recollect the words of Archbishop Walsh in September 1885:

> As priests, and *independent of all human organisations*, they have an inalienable and indisputable right to guide their people in this momentous proceeding as in every other proceeding where the interests of Catholicity as well as *the interests of Irish nationality* are involved.

But if this be so, then Unionists must be permitted to criticise, without any intention of showing disrespect to the Roman branch of the Catholic Church, the utterances and conduct of men who, though belonging to the priesthood, descend into the arena commonly occupied by the laity, to battle with laymen of their own and other faiths on behalf of a particular political programme. If they leave the pulpit for the platform (let us admit, for argument's sake, with every right to do so), and become politicians, they must be prepared to be treated as politicians, and not to be more immune from criticism than are other controversialists. Their flocks, too, must be prepared to hear the shepherds freely criticised on matters political, and more sharply still if and when spiritual influences are brought to bear upon questions which lie wholly outside the legitimate sphere of such intervention;[11] they must not be permitted to believe that we who are Unionists are levelling a general charge against the Roman Catholic faith when we deem it our duty (*pace* the Pope) to bring before the tribunal of public knowledge the political and secular utterances and actions of the Roman bishops and priesthood of Ireland. I know well that such liberty of fair and intelligent criticism is readily granted to us by English Roman Catholics, whose priesthood most conscientiously avoid all political meetings or intervention except upon questions that affect religious education in their voluntary schools, Roman Catholic disabilities and cognate matters. But, as regards Irish Romans resident in England—and there are thousands of them in the great industrial centres of our country—the case is different; they are quite unacquainted with the political activities of the Roman Church in Ireland, for these have no equivalent in large English or Scottish cities; and they resent, as unfounded and wholly imaginary charges, any references to the necessity for protecting the loyal Irish minority against the cruelty of the United Irish League, which they sincerely believe to be a perfectly harmless political association because it has the energetic support and the avowed sympathy of the priesthood of their native land. This ignorant indignation of the Anglo-Irish is entirely responsible for the Radical complexion of many constituencies in England and the South of Scotland; and it is instructive to observe that the chances of Home Rule for Ireland are constantly increased by the votes of Irish Nationalists living in England, and overriding at the poll the will of the nation in whose midst they reside.

Justice to Ireland, in fine, does not consist in making a

[11] *E.g.*: Father Doherty, P.P., at Mr. T. W. Russell's by-election: 'The Catholic who gave his vote for Herdman would be held responsible for his actions on the Day of Judgment' (Strabane, October 3, 1911).

large constitutional change in the political status of that country on the unwarrantable assumption that the majority of the country desires it. It does not consist in so crippling her finances and her credit that her people's prosperity must of necessity be thwarted and hampered in the very hour when, after long years of careful tending and of unexampled generosity from Great Britain, there is a consensus of expert opinion that her social regeneration is making immense strides in advance. Justice to Ireland does not consist in shutting our eyes to obvious facts, and in trusting to worthless guarantees that the lives of a contented and prosperous minority shall not be rendered intolerable by the overbearing pretensions of an executive whose leader has threatened that those who do not agree with him 'must be overborne by the strong hand'; nor in withdrawing from that resolute and loyal body of men the privileges and the protection of the Parliament of the United Kingdom which they have inherited and which they are determined to retain at any cost. 'Justice for Ireland' is not a synonym for 'Home Rule for Nationalists'; it is, indeed, the very contrary. It consists in treating Ireland rather better, financially, than any other part of the United Kingdom, inasmuch as she is, through no fault of her own, the least rich of the partners in that splendid concern; in raising the moral and material status of all our less fortunate fellow-citizens in Ireland by further grants or loans for the improvement of primary education and of other conditions inseparable from social progress, and by an extended use of British credit for the legitimate activities of Irish Municipalities; in protecting all classes from the short-sighted governance of those who affect to believe that true Freedom can ever flourish in a soil whence all nourishment has been withdrawn, and in affording to the loyal minority the guarantee of the whole power of the United Kingdom against the sectional tyranny under which they have suffered far too long; in curbing the pretensions of those who, be they laymen or clerics, seek to substitute laws of their own making for the settled law of the land; in enforcing equal laws with equal courage in Ireland as in Great Britain; in redressing every legitimate grievance, and in righting every wrong by whomsoever perpetrated and endured. And it is because Home Rule connotes the antithesis of this programme that we shall for the third time reject it as a monstrous injustice to Ireland, whose solid hope of stability and happiness must ultimately be based, not upon the sentimental aspirations of a dwindling band of agitators in favour of separation, but upon the lasting advantages that she is yearly reaping from being an integral part of the United Kingdom.

IAN MALCOLM.

IS HOME RULE FOR THE GOOD OF IRELAND?

When Mr. A. J. Balfour announced his resignation, I felt particularly sorry, because it seemed to me that he had left undone a task which no other statesman could fulfil. Only a few weeks before, I had returned from a tour in the old Congested Districts of the West, where in the days of his Irish Secretaryship he had made the bold and wise experiment of going to see with his own eyes the most disturbed part of Ireland. My chief object had been to inquire into the working of the Board, and especially to learn how the peasant cultivators were doing under the new conditions. In the course of conversation with the miscellaneous individuals encountered on the journey, the name of Mr. Balfour was frequently mentioned, and always with approbation. Generally, it was coupled with that of Mr. Lloyd George. To the one was traced the Congested Districts Board; to the other old-age pensions: so that the conjunction was not so odd as it looked. English party divisions do not greatly concern the Irish peasant, and I sympathise with his point of view. If a law or a suggestion be good and useful, it matters little what maker's brand is on it. Never was there a time when this attitude was more needed than now. Irish opinion is in a state of flux which is not represented in the speeches of life long politicians and agitators. It is the nature of the species all over the world to go on repeating ancient arguments or shouting ancient war-cries long after the conditions have been changed. This applies more directly to Ireland than to any other country in the world, because Irish oratory, whether exercised in Parliament, on platform, or in the law-court, tends to be tub-thumping and rhetorical.

Irish rural society at the moment presents many curiously opposite aspects. Just as mirth and melancholy mingle equally in the Hibernian temperament, so shrewdness and superstition, ignorance and intelligence exist equally in the same mind. In regard to the land question the peasant is learned; of land he knows little. Nothing offensive is meant by the latter remark. He is a bad cultivator, but he is learning. If his potato patch be too often sown practically broadcast, he may still be seen with his mixture in a tub and a home-made mop industriously spraying it

in his own way—a signal proof that he is trying to learn something from the lecturers sent to indoctrinate him with the principles of scientific agriculture! It is a pleasure to see the hope and energy with which he is working the new holdings provided by the Board. No wonder! In the congested areas the state of things is still dreadful. I went over a number of them, and felt surprised that families could support life in them. The holding consists of widely separate patches of almost worthless land. Short, thin, ill-eared crops of grain were ripening on them at my visit, weedy potatoes, nothing for man or beast on the mountain run. On the latter the hardiest sheep lose condition and the cows cannot live. In the midst stands the hovel, where human beings and live-stock still sleep together. 'Sure, we fight to get near her (the cow) in the winter for being warrm,' said one householder. Peat, then being carried down from the hills by barefoot, lean girls, with donkeys and creels, is the only fuel. This was on an estate not yet acquired by the Congested Districts Board. Within a few miles could be seen holdings that had been made by it. An official of the Board was good enough to explain its working: the results are visible to the eye. The hovel is replaced by a new white-walled serviceable cottage with the necessary outbuildings adjacent. Best of all, a holding has been formed on which a man can live, seven or nine acres of good tillage land and a mountain run. 'Sure he's like an imperor,' was the description of an occupier.

Even the most stubborn admit that all this constitutes a real benefit. 'Yes, we have got something from England at last,' said one fell and stubborn smallholder. He is a Republican who, when I told him of the great reception King George received in Dublin, only observed that it was 'polishy.' To him the late leader of the Opposition was the greatest of statesman. 'He was a grand man, Balfour!' Every time I heard that phrase, and it or its equivalent expressed a feeling common to all classes, I wished that Mr. Balfour could repeat the famous tour of his Secretaryship. Had he been a Gladstone, he would have required little prompting. He might not have achieved such results as followed the great Pilgrimage of Midlothian; but he would have been enthusiastically received, and, though it would be unreasonable to expect that, in a population where Moonlighters and Fenians and Land Leaguers have been or are numerous, elections could be won right off, the best and most influential citizens are not indisposed to discuss the question at the head of this article. The most violent and headstrong were obviously drawn into an unaccustomed line of reflection when questioned as to the probable effect of Home Rule on their material prosperity.

By means of question and answer I argued the case with all sorts of Home Rulers, and it may be worth while to try and set forth the arguments for and against, as they appear to a sympathetic English inquirer. By Home Rule, I mean simply any measure that would widen the rift between Great Britain and Ireland; not by any means every increase of control over local affairs.

If that be granted, the solid reasons are on one side, sentiment on the other. Liberals have chosen a bad moment for making a change. After twenty years of what, in spite of a few lapses, has been a generous and conciliatory policy, the old hostility is yielding to a new friendliness. What is wanted then is no rude break, but a continuation on the same lines. The tenant farmer, wheresoever he may be found, is forced by the character of his struggle to place the highest value on material gain. Recent English legislation has put money in his pocket. He acknowledges this with surprise. Anyone going to a post-office when the old-age pensions are distributed will vividly realise what it means. Galway is a western port rich in memorials of a thriving past, but now sunk into decay. It seemed at the post-office at eight o'clock on Friday morning as if there had been a resurrection of the models from which the Irish cartoons and caricatures of last century were produced. There were the old men in the familiar tall hats, tailed coats and tight breeches, some with the actual shillelagh in hand, most of them unshaven and gap-toothed; and old women in red shawls like the picturesque, if poverty-stricken, figures one finds in odd corners of the Pyrenees. They were all waiting in a crowd before the doors were open, and it was amusing to watch them, after the hour had struck, hustling up to the counter, and, when they received the half-crowns, retiring to a corner trying to break and, with decayed teeth, to bite the coins in apprehension lest forgeries should have been foisted on them! Finally, with a grim smile, the money was pocketed, and they went their several ways—some to wet the event with a mug of porter, but the majority, let us hope, home.

To appreciate what all this means it is necessary to understand the economy of the cottage. Even among the more thriving farmer households in the West coin is very scarce. A barren mountainous country is not suitable for the creamery system that under the guidance of Sir Horace Plunkett has done so much for more fertile districts. The western peasant keeps a cow and sometimes two cows. He prefers a big shorthorn to a little Kerry, because his aim is to rear calves for stores, and not to sell milk. From the daily yield he gives the calf a portion, reserving the rest for consumption. Usually the woman makes enough butter for the family, with, under favourable circumstances,

a pound or two over for the shop. On the ground are grown potatoes for domestic use, a crop of hay, and as many cereals as there is room left for. A few ducks and chickens and a sheep or two, if there is a run for them, complete the stock. In the matter of food, such a household is almost self-supporting. That is one reason why the children, even where the families (no unusual case) run into double figures, are so beautiful and healthy. No part of the British Islands can show more promising children. A principal reason is that they are fed on wholesome farm-produce, milk, potatoes, and eggs forming a great part of the dietary. But, as regular wages do not come in, money is scarce, and the advent of a crown a week is like a fortune. The old and decrepit used to have hard times in the cottages. They are, under the new dispensation, regarded as a source of income. 'They're sorry when the old 'uns die now,' said an Irishman, with a laugh.

It is unnecessary to argue that under Home Rule the payment of old-age pensions would be endangered, although that is no impossible contingency; but here is proof incontrovertible that there are concrete advantages in a little, backward country like Ireland being part of a great Empire. This reform owes nothing whatever to Irish advocacy; it was in origin and carrying out an English measure. Up to now, in fact, Ireland has produced politicians who are agitators rather than statesmen. Recent progress has owed them very little. They regard co-operation, in the words of Mr. Dillon, as 'a machine to burst up the National movement and the National party.' My experience is that the peasant, even in districts where co-operative dairying is impossible, has come to attach the highest value to co-operation. If, as is universally admitted, it is good for the individual, it must be better still for the country. Were Ireland a foreign nation, its pastoral character would make it incumbent on its inhabitants to get into the closest possible connexion with Great Britain. Their policy would be directed to attaining the very position which they now wish to sacrifice. At any rate, the little peasant farmer of the West has no reason to complain. His original misery is clearly traceable to industrial failure that towards the end of the eighteenth century forced on to the land a greater population than it could support. There was nobody and nothing to blame, unless it were the softening western breeze which does not generate the energy of a ruggeder clime. Instead of searching out new openings for their work, the people settled down on the land. To examine that rough, infertile, mountainous land, where the tiniest holdings used to be, is to wonder, not at the poverty, idleness, disaffection, but that life could have been supported at all. Antagonism between classes followed naturally and inevitably. It found its ultimate expression in landlordism on one

side and Land Leagueish on the other. What must be recognised in the light of subsequent history is that few antagonisms have led to so many cruel incidents—evictions by the landlords, moonlighting by the tenants—and none has been so barren of good results. The salvation of Ireland lies clearly along the path of constructive work—the readjustment of holdings, piecing, patching, draining of the Congested Districts Board, and the reorganisation of agriculture on the lines laid down by Sir Horace Plunkett. Where these are at work I found the people concentrating their attention on the land to a degree that was causing a perceptible waning of their interest in politics. They are discovering what an amount of leeway they have to make up. Circumstances have hitherto prevented them from acquiring skill in the management of land and its products. I could not help laughing at the complaint of an old-fashioned innkeeper who was lamenting the dearness and the difficulty of the times. He said he remembered when his father wanted eggs he used to send him to the farm with his old top-hat, which was filled for sixpence, where to-day every cottager wants so much a dozen! Where you bought a lump of butter for the coin you could produce, now it is weighed out to a hair! It would have been useless to attempt explaining what all this means in regard to the realisation of the peasants' resources, or to describe how poultry-keeping for eggs is being developed into a scientific pursuit, and the production of clean, good butter into a lucrative system.

It will be objected that, though all this may be true, I have in considering it ignored the sentiment that is expressed by the phrase: 'Ireland a nation.' This is not so. The Home Rule cry was generated by agrarian distress. It bore a close resemblance to the inarticulate shriek of an animal in pain, which feels its misery without being able to diagnose the cause. To continue the metaphor, Sir Horace Plunkett may be compared to the skilled physician who recognised the disease and applied the remedy. Still the creature that was hurt goes on shrieking. But my plea is that the curative method which is already showing such good results ought to be steadily continued. Every doctor has had experience of the patient who cries out for champagne and oysters when science declares that his best diet at the moment is milk and brown bread. This is speaking purely of the political outlook. All of us sympathise with certain aspects of the national cry. It is extremely delightful to hear a musician play the old music and sing the ancient songs. Gaelic is a worthy and noble study which deserves the support of all who are interested in ancient literature and ancient history; but it is a scholastic study. There is no good ground whatever for recommending it as the spoken language of a people. The transactions of life are

conducted by these farmers in English. Over the whole of Ireland they are working for the English market. In times of famine and distress it is to England that they first turn. I very well remember the bands of Irishmen who used to come over to shear in harvest. Many of them at that time knew no English whatever, and spoke only Gaelic; but this was a severe handicap to them in search for work. There can be no doubt whatever that the most useful language to the peasant farmer, whether he comes from Ireland, or Wales, or Scotland, is English.

The present enthusiasm for Gaelic is leading education altogether astray. Nobody in Ireland seems to recognise that the greatest asset which the country possesses at the moment is the generation of promising children. The duty of the Government is to educate and fit them to make many steps in advance of their predecessors. Particularly is this true with regard to the land and natural history. In no other country does one meet with a population which is so little interested in outdoor objects. Children stopped on the way could not tell me the names of the most common birds or plants, and even boatmen seem to pay no attention to the different species of sea-bird. At a little inn close to the waterside, herons, curlews, and other visitants used to fly down to the shore late in the evening or in the early morning. Often for curiosity I asked the names, but was almost invariably told that they were gulls. Every bird of any size that comes near the sea appears to be labelled as a gull. There is no worthier object before reformers than that of developing the intelligence of the children. The object should not be so much to impart actual knowledge as to create that atmosphere which comes from familiarity with natural history, agriculture, and the open-air life. This would obviously prepare them, when they came to manhood and womanhood, to hear with far more understanding and sympathy the lecturers and instructors sent round by the Board of Agriculture. It is, at the present moment, pathetic to observe how anxious are middle-aged men and women, whose early education has been neglected, to gather the sense of what these emissaries of science have to tell them. They have ceased to doubt the efficacy of the teaching, because wherever it has been adopted it has effected good results; has, in a most perceptible manner, increased prosperity. Hence the Irish peasant farmer's attitude to the teaching for which the Board of Agriculture is responsible is most docile. If, in early youth, he had received such an intelligent nature-teaching as is given, for example, in some of our Eastern Counties—Cambridge, Suffolk, Essex—he would have been in a far better position to take advantage of the new ideas.

Superstition is still rampant in the country. It is petted and

encouraged by literary people anxious to make 'copy' out of it. It is very easy to understand and sympathise with those who take a pleasure in reproducing surviving superstitions; but they are a barrier to real progress. Moreover, it is a very bad state of affairs when the poor and ignorant hold gross beliefs in which the intelligent classes do not share. One day I was telling a priest, widely known as a student and exponent of Gaelic tradition, that in a certain household the women had vied with one another in relating stories of the miracles accomplished by performing a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Patrick. I told him roundly that he knew these stories to be rubbish, and asked him what were the facts about St. Patrick. He replied that he had for forty years studied all that he could lay hold of in regard to the legendary saint, and the only definite truth was that there was not a single fact about him which had been established. He went on to expatiate on the advantage of people living their lives in a quiet and untroubled manner. He said there was nothing to be gained by hustling and bustling in this world, and that a population would be none the better because it had got rid of pleasant superstitions. One could not help laughing with the jolly priest; and yet he was unconsciously depicting a policy that would lead Ireland back to irretrievable darkness and misery.

After reading what the most temperate exponents of Home Rule have said, it seems to me impossible to extract from them any promise of substantial advantage to Ireland. Mr. Winston Churchill is one of the ablest men in politics at the present moment, and when he writes with conviction I have no difficulty in following him; but when he comes to explain the merits and desirability of Home Rule, his language seems to me forced and unconvincing. It would not be courteous to call it insincere, and yet it has the effect of insincerity. For this occasion only he seems to fall into that style of turgid rhetoric for which this cause seems to be a trap. Lord MacDonnell does not produce a similar impression; but a case must be very bad when even he cannot state it clearly. Home Rule at the present moment is a retrograde policy which does not promise to forward, but to jeopardise progress in Ireland. The only paths likely to lead to a happy issue are those that travel respectively along the way of increased agricultural organisation and development, and energetic concentration on the education of the young. Were the latter to be attended to as carefully as it deserves, the ills of Ireland would rise and disappear like morning mist at the advent of the sun.

P. ANDERSON GRAHAM.

CHARLES DICKENS

(*FEBRUARY 7th, 1812-1912*)

It is when one takes pen in hand to write of Dickens, especially when faced by an occasion such as the Centenary of his birth, that the true praise of him emerges. Detraction's voice has been heard; and so ruthlessly that no detail has escaped attention. His pathos has been dismissed as maudlin; his characterisation has been called grotesque and exaggerated; his style has been derided as no style at all in the cant meaning of the word, as shapeless and frameless, degenerating often into an uneasy sing-song of halting metre; his craft, for all the care of his scheming, has been scoffed at; his art has been put aside as untrue to life; and even his humour, that which of all things one would have thought would have been left to him, has been called rudimentary and crude. It is not difficult to see, in each particular criticism, what is meant: and to see a criticism is to admit its justice, given its point of view. But criticism is the faultiest of all instruments. For it is the function of criticism to be analytical; and there is no one thing in the world that cannot be analysed to its degradation. Analysis is too often the coward's subterfuge for escaping the responsibility of manly judgment. Such judgment proceeds, not by way of analysis, but by vision, which is the preception of a synthesis. And it is conceivable that one might find no virtue, or little virtue, in any detail of a work of art, of an achievement of the creating imagination, and yet find oneself strangely thrilled by the whole and total effect. It is certainly almost impossible to decide what contribution any one detail, good or bad, makes to the total effect that is the only thing that, in the end, matters.

For example, it is lamented that Wordsworth had not the critical faculty to see what was good in his work, and what was bad; so that he might have suppressed the bad, and left the good in all its pure loveliness. Criticism (that has always seen so well what is good and what bad in Literature and the High Arts) has declared that to Wordsworth all was of the same value in his work: that he put out a bad poem with all the solemnity and sense of its importance as a good poem. And, in that, Criticism

has spoken better than it thought. For to Wordsworth (or to Blake, for that matter) each poem was indeed of the same solemn value; because each poem was regarded as a separate contribution to that more important synthesis that he struggled to fill-in and complete. He was not, like Herrick, so much concerned with the making of separate poems as with the delivery of a vision; and in the utterance of that vision each poem was important. This Wordsworth felt; and, did we truly examine ourselves, we would find that we do so also. The Wordsworth of the Complete Works takes his place in the front rank of English poets, with Shakespeare, Milton, and Shelley for companions. The Wordsworth of Matthew Arnold's selection falls back behind Keats and even Byron.

Thus it is always necessary to be assured that one has seen a man's vision, or that one has perceived the particular quality of his artistic attempt, before it is even possible to speak of the faults of his workmanship; for it may so happen that what may, on its own merits, appear to be a grave fault may be a necessary adjunct to the attainment of that vision or that artistic attempt. It is this that the mind perceives in the case of Dickens, even as it is this that enables us to discover the true praise of him. It has, for example, been laid to his charge that his characters, in the main, have no semblance to reality; that they are grotesque and exaggerated. It would be interesting to contrast this assertion with the constant exclamation that one meets in daily life that certain people and certain actions are typically 'Dickensian'; as though he were the court of appeal for life, instead of life being the court of appeal for him. Yet on its own merits the criticism is found to be illuminating. It is meant to be destructive; but one suddenly recalls that all the great characters of the world's literature are either grotesque or exaggerated. If Bumble be overdrawn as a workhouse official, he is not more overdrawn than the immortal Shallow as a Justice of the Peace. If Samuel Pickwick, Esq., be grotesque as a wandering merchant, he is at least not so grotesque as the inimitable Don Quixote as a wandering knight. We do not remember Sancho Panza or Panurge or the Antient Pistol because they are imitations of Life, but because they are grotesque examples of what Life can give us out of its exceeding riches. We do not admire Achilles or Hamlet or Falstaff, each in his own way, because he is like the thin thing all round us that we are pleased to call Life, but because he is a splendid, or, if we will, exaggerated, example of what Life could be if we were content to trust it. They are, strictly, creations; and we hold them in memory not because they are a mere mimicry of the smaller side of us, but because they remind us of all the splendour and wonder and laughter

that resides behind the small show that we present to the outer world. They do not portray us to ourselves: they reveal us to ourselves. For Art is the Great Revelation.

When Dickens, therefore, created Bumble, he did more than merely ridicule or shatter a system. To ridicule or to shatter a system is, relatively, a small achievement. It truly is a remarkable fact about Dickens that he did succeed in bringing about reform in several matters that urgently needed reform. That is to say, he succeeded in having a system that had worn itself into decay supplanted by another system that was as yet new. But reform, like most matters political, is in itself worth no more than the paper its enactment is printed upon. Dickens may have succeeded in dismissing the Circumlocution Office by the power of his laughter; but the new office that took its place would soon become another Circumlocution Office. He may have succeeded in abolishing the coarse brutality of Mr. Squeers; but there is many a schoolboy to-day who, were the choice given him, would considerably prefer the coarse brutality of Squeers to the refined and solicitous cruelty under which it is his lot to suffer. While Man remains the same, one system, however word-perfect, is as valueless as another, however word-imperfect. And the fact that Dickens succeeded in effecting certain substitutions of systems is no tribute to his Art, but rather only a testimony to his amazing and almost unexampled popularity. But when he created Bumble he did more than shatter a system. He illustrated what is the essential weakness of all systems. Bumble stands up as the eternal type of what it is in human nature to become under the joint influence of power and importance: a fact that we admit in the daily habit of our speech; for the word 'Bumbledom' is our continual attestation of the truth of the vision of Dickens. On him depends, not alone the execution of the system that Dickens scourged with his bitter laughter, but the execution of all other systems whatsoever. Bumble is at one time a Creation and a Revelation.

In this way Bumble may stand as a sign and ensample to us of his creator's work. He, and a score of others even truer to the heart of life than he, are almost nearer to us, and therefore more real to us, than we are to ourselves. It is because they are so near to us that we are apt to lose a distinct sense of their outline and proportion. And we are won by them accordingly. It is for this reason that so many have stumbled at the works of Dickens. They have regarded them as Novels; and in the Novel they have grown accustomed to compilation rather than to creation, to portraiture and depicture rather than to revelation and illumination. The Novel, as an Art-form, has been notably complaisant; and it is for this very reason that it is a perplexed

question as to how truly the Novel is a durable Art-form. Matter that, in the severe and searching discipline of Poetry, would not for a moment be suffered an entrance, passes without let or hindrance into the Novel, and is even accounted an adornment to it. But the adornment is the chief weakness that attends the Novel in its attempt to pass muster in the austere ranks of Art; what was thought to be a gain is found to be a loss; that which we have called, in a phrase that we have been careful not to expound, 'fidelity to life,' has been the very thing that has obviated the necessity for that creation on which all Art depends; and the result is that the Novel has always been the thing of an age, and not the thing of all time. The *Iliad*, the *Divina Commedia*, Shakespeare's Tragedies, *Paradise Lost*, *Prometheus Unbound*—all these are as young as the day on which they were written. But Fielding and Smollett, even Thackeray and George Eliot, belong to their own time, and can only be approached through the age in which they were written. One is, in the true significance of the word, creation; and the other is that compilation that is often miscalled creation: and therefore one wears divine youth on its brow; whereas the other is like a stage-piece in a foreign tongue, that cannot truly be known till the foreign tongue be mastered.

Now this is the peculiar praise of Dickens: that, with all his shortcomings (of which he had not a few), he, with Cervantes, Rabelais, and Bunyan, has lifted prose into this divine youth, this eternal significance, that has been thought the special prerogative of Poetry. Even in the face of their achievement it is hard to conceive of prose as other than journeyman toil, a perishable medium: without that achievement it would be in a poor way indeed. So much is this the case that it is no strange thing to hear such a character as Sam Weller being spoken of as 'a poetic creation.' And so, in a manner of speaking, he is. It matters little that he rose out of a Victorian hostelry, as Pantagruel out of sixteenth-century France, Sancho Panza out of post-Romantic Spain, and Christian out of Puritan England. It is not what they rose out of, but what they rose into. They rose, each of them, out of a particular age, even bearing its particular brand and currency; but they rose into a perpetual significance that we call Poetry.

So we arrive at another of the faults that Criticism has discovered in Dickens' work. It is complained of him that he lacks skill of craftsmanship, and that his books are structureless; that, having begun, as begin they must, they continue without order and conclude without reason: so that even those who have undertaken his defence have been compelled to concede the criticism, and to ask in return why they should ever end.

The criticism, as criticism, is well placed; but, in the manner of criticism, it has endeavoured to judge the works of Dickens by laws other than the laws of their own being. Those who have advanced it have considered his books as Novels. That is to say, since the Novel is as yet without adequate definition, certain standards have been raised, that prevail in their utmost rigour only with a small portion of the whole field of prose literature, and an attempt has been made to make them the rallying centre of a vast division of it. Thomas Hardy is the supreme example of the craftsman who has introduced into prose literature somewhat of the technique, in a necessarily loosened form, of the Drama (or, in Architecture, since he was once an architect, of the classic arch, which is much the same thing); and the result has been truly astonishing. Yet who would think of judging Rabelais, or Cervantes, or Bunyan for that matter, by a law so alien?

Thus it was no mere chance, but something of a divine instinct, that led Dickens to write his first book in the form of *Pickwick Papers.* It is unnecessary to go into a discussion of all that preceded the writing of the book. It is enough to say that Dickens would have satisfied the demands of his publishers equally well had the 'Papers' been shaped and disciplined into an outline as orderly and as shapely as the best. But his instinct impelled him otherwise; and the result is that we do not think of *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* as we think of *The Return of the Native*, but rather as we think of *The Adventures of Don Quixote de la Mancha*, or *The Inestimable Life of the Great Gargantua.* Nor does it avail to throw up the word Novel in defence or in attack. There are those who say that Cervantes is the father of the modern Novel, even as there are those who say that *Pickwick Papers* is no Novel. The truth is that the Novel, according to the protestations of some of its own exponents, is not so much a definite Art-form as a hotch-pot. It would be fair to say that the Novel is always novel.

Pickwick Papers is therefore almost something of a talisman in Dickens' work. Where he becomes most 'Pickwickian' there he becomes most himself, and his inspiration is most sure; and when he has least of the peculiar quality that marks those Papers, even though it lead to a result so fine as *Great Expectations*, one feels that, with all its strength, it lacks the peculiar and perpetual significance that gave eternal youth to *Pickwick.* There may be more strength in the latter half of his work: there may be less of bathos in it and more of maturity and circumspection: but the truth remains that the full magic of the first has become dimmed in the second. This may best be seen when some similar quality marks both an early and a later work.

For instance, both *Nicholas Nickleby* and *A Tale of Two Cities* are melodramatic; but the glitter of the first is a magical glitter, whereas the glitter of the second is sometimes perilously near like tinsel. And this, despite the fact that *A Tale of Two Cities* is more reserved in strength, and therefore more instant in its appeal, than anything Dickens ever did.

In all the earlier portion of his work this strange quality, this quality of perpetuity, of poetic achievement, prevails in its fullest power. We do not remember *Barnaby Rudge* because of its historical, or unhistorical, attempt to recount the matter of the Gordon Riots, or *Oliver Twist* because of its attempt to shatter a Poor-Law system, any more than we remember *Gargantua or Pantagruel* because of their endeavour to burlesque certain forgotten ecclesiastical abuses, or *Don Quixote* because its author (who of all men most lived a life of romantic adventure) sought to make romantic adventure perish for ever in the soft fire of his laughter. None of these stand with their feet planted on the revolutions of Time, for Time to bear past us and away. They are all, by a subtly transmuting touch, lifted into the air, to float there eternally while Time hastes steadily on beneath them.

Yet, although, as book succeeds book, the breath of change is seen passing over the first inspiration, although what one may call the poetic quality of *Pickwick* is seen to be becoming more and more spent until in *Dombey and Son* its colours are false and its ring is unreal, yet it is not till one comes to *David Copperfield* that one finds a change in full operation. There it is actively at work; and for an obvious reason. For in *David Copperfield* Dickens had made up his mind fully to unloose the autobiographic instinct that resides in every man. He had, in fact, determined to make the story of David Copperfield the tale of himself; so much so that he was pleased beyond measure when it was pointed out to him that the initials of David Copperfield's name were the inverted initials of his own. And consequently his creative faculty had to move within a limited scope. He was harnessed to circumstances; with all the restrictions that that meant. Either inadvertently, not knowing that it meant a cleavage from his past way of work, or deliberately, as the result of Criticism, with its cry of impossible characters, he set himself the task of compilation instead of creation; and having once put his hand to the work the habit grew on him, till, in *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*, the book he died at work on, he came to lean wholly on skill and secrecy of plot, so removing himself to the utmost extreme from *Pickwick Papers*.

In this very book *David Copperfield*, however, his instinct may be seen in revolt from the work of compilation he set

himself. It is always so, more or less, to the end of his work; but here it is most marked. For, as the story opens and proceeds, David Copperfield's personality begins to be built up and to expand. It is the intention of the book that this should be so; it is, in fact, the prime cause and purpose of the book; but such an intention, limited by fact and the circumstance of relation, is clearly the very thing most calculated to extinguish the subtle poetic creation that went to make *Pickwick Papers* so eternally fresh and rare. But the old instinct asserts itself; with the result that *David Copperfield*, as a book, grows in interest as it proceeds—and grows in a peculiar way. David, instead of becoming more and more important and personal, becomes less and less so; till at last he becomes no more than was Nicholas Nickleby, a name-centre around which, in varying clusters, the real personages gather. As he declines the others burgeon and swell: Micawber becomes more truly himself, Traddles takes his true proportions; Uriah becomes powerful instead of merely monotonous; Dora comes into being—and punch is drunk, as punch was drunk in *Pickwick*. It is these things, and these people, that lift the book into evergreen memory; not the mere narration of the life of David Copperfield, who matters little enough, although his history purports to be the dim autobiography of Dickens himself.

But such things and such people demand, clearly, their own adequate atmosphere to move in. It is this that has at all times been the most stubborn difficulty in the path of poetic creation. Characters that are compilations of ourselves, no more than imitations of that life of ours that we present to the outward view (which passes with the passing of the outward view), can live and move in scenes that are copied from daily habit. But it has always been the problem with the creator to create with his characters, with his people who are ourselves and more than ourselves, being revelations of ourselves, so adequate a scenery for them to move in that there shall be no shock to the contemplation. Among the poets pure and true, Shakespeare, for example, pitched his scenery at some remote distance of time or place: in Venice, where Othello could find a freer play for his tremendous personality without striking against some incongruity of scene, or in ancient Britain, where Lear could shake the earth. With Homer and the Greek Dramatists the necessary elevation was given by the thought of War and the ritual of religious ceremony. Among those who wrote in prose, Bunyan created a whole new world; Cervantes transmuted the Spanish landscape into a new strange earth; and in our own day Thomas Hardy has fashioned a new individual province for himself, which

he has named Wessex, and where the very towns have been given new names in order to lift them away from us.

Dickens' answer to this problem is particularly interesting; and nowhere is it better illustrated than in the subtle change that so slowly passes over *David Copperfield*. The nature of it can be discovered by first turning to one of the earlier novels, such as *Oliver Twist*, or to such a phantasy as *A Christmas Carol*. In both of these the scenery are the streets of London; yet though the streets are given their habitual names, by which they can be identified, they are changed and altered; something has so transmuted them that we scarcely think of them as streets of London at all. It is not sufficient to say that the times have changed; and that therefore what seems to us a transmutation might have been but a faithful portrayal. There is no reader of *A Christmas Carol* or *Oliver Twist* but must come to the conclusion that there never at any time was such a house as that in which Scrooge lived, or such streets as those through which he walked, or Fagin or Bill Sikes walked. The internal emotion is sufficient to indicate this. But, apart from such internal evidence, there is external evidence; for Thackeray's streets have nothing of that wildness or that remoteness from commonplace reality. Nor is it possible to say that the dream-phantasy of the *Carol* is responsible for one, as the overdrawn, melodramatic nightmare horror of *Oliver Twist* is responsible for the other. There is the same strangeness, the same wild and fantastic remoteness, about the scenery of *Nicholas Nickleby* and *The Old Curiosity Shop*. And the result is that the London Dickens has drawn has no relevance to the London that now is or ever was, save in an identity of street plan; so that those who talk of seeking out 'Dickens' London' are, in a manner of speaking, in search for something that can never be found.

In *David Copperfield*—in, that is to say, the book that brought about the change in his way of work—this peculiar significance of atmosphere is an interesting study. For it has been seen that a change passes over the book as it develops itself. The first decision to write a simple straightforward narrative, compilation rather than creation, never really leaves the book, influencing it to its conclusion; but the older inspiration, that made *Pickwick* so truly a book by itself, asserts itself as the narrative proceeds, transfiguring it. Now side by side with this change in characterisation the scenic atmosphere begins to change also. It is a thing difficult to define, for it is a thing that one either feels or does not feel. The scenery at first is as sharp and as definite as the green that Betsy Trotwood guarded with such zeal. It becomes dimmer and more fantastic as the book grows older.

Certainly whatever be the result in *David Copperfield* itself,

the result in the sequence of Dickens' books, before and after *Copperfield*, is clear. It has already been illustrated, in another connection, by comparing the first and last of the books, *Pickwick Papers* and *Edwin Drood*. But it may even be illustrated by taking the two books immediately before and after *Copperfield*: *Dombey and Son* and *Bleak House*: in spite of the fact that the latter of these is better than the former, because the change is seen coming in the former, whereas it has already arrived in the latter. *Dombey and Son* is, admittedly, a failure among Dickens' works; *Bleak House* is admittedly a success. Yet it is true that in the first we may divine the poetic creation at work, however much it may have failed of success; whereas in the latter we miss its peculiarly transmuting power, and are therefore constrained to admit that the success is of a different order, and of a lower order. The first is a failure, but a high failure; the latter is a success, but a lower success. And *David Copperfield* stands as a landmark between two periods—not only a landmark, indeed, but actually one of the causes of the change.

This is not to say that that which gave, not only such distinction, but such significance, to Dickens' first period, vanished thereafter, never to reappear. A man may never deny, or abjure, his most distinctive self; and Dickens could never wholly write either such distinguished compilation as that of Thackeray or such strong compilation as that of George Eliot. In the sure, though subtle, matter of scenic atmosphere, taking that for a sign of the hand at work, he is to be discovered to be the same throughout his work. His streets, his houses, and his skies, never become wholly those of actuality; but they become measurably near actuality in his later work, whereas in his first fervour they remain immeasurably remote. And as his streets are so are his people also, for it is at the demand of his people that his streets are transmuted.

Dombey and Son is, however, interesting for another reason. A man's typical failure is always illustrative of his special weakness; and this is even more than usually true in the case of *Dombey and Son*, by reason of some of the causes of its failure. As is well known, this was the first novel in which Dickens found his flowing invention failed him. He complained of it, in its early stages, that, as he worked at it, he could not induce it to start itself and move forward. The truth was that his early success had intoxicated him, and his successive tours through America and the Continent had brought restlessness into his blood. That is to say, through one cause and another, his genius had to be compelled to do its work; and genius, when so compelled, may yet display qualities most distinctive of itself, but it will display them in colours that are false and in an emphasis

out of proportion to the occasion. And this is just what happens in Dombey.

Thus, as in *Pickwick* one may best find what is the peculiar praise of Dickens, so in *Dombey* one may discover his peculiar blemishes and restrictions. The colours, we see, are garish; and the characters, in attempting to achieve dignity, fail hopelessly. The scene between Carker and Edith Dombey, for instance, is melodrama unmitigated and crude; yet throughout it we can perceive the attempt that was not achievement, by virtue of which it continues to live. The truth is that dignity was outside the compass of Dickens; and that therefore exaltation and the high purging ritual of tragedy was impossible to him. Always about the figure of Don Quixote there is an incomparable dignity; always over his brow there shines the radiance of a high exaltation; with the result that intermixed with our laughter at the sight of him there are always those rare tears that ennoble us. We are not only broadened by reading Cervantes; we are heightened. But there is little of this in Dickens; indeed, there is nothing of it. He not only failed in *Dombey and Son* to achieve dignity, but he failed in that attempt generally throughout the body of his work. For example, in *Oliver Twist* he made a clear bid for Terror. Now Terror is ever one with mysticism and exaltation; Terror is only felt by the soul in its moments of awe and dignity; because in Terror it is faced by something that transcends the common round of its experience. But such a mood, such a dignity and awe, is alien to Dickens (or, more truly, Dickens is an alien to such moods), and the result is that where he attempted Terror he achieved only Horror, which is fantastic and crude.

It is this that is meant when it is said that his style is no style at all. When it is said that his language never stiffens itself into structure, it is meant that his characters and scenes never erect themselves into dignity. They are each manifestations of the same inability in the creator. Similarly when it is said that in none of his sentences is there a haunting music or mystical cadence, it is meant that his sentences tell out all they have to say on the page, empty their whole cargo on the wharf, because their author is so little in correspondence with the world beyond worlds that he both can and must say all he has to say. He is never in labour to express the thing just beyond his reach. His difficulty is, rather, to avoid saying the thing well within his reach twice over. Those magic sentences in the world's literature that tell us so much more than they say, are never his, because the Furthermore is for ever beyond him. Faced by Death, we get the death of Paul Dombey. He attempts Tragedy, and achieves Melodrama; he attempts Terror, and gives us Horror; he attempts Dignity and we have stilts; he attempts

mystery and we receive a detective story; he attempts an historic revolution, and we have a few squalid characters and the trial-scene of Charles Darnay. And so he is always thrown back, when attempting to wing high, by the irrevocable concave of his limitations.

It is always necessary to see a man's blemishes clearly before his praise can be truly said. On the other hand, it is always necessary to see a man's cause of praise before his blemishes can be discovered, for it may happen that what appear to be blemishes are but the natural reverse of his virtues. With Dickens it was so. If he could not win his way up to the heights he certainly made the lower depths very wonderful. If when he attempted the mystical he only achieved the fantastic, confining himself to the fantastic he made it so wonderfully fantastic that he raised the whole result into the realm of true creation. If when he attempted dignity he succeeded only in giving us stilts, in giving us people who always went through life on stilts, he makes them so incredibly funny that he fills our minds with laughter. So, too, if in desiring Tragedy he falls into Melodrama, in desiring Melodrama he transmutes it into something that is both rich and strange, something blown upon with the breath of creation till it takes a new and perpetual life.

In his earlier work up to and including *David Copperfield*, Dickens wrote books that we call Novels, in a poverty of expression, but which are novels no more than the works of Cervantes, Rabelais, and Bunyan. In his later work Dickens took up the same pen (seeing that it was the only one he had), but dipped it in a different ink. He wrote Novels, comparable with those of Thackeray and George Eliot. Whether his novels are better or worse than those of his contemporaries is a matter of opinion. That is to say, the comparison exists. But in *Pickwick*, and the books following hard upon *Pickwick*, there is no comparison, because the things are not alike. We treasure *Don Quixote* as we may treasure *The Heart of Midlothian* or *One of Our Conquerors;* but we do not compare them, because they work in different mediums. And it is on these earlier books Dickens will establish his fame, because it is in them that he was most himself. The later books very largely take their excellence from the wind that blows on them from the earlier inspiration. For in them, as always, Dickens created immortals. He always, in some degree, reveals us to ourselves in his characters; and therefore, as they gather round us, and we call each by name, we feel that the fame of their creator is very safe in their keeping.

DARRELL FIGGIS.

A YEAR OF 'POST-IMPRESSIONISM'

When, a little over a year ago, 'Post-Impressionism' burst upon the town, I was in no condition to take a hand in the vast discussion that followed; but I did just stagger round the Grafton Gallery before I was despatched to a safe distance from work. When I left London the critics were disconcerted, but nervously determined, after so many mistakes, to be this time on the winning side. A few bravely, if wistfully, did declare themselves fossils; some were uneasily upon the fence; the rest were practising, a little asthmatically, the phrases of an unknown tongue. As it happened, one of the few critics on the Press with anything that can be called a mind, one of the fewer with a gift for persuasion and for writing, Mr. Roger Fry, had declared for the new aesthetic, or religion, and the impressionable could but wheel desperately after him on this sudden tack. Three months later I found the new religion established, the old gods being bundled without ceremony into the lumber-room, and the ardent weathercocks of the Press pointing steadily for the moment into the paulo-post-futurum. So easy a victory for a new creed is delightful, if it is deserved, but it tempts the obstinately critical mind to ask a few questions. I propose, after the fair run that the new faith has enjoyed, to look a little closely at its theories and its productions.

The Grafton Exhibition was not quite the beginning of things. Mr. Fry had played with the very reasonable speculation that the explorations in colour of the Impressionists might be employed by imaginative decorators not limited to a scramble for effect. It may be said, by the way, that this was precisely the programme already carried out by Puvis de Chavannes in wall-paintings like *L'Hiver*. But Mr. Fry, up till half-past eleven before the noon of the Exhibition struck, did not appear to have convinced himself that the expected method and the masters had been found; for he exhibited in Suffolk Street a ceiling that looked back to Guido, of all the Pre-Impressionists: there had been indications, however, that his vote was nearly cast. In the chaste pages of the *Burlington Magazine*, barely tainted with modern

art, there appeared, with Mr. Fry's editorial blessing, a startling rhapsody on Cézanne. Its author affirmed a faith already orthodox in Germany, where the enthusiastic, if chaotic, Meier Graefe leads the song. The Germans, so enviably endowed for music, for science, and for business, are eager for all the arts. Denied almost entirely an instinct for the art of painting, they study it, they 'encourage it,' egg it on, adore, and even buy. Nor do they stop there. They have town-planned whole towns out of the back-pages of *The Studio* in styles that put to shame the cosiest corners of Mrs. Barnett's architects. They dine, they sleep, they commit every act of life in 'Art Nouveau.' And to their serious bosoms they have taken each extravagance of Montmartre and added an 'ismus' to its name. Wonderful Montmartre, that seethes and blazes for the duller world with the fire and fevers of youth and art! I remember, one summer morning in the early nineties, climbing the sacred hill. At the summit was a little shop that was a symbol of the place. There stood, with ancient *berets* on their heads, 'le père' and 'la mère Tanguy,' like two figures in the old Box-and-Cox barometers. They sold colours and canvases, if selling it could be called, since they were seldom paid. It was reported that they had long ceased to eat, so that there might be more colours for the young ferocious of that day, whose methods called for a huge quantity; and there, under their hands, was piled a heap of canvases returned with the colours thick encrusted, waiting in patient faith for the rare customer. There were flowers by 'Vincent' (Van Gogh), and landscapes by youths from Pont-Aven, who announced day by day that 'black was red' or 'violet was green.' Then we went from one house to another, of artist and collector. We had begun in another quarter with Comte Camondo. He had just bought the picture by Degas that so shocked Sir William Richmond and all the professionally and periodically *scandalisables* of London who write letters to the papers. Two people were drinking absinthe and coffee: had the scene been laid in London and called 'Afternoon Tea' no one would have been shocked; as it was, the picture was hooted out of the country and is now, by the Count's bequest, one of the treasures of the Louvre. On the hill we found Degas fuming because he had been written about in the papers, 'like Whistler,' and said to paint 'comme un cochon.' Last we visited the rooms of an ancient Jewish collector, and, when we had gone through them all, we crossed the street with him and plunged into a 'dive' like Mammon's, a cellar in which he had 'laid down' hundreds of 'Impressionist' pictures to mature, and pictures twenty years later to be 'Post-Impressionist.' There they were, stacked on trucks, and he was hoarding them. Manet was then beginning to sell at Durand-Ruel's; Monet was dribbling through to America; the day of the others was

to come later, when Vollard opened shop in the Rue Laffitte and held up to admiration scores of still-lifes by Cézanne, sparely constituted of an apple or two and a metallic napkin. Anquetin had just abandoned his 'synthetic' manner, that of strong outline and flat tint, and the real master of the Japanese convention, Toulouse-Lautrec, was terrifying the hoardings.

But I must return to the *Burlington*. In its numbers for February and March 1910 appeared the eulogy on Cézanne by M. Maurice Denis, with reproductions of the artist's work. The main line of M. Denis' argument was that Cézanne is a 'classic,' because in his painting the spectator is not preponderantly moved by the object itself, nor by the artist's personality, but by a balance of the two. This sounds a promising description of classicism, to which I will return later. But M. Denis goes on to affirm, of this 'classic' painter, that his painting is painting and nothing more, that it 'imitates objects'

> without any exactitude and without any accessory interest of sentiment or thought. When he imagines a sketch, he assembles colours and forms without any literary preoccupation: his aim is nearer to that of a carpet-weaver than of a Delacroix, transforming into coloured harmony, but with dramatic or lyric intention, a scene of the Bible or of Shakespeare.

Sérusier is quoted in support:

> One thing must be noted, that is the absence of subject . . . The purpose, even the concept of the object represented, disappears before the charm of his coloured forms.

After these explanations we seem to be already in difficulties with our 'classic' painter. The balance of object and subject we have just heard about means that the object is inexactly rendered, and that there is no subject at all. And M. Denis, a painter himself, in a pretty convention, shallow sentiment and villainous colour, of religious and legendary 'subjects,' adopts, for his eulogy of Cézanne, the theory of poetry attributed to Mallarmé, that its beauty consists mainly in sound, of painting that its beauty is limited to the 'carpet' aspect of it, and of imagination that it works properly in the vehicle of words. The name alone, 'imagination,' might have stopped him. A scene such as is recorded in the Bible or in the pages of Shakespeare is only 'imaged' when it is seen; that is to say, when it lends itself to the art of vision, which is painting: it can only be referred to and evoked, not rendered, by the symbols of words. A scene, therefore, in the Bible or Shakespeare is at least as much the natural subject of painting as of writing, and there is nothing 'literary' in painting it. The real distinction between literature and painting is that writing, being indefinitely continuous, can evoke a chain of successive actions, and is therefore the fit medium of narrative; but it cannot represent those actions or any one point of them; painting can actually render a

fixed point. The stage, within certain limits, can reproduce the whole chain that narrative evokes and comments upon.

So much for the general confusion. If we take the two arts separately we shall find that their virtue is never a simple thing: it depends on a union of two elements, beauty and significance. This is easily tested, because in the case of poetry we can cut off significance and retain the mere beauty of sound. We have only to ask a good reader to recite a poem in a language known to him and unknown to ourselves. The result, if the language is sonorous, is gently pleasant for a very short time; soon, even for the most poetical, it becomes unbearably monotonous, so much is the virtue of poetry a combination of sound-beauty, fit and ingenious arrangement of words and ideas, weight of feeling and significance. The same is true of painting. The most decorative of our oil-paintings, if we see them at such an angle that the 'subject' is not grasped, are poor things beside a rich carpet or enamel, and the really good carpets themselves are a kind of picture, dependent for the sting of their beauty on the remote 'subject' that went to their design. If, then, Cézanne had ever succeeded in getting rid of subject, he would not thereby have become a 'classic' painter, or anything like it; he would have ceased to be a painter at all.

But that is not all of this queer eulogy. Cézanne, it appears, abolishes tone in favour of colour,

> substitutes contrasts of tint for contrasts of tone. . . . In all this conversation he never once mentioned the word 'values.' His system assuredly excludes relations of values in the sense accepted in the schools.

Unfortunately this is not Post-Impressionism at all, but the Impressionism of Turner and of Monet. It depends on the fact that no one, even if he wish to, can render the values truly of a sunlit landscape, because pigments do not cover so great a range. The upper notes must be sacrificed in any case, and the convention Turner and Monet adopted, to gain a general brilliance, was to omit the lower as well, to leave out not only the real sun, which no one could put in, but also the shadows, the tones, of the lower notes, rendering only their difference of colour or tint, and that in an exaggerated way. Monet's 'purple shadow' is as famous as Turner's vermilion. Our 'classic,' therefore, is on this ground a pure impressionist.

But there is a more mysterious business. By his modelling (or 'modulating,' for the first word is not permitted), Cézanne arrives at the 'volumes' of objects, and puts their contours in afterwards. These 'volumes' are an 'abstraction' from objects. That is intelligible enough, but something comes in at this point, some sort of bee in the bonnet of Cézanne or of his admirers, that was to play havoc later, and produce whole 'schools' and sects. 'All his faculty for abstraction,' we are told,

permits him to distinguish only among notable forms 'the sphere, the cone, and the cylinder.' All forms are referred to these, which he is alone capable of thinking. The multiplicity of his colour schemes varies them infinitely. But still he never reaches the conception of the circle, the triangle, the parallelogram: these are abstractions which his eye and brain refuse to admit. Forms are for him volumes.

On a first reading this would appear to mean that by some lesion of his classic brain our painter could not conceive a parallelogram, and that of solid bodies he could only cope with three. But probably the author expresses himself badly or is ill translated. What he means is that Cézanne thinks in the solid, not in the parallelogram but in the cube—or am I wrong, and was the cube, afterwards to be so sacred, anathema at this period? If so, the less painter he! for the complete painter must think in both. He must imagine, extending back behind his canvas, a space containing solid bodies; and this space and these bodies he must render on the flat surface of his canvas. But he must also remember that these solid shapes, *projected on the flat, will set up a certain pattern among them*selves of forms in two dimensions, and that this pattern and its relation to the frame constitute the 'decorative' side of his art. Since the frame is normally either a parallelogram or a circle, he is a strange artist who cannot conceive of either; and we are more puzzled than ever by Mr. Fry's announcement, in his preface to this article, of an art 'in which the decorative elements preponderate at the expense of the representative.' The apostle of the new art is absorbed, it appears, in the 'representative' side (the rendering of depth), and knows nothing about the 'decorative' (the planning of the surface).

Mr. Fry himself speaks of Cézanne's 'compact unity' built up by 'a calculated emphasis on a rhythmic balance of directions.' But M. Denis describes one of these figure-landscape pieces in the making:

> The dimensions of the figures were often readjusted; sometimes they were life-size, sometimes contracted to half: the arms, the torsos, the legs were enlarged and diminished in unimaginable proportions.

Calculation was missing or erratic here: and with every variation in size the 'rhythmic balance of directions' must have altered.

But it is needless to pursue further these rather elementary confusions; let us take farewell of the article with a touching little phrase of the painter himself. He spoke, not of any of the great things enumerated, but of his 'petite sensation,' the little *sensation* that he was trying to preserve and render. I remember, in those same early nineties, a discussion among a group of American short-story writers, very earnest, constipated artists. One of them had been out for a walk, and his contribution was the statement that in coming home through the trees he had 'quite a little mood.' 'I did not write it down at the time,' he said, 'but

perhaps I ought to have done so.' Cézanne was not a great classic: he was an artist, often clumsy, always in difficulties, very limited in his range, absurdly so in his most numerous productions, but with 'quite a little mood,' and the haunting idea of an art built upon the early Manet, at which he could only hint. He oscillated between Manet's earlier and finer manner, that of dark contours and broadly divided colour, and a painting based on the early Monet, all colour in a high key. In this manner he produced certain landscapes, tender and beautiful in colour, but the figure was too difficult for him, and from difficulties of all sorts he escaped into the still-lifes I have spoken of, flattened jugs, apples, and napkins like blue tin that would clank if they fell. What is fatal to the claim set up for him as a deliberate designer, creating eternal images out of the momentary lights of the Impressionists, is the fact that his technique remains that of the Impressionists, a sketcher's techniqne, adapted for snatching hurriedly at effects that will not wait. Hence his touch, hence those slops of form out of which he tries to throw a figure together. No one was ever further from logical 'classic' construction, if that is what we are looking for; none of the Impressionists was so uncertain in his shots at a shape. And when we come to fundamentals, to rhythm, whether it be the rhythm of the thing seen, or the rhythm of the picture imagined, or these two combined, as they are in great art, Cézanne is helpless. We have only to turn to the illustrations to appreciate this. Cut away the theories and the verbiage, and what is actually before us? A forcible head of the painter is the best of them; but even that has only one valid eye; the other portraits are blocks of wood. The vaunted landscapes with figures, the *Bathers* and *Satyrs*, are the work of a man who could not command the construction or the expressive gesture of a single figure, could not combine them together, or fit them reasonably into a landscape setting. What a blinding power has theory for the ingenious mind!

The Grafton Exhibition included many things. There was Manet as well as Cézanne. There was a group of the more tiresome 'Neo-Impressionists,' but including the inventor among them, Seurat, who introduced 'pointillisme.' The others turned the infinitesimal dots of primary colour that the theory required into large bricks of colour that could not possibly fuse at any distance. I suppose, by the way, it will be impossible to the end of time to persuade people that Monet never at any time used 'divisionism,' the splitting up of colour into its primary or even its rainbow constituents. Even so careful a writer as Mr. C. J. Holmes asserts this, against the evidence of all the pictures. I endeavoured years ago to explode the supposed scientific basis of the pointillist theory of painting, but all that came of it was a

conviction among my critics that I was myself an Impressionist and advocate of pointillism. I perhaps deserved this for trying to give 'Impressionism' a wider than its historical meaning.

But this by way of digression. Next after Cézanne among the painters new to London, and that London was grateful for seeing, came Gauguin, who was well represented. This painter, beginning as a rather dull Impressionist, in the wake of Pissarro, developed, for the handling of exotic scenes, a more nervous drawing and vivid colour, reverting to the Oriental decoration that was already implicit in Manet, Degas, and Whistler. There is nothing revolutionary in the drawing of the Tahiti figures; it is the drawing of Degas, stiffer, and less flexible, as might be expected from the painter who began work at thirty; and there is an illogical modelling of the figures in light and shade that does not extend to other parts of the picture. But the pose and grouping of the Tahiti pieces is finely felt, and his colour in these and certain still-lifes has original character and splendour. The fine period was short; it is a drop from *L'Esprit Veille* to fantastic rubbish like *Christ in the Garden of Olives*.

With the third name we come, I was going to say, to the real thing: but that would be unfair; to one of those spirits who break through the ordinary moulds, who survive, like the salamander, in a fiery element. Blake is the one English artist who did this and lived undestroyed at a perilous exaltation. Van Gogh had neither Blake's mental range nor his endurance, but in the short period of balance between the lethargic Dutch art of his beginning and the madness of his end he is very like the Blake of Thornton's *Pastorals*. The hallucination of a reality more intense than that of every day comes to some men by way of wine or drugs, to some by bodily fever, to others by the fever of the mind that production itself induces. Beginning like Gauguin flatly, Van Gogh worked up, like him, through Impressionism, and then, before madness overtook him, snatched at his startling landscape visions. Rain, a cornfield, a sunset, are discharged at us with heightened, hallucinatory intensity. The colour of flowers, too, thus excited him, and the portrait of himself, shown at the Grafton, the exasperated blondness of the tormented mattoid head against a flame of blue, was a masterpiece in its kind. Then he fell over on the other side, and the rest tells us merely the price he paid for a super-lucid interval.

But this was not all. We were asked to regard these three men as the initiators of an art which was carried a stage further by later artists, of whom two were the chief, Picasso and Matisse. Picasso appeared mainly in his early phase, as a Whistlerian, less certain even than Whistler in the construction of a painted figure, but with a delicate sense of colour; an etcher, too, of subtle

line. But a portrait was shown in the sleeve of which (not yet in the face) some geometrical mania was at work. Of this more presently. Of Matisse there were only three small pieces: two insignificant landscapes and a silly doll, *La Femme aux yeux verts*, in which we were invited to find marvels of rhythm and harmony. I have seen landscapes by Matisse which had a certain barbaric strength of colour; I have not seen enough of his work to trace his history, and I am prepared to believe that he has given pledges elsewhere of good faith in these preposterous experiments; but I see no force in the argument that because drawing is very bad indeed, it must be very good because it is by a clever man, one who has been known, at other times and places, to draw pretty well. I pass over Herbin, Friesz, Vlaminck, and many more, all of them, like Baal's priests, cutting and maiming their forms in a desperate incantation of the fire that had touched Van Gogh. I return from the pictures to the theories.

The catalogue was prefaced by a brilliant piece of writing, unsigned, more closely knit than M. Denis' apologia, and a lecture was given during the exhibition by Mr. Fry, and printed in the May number of the *Fortnightly Review*. The writer of the preface tacitly showed M. Denis' theory about Cézanne to the door, and advanced a directly opposite account of those he christened 'Post-Impressionists.' M. Denis had claimed for Cézanne that he was 'classic,' meaning, as we may put it, that there is a fine balance in his painting between the desires of the painter and the rights of the object painted; that he renders the object justly but finely seen. If this is not a plausible description of Cézanne, it is a possible definition of classic painting. But now we were told that the methods of this school

> enable the individuality of the artist to find completer self-expression in his work than is possible to those who have committed themselves to representing objects more literally.

The school, in a word, render their emotions about objects rather than the objects themselves, and Mr. Fry makes it the definition of all drawing that it distorts the object. Personal feeling, then, is the note of the movement, and the 'Post-Impressionists,' therefore, are not classic at all, but extreme Romantics. I was met by several ghosts of old controversies in this discussion. The 'rocking-horse' of the preface reminded me of the 'Noah's ark beasts' of the Glasgow School, 'better than Sidney Cooper,' and another old phrase, 'There is no such thing as correct drawing,' played its part. By that I meant that just as in literature writing can never be said to be finally 'correct,' nor even grammar, but only to approach perfection of expression, so with drawing. Imitation may be a large part of drawing, but the initial impulse is gesture, and 'correctness' of imitation by way of tracing is not only impossible, because contours must be amplified to suggest

a third dimension, but the design of the picture, simplification for decorative breadth, sacrifice and emphasis for expressive force, also affect 'correct' copying. Again I am entirely with Mr. Fry in the stress he lays on the rhythmical basis of design. Perhaps I may be allowed to quote from an article that made people very angry twenty years ago.[1]

> Drawing is at bottom, like all the arts, a kind of gesture, a method of dancing upon paper. The dance may be mimetic; but the beauty and verve of the performance, not closeness of the imitation, impresses, and tame additions of truth will encumber and not convince. The dance must control the pantomime. Rivers and skies and faces are taken up by the painter as illustrations of a mood, and the lines of the image he creates are *not meant* to reproduce the thing, but to convey what he felt about the thing—the salutation, the caress he gave to it . . . He wishes to convince the imagination, not to delude the sense . . . In the lines of abstract ornament you will often get a more striking impression of conflict or repose than from the most document-supported picture of battle or of sleep; and it is this element, the music of space and form, that really plays to the imagination behind the images that represent person or thing. A division of the paper will do more to enthrone a figure or dignify a landscape than the dress of kings or the presence of palaces, and the drift or swing of a composition across the canvas be more eloquent of its motive than the particular attitude and occupation of its constituent persons.

Here, then, is common ground; but as they say in disputations at the Propaganda, *Distinguo*. When I came to work at the history of a period of drawing, I saw that there is a strong dividing-line between two schools, each of them great, by the degree in which they admit freedom of modification; and Mr. Fry's definition, and my old one, are not the account of all drawing, but of one school only. I have endeavoured elsewhere to bring this out,[2] but must risk a repetition here. 'Classic' drawing, conveniently so called because it is the drawing of Greek fifth-century sculptors, follows the model or 'nature' very closely, with a minimum of sacrifice and distortion for the sake of emotional emphasis, the expression of action, or the imposition of a rhythm conceived by the designer. It is realist among choice forms, aims at searching out the rhythm implicit in an object, and entrusts to a lucid statement of that rhythm the task of exciting in the spectator's mind the feeling already aroused in that of the artist. It sinks personality and renders the object.

Romantic drawing is not satisfied with this: it emphasises, caricatures, elongates, abbreviates, reshapes the form in accordance with a more violent emotion, a more tyrannic imposition of rhythm, a rhythm of the artist's excitement. The problem of both schools is at bottom the same—namely, to fit into the rhythm

[1] 'Painting and Imitation,' *Spectator*, June 18, 1892.
[2] *Nineteenth Century Art*. (Maclehose, 1902.)

of the picture or of the sculptor's block the rhythms of the objects included; but classic art more humbly, more patiently and subtly waits upon the secrets of the object: it discovers a rhythm rather than invents. Romantic drawing shatters and reforms the object with its own passion and gesture, and introduces incidentally all manner of 'personal' elements of temper and touch. It follows, naturally enough, that classic art works, by preference, in presence of the object; romantic art tends to remake from memory. 'Nature puts them out,' these artists say; they borrow from her a shorthand of form, a scaffolding on which their system of expression may be hung.

These two tempers and systems exist side by side in varying force at all times.

Masaccio, Piero della Francesca, Dürer,[3] Holbein, Leonardo and Raphael, Titian till his later days, Velazquez are in the main classics. Giovanni Pisano and Michael Angelo are the great Romantics; Tintoretto, Rubens, and Il Greco are some of the followers. In the modern period Ingres and Stevens are classic; Goya, Géricault, Delacroix, Daumier, Millet, Rodin are Romantics. Almost all Englishmen of any account are Romantics; if we look for a classic among contemporary artists, English or French, it is hard to find any, except Mr. Havard Thomas, who is the extreme case (I am not now discussing relative merits but the completeness of the type). Mr. Walter Sickert is in theory a devout classic, all for the hairbreadth moulding of drawing after nature that is called Ingres: in practice he is a Cézanne, making uncertain shots at a real but elusive 'petite sensation' of his own.

But if the writer of the preface started out with the thesis that his artists were Romantics expressing less objects than themselves, he suddenly abandoned this, and threw out an entirely new and incompatible third theory, namely, that they painted not appearances, not even emotions about appearances, but the Thing in Itself. They paint, he says, 'the treeness of a tree,' and elsewhere, 'they draw a line round the concept of a thing.' Now, if there is one thing that painting certainly cannot do, it is this. You can *think* the concept of a tree, and you can talk about it, since words allude to ideas but do not represent, but you cannot

[3] A check upon classic drawing is obedience to a normal form or canon of proportion. Some years ago Mr. Sturge Moore published a pretentious book on Albert Dürer, in which he laid it down that Dürer's canon was used only to be departed from. He showed no acquaintance with Dürer's own writings on the subject, except a short passage translated by Sir Martin Conway, and that he had misunderstood. His view was accepted by all his critics, who evidently had not read Dürer's book. But a patient German, L. Justi, at the same time was publishing a treatise, showing that on the back of some of Dürer's drawings the construction from the canon was to be found and was followed.

imagine it, and you cannot draw it. The concept includes every kind and size of tree, the drawing must represent one. So, to take a simpler case, you can *think* the general idea of a triangle, which includes equilateral, isosceles, and scalene triangles of all sizes; but you cannot draw it, because any triangle you draw must be one kind or another, one size or another. And the thing-in-itself, or 'substance,' being, by its nature, relieved of all particular appearances, cannot be drawn, because drawing is the art of visible appearance, not of invisible substance. It is true I can pick and choose among appearances those that, for my purpose, are most important; I can abstract from the total appearance of a tree; I can abstract its greenness or brownness, and draw it black; I can abstract its roundness, and draw it flat; I can abstract its leaves, and draw it bare; I can abstract its branches, and draw it a stump; but some part of the 'treeness of the tree' goes with each abstraction and resides entirely in no one of these particulars. A tree may, for the imagination, present forcibly one of its qualities at a time; it may be a green dome of shade on a hot day, a ladder of retreat for a man from the attentions of a mad bull, a peg on which an apple hangs, a screen for an assassin, a choir for birds; and its own business of spreading out its million pores to the air and propagating its kind, which comes nearest to being its 'treeness,' may be what occupies the artist least and bores him most. He deals with the accidents of its life, that serve the purposes of his own kind. But if, because of this, he scorns the tree's own idea of its main business, misunderstands and cramps the rhythm that mysteriously arises from the strains and expansions of its anchoring, its feeding, and its breathing, he loses, not perhaps the significance for his story that the ladder or the peg or the umbrella would sufficiently furnish, he loses beauty, the beauty implicated in the processes of life, and cannot replace it however he may cudgel his invention.

Mr. Fry, as one would expect, produced a more coherent theory than the other writers: he declared, as the object of the 'Post-Impressionists,' the 'discovery of the visual language of the imagination': a language analogous to music, and on this quest the abandonment of 'naturalism.' The 'distortion' already conceded to the Romantics is a part of this, but he goes on to demand the suppression of natural perspective and chiaroscuro. Naturalistic perspective, he contends, prevents a painter from giving the significance, say, of a pageant, because the policeman near at hand obscures by his comparative bulk the really important figures. That is so only if the painter takes his stand immediately behind the policeman. There is no reason why a more distant point of view should not be chosen, and Gentile Bellini, Carpaccio, Titian, and Veronese solved this difficulty without trouble.

Chiaroscuro can also, within the limits of naturalism, be minimised and almost excluded by a lighting of the picture from the front, or reduced, for decorative breadth, to one step between light and dark, as by Manet, and for the matter of that Maurice Denis. But no reasonable man would deny to the artist, for special reasons of expression or decoration, a break with strict perspective, which, indeed, is seldom to be found in good pictures, or complete abstraction from shadow. What Mr. Fry seems to forget is that perspective and shadow are not mere science : in the hands of great artists they are instruments of expression, perspective a threatening power in the hands of a Mantegna, shadow an instrument of reverie and pathos in the hands of a Rembrandt; they also, like form, are matter for design. What we may well concede, and what I for one have often asserted, is that the full accumulation of natural effect, the *total instrument of painting, is not only unfit* for certain purposes, but is beyond the strength of all but very great artists. Many can play on the pipe who cannot control to purpose all the keyboards of the organ. If that is what Post-Impressionism means, the greater part of recent painting in this country has been Post-Impressionist. Strang, Lavery and Brangwyn, Nicholson and Pryde, Ricketts and Shannon, John and Holmes, all deliberately or less consciously throw overboard one or another element in the *full range of representation* so as to keep the ship floating. There are many varieties of such sacrifice. These sacrifices may be necessary, but the danger of any deliberate stereotype thus adopted is that an artist who once limits his traffic with nature not only cuts himself off from fresh sources, but is in danger of losing even that which he hath. If out of the whole alphabet of appearances he limits himself to A B C for the sake of A, B and C are apt to *grow insolent and make an end of A. Mr. Fry, if I under*stand him aright, welcomes the possibility of 'genius' being no longer called for. He speaks of the possibilities of recovering an 'anonymous' art, as if that were the same thing; but in the anonymous mediaeval times it is easy to trace the points at which genius came in. He looks for the creation of a common language of imaginative expression which all might use, without any arduous training, without any wrestle with natural appearances, a language as direct as a child's in drawing. I agree that for such purposes laborious imitation is irrelevant, that the point of imitation reached in a thousand art schools is useless, because it will never be turned to imaginative use; but I hold with Blake against Mr. Fry that a man must learn to copy nature if, to any high purpose, he would copy his imagination. The odd thing about this new language of the imagination is that once acquired it seems not to widen the

imaginative range, but to limit it to an orange, an apple, a napkin, and a pot. These are subjects which of all others surely call for the full texture of vision to render them interesting; for the art of a Chardin or a Manet. Nature seems to revenge herself by allowing to the rebels not even 'nature *morte*'!

In the matter of Cézanne Mr. Fry holds, as does his able seconder Mr. Clutton Brock,[4] that we have 'classic' art. I have already dealt with this claim, but Mr. Fry has an obsession under this head, which calls for a word of examination. He appears to think that the residual element of reality, which renders painting 'classic,' is the expression of solidity, and that solidity is most fully expressed by the elimination of light and shade and the addition of a thick contour. We are reminded, at this point, of Mr. Berenson's famous 'tactile values.' The expression was ill chosen, because Mr. Berenson did not mean values of touch at all, but the sense of energy put forth and of resistance, which are quite different things; or else those appreciations of depth which (*pace* Berkeley) depend not on tactile but on visual machinery. The Florentine School of painting sprang from sculpture; hence its preoccupation with solidity; the Venetians made painting more distinctly a painter's art by their preoccupation with colour. This by way of parenthesis. Cézanne certainly 'blocks in' his forms with thick lines which give them a certain brutal force, but he does it indiscriminately with a flower-pot, which if solid is fragile, and with table-cloths, which are as little solid as objects may be. And Mr. Fry finds this magic of solidity in the most unlikely features. Cézanne sometimes draws the mouth of a circular vase or flower-pot seen in perspective not as an ellipse, but like a gutta-percha ellipse that has been squeezed till its sides are parallel; producing, Mr. Fry says, a greater effect of solidity. Why Cézanne did this it is idle to conjecture; in one piece he draws three flower-pots side by side, and their lower contours range from a straight line to a lop-sided curve. It is probable then that the flattened forms arise rather from thoughtless or clumsy shots at form than from an intention; but if intention there was, it must have been an intention to flatten the shape, not to expand it. The true shape of a circle in wide perspective has so straining an influence on the picture-field that designers are tempted to attenuate it; thus Puvis de Chavannes, in the foreground of one of his best-known mural paintings, draws a fountain-basin in the shape of Cézanne's flower-pot mouth. He, and perhaps Cézanne, was really flattening his form for decorative reasons. Mr. Fry finds the same 'classic' merits in the still-lifes with which Picasso has been rewarding the devout fervour of

[4] *Burlington Magazine*, January 1911.

disciples. One of these I was privileged to see in Mr. Fry's company. In a 'design' that looked like fragments of stained glass pieced together could be made out the outline of a bashed flower-pot and a lemon, and other objects were explained to be a curtain and a piece of paper. In this case the mouth of the flower-pot reversed the formula of Cézanne; it had the shape of an irregular almond, with sharp ends; but was still affirmed to increase the solidity of the pot's reality: a sufficient *reductio ad absurdum*, one would think. The 'paper' was indeed solid, solid as iron; but then 'one must not look for imitation of nature.' Why then have paper at all? If my classic emotion before an orange may lead me to represent it, not as a sphere of orange-colour, but as a cube of green, need I look at oranges at all? And if the 'balance of directions,' as I was told, requires that the flower-pot should be mutilated, why take this 'direction' at the expense of a flower-pot? If all we want is a play of 'directions' leading nowhere, why do the flower-pot and lemon linger on the field, like indestructible properties saved, in the wreck of the universe, from the old still-lifes? The truth is that these painters have never betrayed the faintest capacity for the most rudimentary exercises in pattern design. They have, on the contrary, in this direction, an appalling taste; witness the mess by Herbin, recently served up for the readers of *The New Age*, which looked like a number of scraps from bad wax-cloth patterns stitched together. The admirers of these things are hypnotised, exactly as a hen may be, held over a chalk-mark.

Mr. Fry was perhaps at heart not quite satisfied with his artists, of whom his eulogy was a little disappointing: in default of existing examples, he took the heroic course of producing them. With a sporting spirit I cannot sufficiently applaud, the authorities of a respectable educational institution, the Borough Polytechnic, committed to him and those about him the painting of their walls. It was really a magnificent thing for a committee to do, and if committees elsewhere will show the same adventurous spirit we shall get on with the necessary experimental stages of a fresh period in mural decoration. I am going to be critical about these paintings, but there is not a doubt that in two of the artists employed Mr. Fry singled out new talents of which a great deal may be expected, Mr. Duncan Grant and Mr. Etchells. I have seen pictures elsewhere by Mr. Grant that give this conviction more certainly than the wall-paintings, and the flower-piece recently at the Carfax Gallery was enough to prove him a fine colourist. Mr. Etchells' panel at Southwark was the most striking in its assertion of a bald, forcible rhythm, and this assertion of abstract rhythm was almost all that the new artists provided. That, however, is the fundamental, and we may look

for a development into something richer. I mean that if a painter takes a Hampstead Heath Bank Holiday as his theme, he is making very little of it if he sets up figures that might be women anywhere reduced to the lowest common terms of humanity and action. Surely the dress, the fantastic hats, the Cockney character have something to supply that need not conflict with a deliberate structure in the design. There were absurdities of treatment besides. The ground and background were painted as if built up of tesserae; why should wall-painting imitate mosaic? Why, again, should Mr. Grant's figures look like diagrams of anatomy when their anatomy is obviously fantastic? And what suggestion of the rhythm of water do we gain from a treatment of its surface that looks like slabs of a marble floor tilted at angles to one another? Mr. Albert Rothenstein's design was more reasonable in its simplifications, less ruthless in its abstractions, and more subtle in colour; but the practice of small drawings told in a comparative failure of mass and general silhouette. Mr. Fry's own contribution had a genial idea, but calls for revision, since his little girl giving a bun to an elephant was neither standing on her legs, doing what she is supposed to do, nor attending to what she is supposed to be doing. But the total effect in a dismal room was gay, and has stirred a great deal of wholesome speculation.

A curious thing about those designs is that probably without any knowledge on the part of their painters they are much more nearly in the vein of Seurat, the 'Neo-Impressionist' leader, than of any of the 'Post-Impressionists.' Seurat, an artist of rather vulgar temperament, was a man of ideas. It was he who brought in the mosaic of dots, and it was he who produced a series of designs of dancing and other figures in severely repeated parallelism. Mr. Fry might revive him for another Grafton Exhibition.

Since then Mr. Fry has opened an exhibition of his own paintings on a less ambitious scale. As I look back on his production before it took this sudden turn, I remember a succession of phases. There was a good deal of *pastiche*, ingenious exercises, now in one form of the older art, now in another. But every now and then there would peep out something of his own, a 'petite sensation' trying to get itself expressed, shivering a little because the borrowed clothes were cast aside, but much more interesting than the borrowings. And in the recent exhibition I find the same contrast. A great deal of it is *pastiche* of a new set of models. These are what I should call toy-box pictures, theoretical reductions of sketches to block forms through which, as through the reading of a picture in chunks of wood or in large wool stitches, the sketch may be vaguely seen. Others, like the flood scenes at Guildford, are a development of something more truly apprehended, and set

down with a greater confidence than of old. The toy-box system may be useful for an artist who wishes to strip his design down to its simplest terms in the process of work: it is certainly not a method by which the artist can say anything individual: pictures painted on this system are as like one another as the work of the 'Ripolin' painters, to use the image that a witty friend has suggested. The best painting in the exhibition was a portrait of Mr. McTaggart, the Cambridge philosopher, who once wrote on 'The Further Determination of the Absolute,' an explanation of what really constitutes the Thing-in-Itself. Here, Mr. Fry must have thought, is a subject for the new art; but if the colour is negative and the background a needless reminiscence of Van Gogh's patterns, the head is drawn with no more of caricature than the character of the sitter reasonably suggested.

Here I might stop, if account were taken only of the merits of the pictures that have been put forward and of the theories that have been spun about them. But it has been noticeable that the attraction of these pictures for many people was not what they positively were, but rather what they negatively excluded. They were welcomed in the degree in which they renounced with violence the world as it is seen. They were accepted as a promise, queer and doubtful, of a painting that should render the world beneath appearances, the world *unseen*. There cropped up again and again in discussion the word 'symbol.' These distortions of reality were thought, in some unexplained way, to give us 'symbols' of a deeper reality than the painter ordinarily represents. Mr. Fry, indeed, started in chase of the will-of-the-wisp of a painting that should use symbols free from particularity like words, as Mallarmé sought for verse that should use words and their associations freely, almost like music. The difficulty is that painted symbols can supply no 'argument' like words: that they represent the nouns of speech, but not the verbs, nor any conjunctions except 'and'; while Mr. Fry and his school are taking away most of the adjectives. It is a muddle-headed condition of mind that sees 'symbols' in the still-lifes we have been dealing with. A colourless sphere or a circle may be used as the symbol of an orange; an orange can hardly be called the symbol of a circle.

But the hankering thus incongruously revealed for symbols in painting, for this paradoxical use of an art whose natural field is the superficial beauty of visible reality in all its infinite variety, this need is after all a need of the religious spirit, calling for help from the imagination to picture what is strictly unimaginable and therefore cannot be painted. The sterner religions, Hebrew and Mohammedan, have forbidden such a use of art, a traducing of the unseen by idols; but the weakness of humanity has demanded some equivalent, in terms of the despised visible

beauty, for the life of the soul and the superhuman beings of its adoration. It was this hankering, so entirely unsatisfied, so actively repelled by the disgusting pictures ordinarily called religious, that was anew excited by the rumour of a return in painting to symbolic art.

When I drew the distinction referred to above between 'Classic' and 'Romantic' drawing, and defined the attitudes behind these, by names from the Greek myth of Olympians and Titans, I set over against these two, as the third dominating attitude of the imagination, the Mystic—I did not develop the consequences of the last for drawing so far as the other two—partly because of the obscurity of the inquiry, partly because illustration of the attitude in modern art is so scanty. But the question at least calls for definite posing even at the end of a short article like this: as there is a Classic and a Romantic drawing, is there also a Mystic drawing? Can we trace the laws that govern the artist who attempts to render the superhuman in some sort of visible terms? Symbolic, evidently, the drawing must be; that is to say the image given will be there not fully to represent anything, but to mediate with the Unseen, as Incarnation with God, to stand for something beyond itself. In what ways will the drawing suggest this?

The modern romantic temper tends to confound with mystic vision two words whose sound favours the confusion, 'mystery' and 'mist.' The first of these was originally the mystic's drama, the rite of initiation, but it has been worn down till it means little more than something misty; and mistiness is the romantic evasion for mystic vision. But this is the reverse of the character we find in the images of really religious times. Definiteness of outline, massive form, are their characteristics, as of forces imperishable and unchanging. And we may put this more generally by saying that as much as possible every element of contingency must be excluded, all those features that made Plato distrust the art of painting because they render the idea a shifting thing. For this reason perspective will be minimised, for this reason changing light and shadow, the mirage of atmosphere, the decomposition of reflected lights; in composition the studied confusion of the picturesque, in expression all transitory emotion will be banished for severe symmetry and solemn calm. The illusion of the passing world will be reduced to its lowest term of abstraction, and for this reason sculpture, in what is obviously not flesh, will be preferred to painting. Detail and accessory will be as rigorously dealt with; such incident and detail as is admitted will be admitted reluctantly only because it is forced upon the artist to enhance significance. And symbolic realities thus admitted will wear some mark of strangeness, as by

the faint tradition of religion people still 'dress for church.' It shows how far this idea has been perverted that the modern does not put on a dress, like a surplice, that would sink his individuality; Mrs. Brown does not wear a veil, but affirms herself not Mrs. Jones by her competitive hat. That is not surprising, since for so many centuries religious art has been lost, has been ebbing with the receding wave that withdrew religion itself to the East from which it came. Just as in Greek art the 'classic' period is too realistic and human to be religious, so in Gothic figures like *Le beau Christ* of Amiens are already outside, and in painting we must go back to 'primitives' behind Titian for examples of what we are in search of. In early Greek and Gothic blocks, in mosaic on non-illusive golden grounds, in Egyptian granite, in oriental bronze, something of the divine and eternal was communicated. And the drawing of such images differs from the choice realism of classic art, the curiosity and personal emphasis of romantic; it sweeps over the minor points of representation that in portrait, in the drama, in genre and still-life are properly sought out and enforced. In the native lands of religion this synthetic drawing has extended itself beyond the religious subject, has checked the portrait-painter when he deals with the individual, and even the landscape painter, tied to symbols when he seeks the freedom of clouds or sea.

That only a religious revival could restore the conditions in which even the other great kinds of painting might grow again to their highest stature is, I think, an inevitable conclusion from history; and monumental art of any kind calls for 'sacrifices' of small imitation. But the 'sacrifices' of the 'Post-Impressionists' seem to me to be sacrifices in the wrong place, and not to be laid on the altar even of an absent god.

D. S. MacColl.

'THE CHURCH AND CELIBACY'

(I)

There is a great deal in Mrs. Huth Jackson's article with which I, personally, find myself in agreement. The hasty and improvident marriages of a large number of the clergy certainly do not tend to increase their 'efficiency' in the work for which they were ordained. The pressure of poverty, the constant anxiety as to how to 'make two ends meet' are not by themselves favourable to the pursuit of high spiritual and intellectual ideals; and their result is too often seen in lessened power and weakened influence. Any one who is concerned (as I am) in helping to administer clerical 'charities' cannot but feel—even when he is most moved by the stories of clerical poverty—that a little more prudence and self-restraint might fairly be expected in those who are ordained to the holy function of the priesthood. And the existence of these charities of one sort and another may, one must own, serve in too many cases as a direct incitement to a foolish marriage. There are, one fears, a certain number of men in England and Wales (and especially, as far as my experience serves, in Wales) who are more or less vividly conscious of the fact that, if things come to the worst, there is a clerical 'charity' in the background which may prove a present help in trouble.

Of course it is not true to say that clergymen are the only people who marry in haste and beg at leisure. There are 'charities' associated with the professions of the law and of medicine which do not disdain help coming from outside these professions; and the only reason why clerical charities are more prominent than others is, I suppose, because the clergy, on the whole, are worse paid than lawyers and doctors. But even when one has conceded the folly of these improvident marriages, there is still another side to the matter which cannot be overlooked. It has to be remembered that our national and imperial greatness is partly, at any rate, the consequence of the large families which existed in the past. The place where Englishmen dwelt was too strait for them; they were compelled to go forth and to found new societies beyond the seas. Had we always been as prudent as we are now, there would be no Empire. And in this work of Empire-building the vicarage has played no inconsiderable part. Sydney Smith spoke of the children of the clergy as brought up on 'Catechism and bread and butter.' It is this combination of a simple life, together with a virile, if imperfect, religious training, which has produced

men singularly fitted for the work that had to be done. It is well known, for instance, that of those commemorated in the *Dictionary of National Biography* the sons of the clergy far exceed those of any other calling or profession.

But Mrs. Jackson will say that she is not concerned with national greatness or imperial expansion. These are temporal and secular things; she is thinking of men and women as immortal spirits, with spiritual needs and desires. They want, she tells us, not clergymen but priests. She does not tell us what is the difference between a 'priest' and a 'clergyman,' but apparently she thinks of the former as wielding a spiritual authority denied to the latter. Accepting the distinction (if this be what Mrs. Jackson means), we may yet contend that it really matters very little whether a priest be married or no. His authority will depend on his own view of his office and his mode of exercising it. Had G. H. Wilkinson no spiritual authority? was he not a 'real shepherd'? Yet he was married. Were Pusey and Keble not real shepherds? Yet they, too, were married. Are not the parochial clergy of the Eastern Church regarded as priests? Yet they are not merely permitted to marry; they are compelled to do so.

Even if we adopt the test of 'confession,' it is not easy to see that the celibacy of the clergy is a necessity. Of course Mrs. Jackson, in saying that the Anglican Church preaches the 'necessity for Confession' and treats Confession as a 'Sacrament,' uses language which appears to show either ignorance or contempt of the authorised practices of the English Church. Has such a 'good churchwoman' already forgotten her Catechism? If not, she must be aware that the name of 'sacrament' is reserved for Baptism and the 'Supper of the Lord.' Has she forgotten also the words of the exhortation in the Communion service? Then let me remind her of them, 'And because it is requisite that no man should come to the Holy Communion, but with a full trust in God's mercy, and with a quiet conscience; therefore, if there be any of you who by this means cannot quiet his own conscience herein, but requireth further comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned Minister of God's Word and open his grief; that by the ministry of God's Holy Word, he may receive the benefit of absolution, etc.' Even in the 'Order for the Visitation of the Sick,' the sick man is only to 'be moved to make a special confession of his sins if he feels his conscience troubled with any weighty matter.'

These quotations make it quite clear that in the English Church confession to a priest, far from being a matter of 'necessity,' is contemplated as being something exceptional—'medicine, and not food.' The English Church, in fact, stands for liberty, which no doubt is a very dangerous thing, but at the same time absolutely

necessary if we are to have strong souls and not merely spiritual babes. Yet I am quite willing to admit that there are a fair number of people—more than there were—who need constant guidance, who like to depend on others, and, consequently, are helped and comforted by regular confession. Whether this be a good or bad sign, we need not now inquire: the fact remains; and these souls have a right to what they require. But, as a fact, some of the most popular 'directors' in the English Church are married priests: and indeed, Mrs. Jackson seems to destroy her own arguments. 'It is nauseous to think of a girl relating her sins to a possible husband.' But if the priest be married he is not a 'possible husband,' except in the case of his wife's death—which a penitent could hardly be suspected of contemplating as a possible contingency. If he is not married, he is a 'possible husband': unless Mrs. Jackson is prepared not only to recommend celibacy but *to enforce it* on the English clergy.

That the laity as a whole prefers a priesthood which has liberty to marry, is, I suppose, beyond doubt; and generally speaking they prefer a priest who is actually married, just as (with due respect to Mrs. Jackson) they prefer a married doctor. That they are right in this, I do not contend; and the insistence of most lay patrons on having a married man for the livings (often very poor ones) in their gift is, I think, an absurdity; but so it is.

Mrs. Jackson, however, finds that the laity are 'indifferent to the Church,' and have a contempt for the 'parson' mainly, it appears, because he is a married man. With regard to the 'indifference' to the Church, I should not mind comparing the interest in the Church felt and shown by the ordinary English layman with that felt and shown by the ordinary layman of France or Spain or Italy: nor do I think that we should suffer in comparison. But the clergy, it seems, are despised in this country, and as a proof of this fact Mrs. Jackson takes the 'faithful sketch of a certain type of fashionable clergyman given by Mr. Albert Chevalier,' which was received with 'shouts of applause.' I have seen this sketch and laughed as loudly as the others, but in doing so I was (naturally) not conscious of expressing contempt for the clergy. As to its being a 'faithful' sketch—I can only say that, even among the 'fashionable clergy' (not a very numerous band) I have never seen anyone resembling this person, but the caricature was not the less amusing on that account, and it would be rash to interpret the laughter of the audience as contempt for the 'cloth.' The stage has its own conventional clerical figures to which it sticks in sheer conservatism—just as in French comic papers the ordinary Englishman is still represented as having 'Dundreary' whiskers and projecting teeth. But this supposed contempt for the English clergy is inspired (thinks Mrs. Jackson) by the feeling of the laity that they 'have not given up enough' (when she adds

that 'because of all he has renounced full recompense is given to the priest . . . the power to remit sins, the power to confer the grace of God' she appears to hold that sacraments administered by a married clergy are invalid; but perhaps one must not press this rhetoric too far). Not 'given up enough!' Does Mrs. Jackson think that the celibate priest has necessarily given up so very much? In many cases, I can assure her, he has a very 'good time of it.' The man who marries on very little may be a fool (he often is), but it means that he has to 'give up' most of the luxuries of life; that he has anxieties and distresses to which his celibate brother is a stranger; that he has to make sacrifices far greater than are required of the unmarried man—and these experiences, often bitter enough, have certain compensations too.

On the whole I am disposed to think that when the English Church permitted her clergy at the *Reformation* to marry openly, she did not, as Mrs. Jackson thinks, commit an 'error.' I say to marry 'openly'; for there never was a time when the English clergy were not, to a large extent, married men; though their wives were called by unpleasant names, such as Queen Elizabeth 'crudely' employed. I will not allude to the grave objections to compulsory clerical celibacy, which Mrs. Jackson brushes away on one side, but which experience has tended to justify. For abandoning the policy formed at the Reformation, Mrs. Jackson must advance stronger arguments than any found in her paper—of these indeed some are hardly to be taken seriously. When she says 'He must obey the solemn command of his Master, "So likewise whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple,"' she must go on to give us some reasons for believing the words to be a command to the clergy only; but if they are, they obviously demand a good deal more than celibacy: the unmarried priest, as a rule, certainly does not forsake 'all that he hath.' But indeed Mrs. Jackson largely abandons her own cause when she admits that the Anglican Church 'makes for righteousness' in a way that the Roman Church does not. When we compare the moral and religious condition of this country with those which have for centuries enjoyed the ministrations of a celibate priesthood, we feel that, as a fact, we do not lose by the comparison; on the contrary we gain. The English clergy, as a body, have plenty of faults and shortcomings, and some of them may be partly due to the fact that the clergy for the most part live as married men not at a distance but side by side with the laity—in the world; but it has yet to be shown that compulsory celibacy would be the better way; and I for one cannot doubt the wisdom of the English Church in giving to the clergy that liberty, of which we may admit they are in some cases too eager to avail themselves, but the denial of which would be a yet greater evil.

H. R. GAMBLE.

'THE CHURCH AND CELIBACY'

(II)

On page 167 of the January number of this Review Mrs. Huth Jackson claims that the celibate priest, 'because of all that he has renounced,' receives from God 'the power to remit sins, the power to confer the grace of God, the actual God Incarnate called into being by his hands.' Quite apart from the remarkable crudity of this last expression, the whole assertion is flatly heretical, for it establishes a direct connexion between the efficacy of a sacrament and the personal character of its ministrant which Aquinas and orthodox Romanism would condemn as unhesitatingly as Anglicanism. However, as other parts of her article seem quite inconsistent with the plain meaning of this sentence, it is possible that she herself would hardly expect us to take the words seriously; and, in any case, it will be simpler to abandon the jungles of sacramental theory for what should be the plainer paths of history. For in most of these questions the experience of history is the real arbiter; in other words, 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' Many of us who have worked among the poor could quote instances of care for sick or fallen humanity which would directly reverse the moral drawn by Mrs. Jackson. When, again, she asks, 'Do people prefer a married doctor?' I should reply, 'Doctors have complained to me twenty times that people *do*.' But there is little profit in bandying affirmations from individual experience; and it is fortunate that Mrs. Jackson once or twice appeals to history, upon which ground it is easier to meet her.

'No one,' she writes, 'who has studied the history of the Reformation in England can have failed to realise how the marriage of the clergy slowly crept in, fostered by men who wished to kill the spiritual life of the Church and to make of it an instrument for the use of the State.' There is here just one grain of truth which is worth separating from the bushel of partisan chaff. It is true that clerical marriage was unpopular in the early sixteenth century, but only as many other conditions of the Apostolic Church were then unpopular. The same Devonshire rebels who, under Edward the Sixth, shouted for a return to clerical celibacy shouted also for a return to the inveterate medieval abuse of receiving Holy Communion only once a year!

Moreover, all but a few exceptional men in those days imagined this celibacy to be an apostolic institution, just as they imagined the forged Donation of Constantine and the False Decretals to be genuine expressions of early law. And, lastly, papal policy had for centuries lent colour to the infamous doctrine (sometimes roundly asserted by orthodox theologians) that a priest sinned less in keeping a concubine than in marrying a wife. Even the great Sir Thomas More permits himself expressions which seem to imply this[1]; and meaner folk expressed the same idea in their meaner fashion. A Visitation Injunction of 1552 shows that midwives sometimes refused to attend upon the wives of the clergy at childbirth[2]; and one of Cranmer's judges cast in his teeth that 'his children were bondmen to the see of Canterbury.'[3] There was much excuse for this in those comparatively bookless days; but it is difficult to excuse Mrs. Jackson, who apparently does not realise that even the Popes never definitely forbade priestly marriages until the end of the fourth century. St. Paul not only claimed, at least in theory, the right of leading about a wife, but also specifies among the qualifications for bishop, priest or deacon that these should be 'the husband of one wife.' Nearly three hundred years later the zealous Athanasius speaks quite naturally of married bishops; while we know that his contemporary, St. Gregory of Nazianzum, was the son of a married priest. The canons of the Great Council of Nicaea, though they forbade the clergy to house women who were not their wives (*mulieres subintroductas*), had nothing to say against marriage; we have it on good authority that the question was indeed mooted, but that the enforcement of celibacy was negatived at the instance of St. Paphnutius, himself a monk. Only in A.D. 385, when ancient Christianity had already run as long a course as modern Protestantism has at the present day—only then did Pope Siricius at last decree the celibacy of bishops, priests, and deacons. His decree could not touch the Eastern Church, where to the present day the parish clergy are usually married in early life to daughters of clergymen, only bishops and monks being bound to the celibate life. In the Western Church, meanwhile, there was a constant struggle to enforce the decrees of Siricius and his successors. More than six centuries after 385, public marriages of priests were still common in all countries. The Archbishopric of Rouen was held from 942 to 1054 by three successive prelates, of whom two were openly married and the third was notoriously no celibate. Lanfranc, after the Conquest, found so many married priests in

[1] *Supp. of Poor Souls*, ff. xviii. sq.

[2] W. H. Frere, *Vis. & Injunctions*, ii. 292.

[3] A fairly obvious reference to the outrageous decree of St. Leo IX. (1050) enjoining that the guilty partners of priests should be reduced to slavery for the profit of the Church. (Lea, ii. 222.)

England that he did not dare to separate them from their wives. Anselm, in 1102, was bolder; but even so distinguished a churchman as Henry of Huntington doubted at the time whether this was not 'a perilous thing; lest the clergy, in striving after a purity too great for human strength, should fall into horrible impurity, to the utter dishonour of the Christian name.' St. Bonaventura, a century and a half after him, shows that those misgivings were abundantly justified. In his tracts in defence of the friars against the parish clergy he describes the morals of these latter, and their hideous abuse of the confessional, in terms which no modern Protestant could make his own without incurring the suspicion of bigotry. The Papal Penitentiary, Alvarez Pelayo, writing about fifty years later, exclaims: 'Would that they [the clergy] had never vowed continence!—especially in Spain and Southern Italy, in which provinces the sons of the laity are scarcely more numerous than those of the clergy.'[4] In the next century the great Oxford Chancellor Gascoigne complained how the contemporary Bishop of St. Davids made a regular income by licensing sacerdotal concubines.[5] And Sir Thomas More, while sadly making a similar admission as to Wales, does not venture to join issues plainly with Tyndale, who had asserted that Ireland was in much the same state.[6] But in the Middle Ages, as I have said, celibacy passed commonly for an apostolical institution; and great saints like Bonaventura, who knew better, still thought of it mainly as a rule enforced by Pope after Pope, and seriously questioned only by men whose temerity drove them into theological outlawry. They caught, therefore, at any shadow of an argument in its favour; and one of St. Bonaventura's most emphatic pleas will perhaps surprise Mrs. Jackson as much as the more painful details to which I have already referred. He pleads:

> If our present Bishops and Archbishops had children, they would steal and plunder all the Church's goods, so that little or nothing would remain for the poor. For, considering that even now they heap together [money] and enrich their kinsfolk even to degrees of almost incalculable remoteness, what would they do if they had legitimate children? Let each man consider how great the peril would be![7]

Such were the nightmares which hypnotised even the greatest minds, and kept them under the worse nightmare of persistent clerical corruption! Here, as in so many other directions, it was the rising tide of social liberty which found the true outlet from this vicious circle. As early as the fourteenth century the city

[4] *De Planctu Ecclesiæ*, ed. 1517, f. 131*a*; cf. f. 102*b*.

[5] *Lib. Verit.* ed. Rogers, p. 36. Gascoigne tells us that the Bishop himself computed this income at about 4,000*l*. per annum of modern money.

[6] *Eng. Works*, ed. 1557, p. 231; cf. p. 619.

[7] *In IV. Sentt.* dist. 37, art. 1, q. 3. These words were quoted as conclusive so lately as 1505, by the distinguished Parisian theologian Geoffroi Boussard.

customs of Venice permitted outraged husbands or fathers to take personal vengeance on priestly offenders; and in London, from about 1400 onwards, the citizens similarly took into their own hands the correction of such black sheep.[8] The country folk of Spain, France, and Switzerland defended themselves by still more degrading precautions.[9] These things impressed even the most orthodox churchmen; in 1415 and 1432, at the great reforming Councils of Constance and Bâle, serious proposals of clerical marriage were put forward, but overruled. Pius the Second (at least in his earlier years) was in favour of it; so was Erasmus. During the Reformation, at the Council of Trent, the permission of marriage was strongly advocated not only by the Emperor Ferdinand but by the equally orthodox Roman Catholic sovereigns of France, Bavaria, and Poland. None of these princes liked the principle of clerical marriage any better than our Elizabeth did; but all advocated it as the only possible remedy for an impossible state of things. In the face of these facts, which all enlightened Roman Catholic historians are compelled to admit, what becomes of Mrs. Jackson's contention that clerical marriage was deliberately introduced into England in order to 'kill the spiritual life of the Church, and make of it an instrument for the use of the State'?

Moreover, it happens that a fervent Roman Catholic has within the last few months cut the ground away from her feet in language even stronger than I should have dared to use, though the facts of which he speaks are notorious. With his arguments in general I have here no concern; some of them seem quite worthy of Mrs. Jackson. But he has occasion to emphasise the fact that the French Church, after purging herself of Protestantism with its handful of married clergy, drifted into a bondage to the State which almost killed true religion and morality.[10] He writes:

> The very fact that the Church had thus become in France an unshakable national institution chilled the vital source of Catholicism. . . . The Bishops found nothing remarkable in seeing a large proportion of their body to be loose livers, or in some of them openly presenting their friends to their mistresses as might be done by any great lay noble round them. . . . Unquestioned also by the Bishops was the poverty, the neglect, and the uninstruction of the parish clergy; nay—and this is by far the principal feature—the abandonment of religion by all but a very few of the French millions no more affected the ecclesiastical officials of the time than does the starvation of our poor affect, let us say, one of our professional politicians. It was a thing simply taken for granted.

This (and much more that Mr. Belloc says) is simply a very strong statement of notorious facts. With his interpretation of those facts many of us may disagree; but no ingenuity can fit them

[8] Sacchetti, *Nov.* 111 *ad fin.*; Riley, *Memorials of London Life*, p. 566, n. 3.
[9] Lea, i. 331, 440; ii. 1, 2.
[10] H. Belloc, *The French Revolution*, pp. 225 ff.

into Mrs. Jackson's theory; nor would the worst enemy of Anglicanism dare to paint such a picture of English Church life since the Reformation.

For, though popular prejudice often compelled the Reformed country priest in England to mate himself with a domestic servant or a peasant's daughter; though, as Fuller tells us, belated advocates of celibacy industriously spread the report that the offspring of priests 'were generally unfortunate, like the sons of Eli . . . dissolute in their lives and doleful in their deaths'; yet what is the plain verdict of history? Within a few generations there was no clergy in Europe more learned, more diligent, or more respected; while the Romanist clergy, in spite of desperate efforts for reform at Trent, lived in many places in that state of immorality and illiteracy which is recorded in the writings of St. Carlo Borromeo and Bishop Scipione da Ricci. For some official documents of the modern Roman Church on this subject the reader may consult H. C. Lea's *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy*, ii. 342 ff.

But I have already touched upon a pleasanter aspect of this question—the sons of the clergy. Mr. Havelock Ellis, certainly no champion of Anglicanism or clericalism in any form, has made a scientific *Study of British Genius* from the vast field offered by the *Dictionary of National Biography*. On page 80 he writes:

> The proportion of distinguished men and women contributed from among the families of the clergy can only be described as enormous. . . . We find that the eminent children of the clergy considerably outnumber those of lawyers, doctors, and army officers put together.

We may cheerfully present Mrs. Jackson with the supplementary fact that the clergy produce also an undue proportion of idiots, though nothing approaching the same disproportion. These considerations were brought out, perhaps even more clearly, by Bishop Welldon in this Review (February 1906), and have long been public property.

But perhaps Mrs. Jackson herself scarcely expects to be taken seriously on these grounds of sacramental philosophy or history or statistics. With her the thing is mainly a question of taste and temperament; her gorge rises at conditions which suited the primitive Christians well enough: 'it is nauseous to think of a girl relating her sins to a possible husband.' W. S. Landor (I quote here only from memory) has an imaginary conversation between the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth. At a certain stage of the argument Mary cuts the knot with an emphatic, 'I have no patience with them!' Elizabeth makes the only answer possible on such occasions: 'I see you have not, Sister.'

G. G. Coulton.

SOME BRITISH EAST AFRICAN PROBLEMS

The building of a Uganda railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria Nyanza, authorised and begun in 1896 and completed seven years later, in 1903, aroused little public comment at home at the time, beyond occasional mild political criticism when the Foreign Office votes [1] were being perfunctorily discussed in the House of Commons; this criticism being usually directed against the alleged unnecessary and unwise expenditure that this railway involved. But subsequent history has justified Lord Salisbury's foresight in this matter, for his was the original responsibility. After the scheme had been once wrecked in Parliament, the railway was subsequently built entirely at Government cost, the Imperial British East Africa Company having been bought out and its existence terminated.

The railway is 580 miles long. The cost was 5,300,000*l.*, and it is already paying its way. Its original main objects were twofold, first to deal a death blow to East African slave traffic and improve the condition of the natives; secondly, to secure the British position in Uganda. The basis of this good work, as all who have read East African history know, was laid by the British East Africa Company, and its guiding spirit, Sir William Mackinnon, to whose judgment, foresight, and patriotism it has been well said British East Africa practically owes its foundation. A later administrator, Sir Charles Eliot, has even expressed the opinion that this work of Sir William Mackinnon, his colleagues, and their immediate successors is the greatest philanthropic achievement of the nineteenth century.

But the Uganda railway has achieved something more than its original twofold object, something that probably was not foreseen by its original promoters—namely, the opening up of the Nairobi highland plateau for white settlement. About 50,000 square miles of the Protectorate—or, roughly speaking, one-fifth of its total area, approximately its central portion—comprise a lofty tableland, lying on the Equator, with an altitude varying from 4000 to 8000 feet above the sea. It is this altitude which, in defiance of its latitude, makes this plateau a healthy white man's country,

[1] In April 1905 the administration of the British East African Protectorate was transferred from the Foreign to the Colonial Office.

where British settlers of a good class have been steadily coming in since 1903, there to make their homes and invest their capital in land, in agriculture, and in stock, and, let us hope, there to rear a healthy white race and permanently establish British dominion and civilisation.

British East Africa, although a Protectorate, has already been colloquially termed our newest Colony. The fact that it is a white settlers' country, one of the latest occupied portions of Africa suitable in climate and fertility for such settlement, and, therefore, with all the potentialities of a future self-governing Colony, makes it all the more valuable as a British possession, and accentuates the importance of its administration and development. It is here clearly differentiated, for example, from our West African Protectorates and possessions, which for reasons of climate and altitude must always remain mainly native-populated, white-planters' countries. There are not so many unoccupied areas of the earth's surface now remaining that we at home, with our ever-increasing needs and population, can afford to neglect or ignore another new Colony in the making, another healthy cradle for our growing Imperial race.

The Uganda railway, then, settled some primitive problems. But it appears that others of importance and complexity have arisen or are arising in their place, with which it is the object of this article shortly to deal. My reason and excuse is that I have recently returned from a somewhat lengthy and prolonged African tour, including a visit to and big-game hunt in British East Africa. This has given me opportunity, not only of meeting a goodly sample of our own countrymen now settled in the Nairobi highlands, but also of learning something of its native population, and of comparing British East Africa, its features and its peoples, with those of Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa.

The first and simplest of the questions or problems above alluded to is connected with the big game of the Protectorate. Let me say at once in passing that never have I seen, in any part of the world that I have visited, such a wealth of wild fauna as are now to be found in British East Africa. Even western North America thirty years ago, with its millions of bison and thousands of wapiti, deer, and antelope, scarcely approached our newest Colony as it now is in this respect. I am inclined to doubt if even South Africa in its pioneer days equalled it. It is sufficient to mention that zebra, hartebeeste, gazelle of sorts, with various kinds of antelope, large and small, here exist and thrive, in some cases, I was going to say, in millions, but certainly in their thousands and hundreds of thousands, while the large carnivora, with elephant, buffalo, rhino, and hippo, are numerous and widespread.

This prodigal wealth of wild animal life now existing on the upland plains and in the wooded grassy hills and valleys of British East Africa, quite apart from its naturalist and sporting side, with which it is not the object of this article to deal, has a direct bearing on the social life, the revenues, and the general prosperity of the Colony. Hunting big game is necessarily the occupation or relaxation of the few. Want of time, fitness, inclination, or of means will doubtless always limit the number of its devotees. But, in the first place, the Colony draws a substantial revenue from licences to kill big game, estimated at not less than 10,000*l.* per annum. In addition to this by no means despicable sum, the amount of money brought into and spent in the Colony in the necessary attendant 'safari' expenses, such as hire of white hunters, native gun-bearers and porters, tents, equipment, etc., purchase of stores, to say nothing of transport fares, and perhaps hire or purchase of rifles, guns, and ammunition, probably amounts to at least as much more. It is not an extravagant estimate to put the total colonial receipts from these combined sources at from 20,000*l.* to 30,000*l.* yearly, in which estimate no account has been taken of the value of the ivory, hides, and meat obtained. At least two large firms in Nairobi do a large business in, and presumably derive substantial revenues from, the preparation and supply of safari outfits.

From the commercial, as well as the naturalist and sporting point of view, therefore, the British East African authorities may be congratulated on their game regulations, and on the natural advantages, combined with foresight, that have placed them in possession of a vast game preserve second to that of no country in the world—a game preserve, moreover, that is situated in a remarkably healthy equatorial climate, and is singularly accessible, by steamship and rail, from civilised Europe. The highlands of British East Africa are not only, from the sporting view, a big-game preserve and playground for the 'idle rich' in search of sport or some healthy new sensation. In respect of their wild fauna alone they form a valuable commercial asset to the Colony.

But the big game have a distinct relation, not altogether so harmonious, to the settler, as well as in lesser extent to the native. In order to understand this point, it is necessary to have some general idea of the geography and settlement of the Colony.

The railway from Mombasa to Nairobi runs through 327 miles of the Colony, and ascends 6000 feet; then on from Nairobi for another 200 miles to Lake Victoria Nyanza. The first 100 miles or so from the coast is not a white man's, but a planter's country. Cocoanut (near the sea), rubber, cotton possibly, and other tropical produce grow here, but the climate is unhealthy, both for white men and for stock. Then, for 100 miles or more before reaching

Nairobi the higher plains and hills are reached, where white men can safely settle, and their stock and certain crops do well. When Nairobi is reached, a fine agricultural as well as pastoral country is found, and on beyond for at least another 100 miles, past the Rift Valley, always famous as a native pastoral country, to the edge of the Uganda basin. West of Nairobi the elevation rises to 7000 and 8000 feet, dropping to below 4000 feet in the Uganda basin. From above 4000 feet to 8000 feet is the white man's tableland, and the anticipated cradle of a healthy British race. Uganda basin again, a cotton-growing district of great promise, is the planter's but not the settler's country.

Then there is the question of the game preserves, where no big game, not even lions, are allowed to be shot, and within whose hallowed precincts no armed sportsman can encroach. There are two large game reserves in British East Africa. First, an area roughly bounded on the north by the railway from about 100 miles from Mombasa to within a mile or two of Nairobi. This reserve runs south nearly, in some places quite, to the German border. Another large reserve is in the north-west of the Colony, running down to Uganda. In addition to these absolutely protected reserves, there are, as I have said, strict game regulations, limiting the number and kinds of game that may be shot anywhere, and enforcing licence fees. A *50l.* licence is at once required from any visitor for the right to kill anything beyond one or two of the commoner kinds of game. Settlers pay a much lower fee. Lions and leopards may be shot without a licence outside game reserves. Some species of game are absolutely protected everywhere, such as the cows of elephant, buffalo, roan, and eland. Bull eland and one or two other varieties are absolutely protected in certain districts. Giraffe and bull elephant require an extra-expensive licence.

We now come to the relation of the big game and the settler. As the railway emerges from the bush country and rises, over 4000 feet, towards the Nairobi highlands, there are settlers along it, in the hills north of the line, and not far from the game reserve which, as I have said, runs south of the railway line. Game exist in the hills near the settlers and overflow from the reserve, hartebeeste (kongoni), zebra, gazelle, etc., almost in thousands. Lions follow them. Then at least two different kinds of calamity may happen to the settler. Either the lions stampede zebra and hartebeeste at night, who break down and destroy the settler's fencing, if he has any, in their mad rush to escape their natural foe; or the lions, having come after the game, take to raiding the settlers' oxen and ostriches at night. Lions are particularly fond of beef (of their own killing), and also of ostrich-meat. A recent case was quoted to me in which a settler lost sixty out of seventy or eighty ostriches

in one night, taken by lions. These birds are worth over 10*l.* apiece, and the seriousness of such a loss is self-evident. There are also instances in other parts of the Colony of how settlers have suffered from game depredation. Hippo, for example, are strictly preserved in Nakuru Lake, west of Nairobi. A single hippo, with his huge bulk and mowing-machine mouth can and has eaten or destroyed a fair-sized mealie-patch near this lake in one night. North-west of Nakuru I heard of similar depredations by wild ostriches. Many other instances could doubtless be ascertained, and quoted, of a similar nature.

I have said enough to indicate some of the difficulties of the situation in reference to settlers and game. So far as I was able to ascertain, no one is prepared to go quite so far as to say that the time is not far distant when either game or settlers must go. The settlers must fully appreciate the financial and commercial advantages to the Colony derived from its game, though the sporting side does not appeal to them. Living in a country where game is so plentiful, they are altogether *blasé* on the subject of sport, and to most of them it is even an effort and a bore to go out occasionally and kill for meat. But some steps appear to be necessary for the further protection of the property of settlers against game depredation.

In reference to the settlers in the Mua hills north of the railway line and the southern game reserve, to whom reference has already been made, an interesting and practical suggestion has been tentatively put forward by the Game Warden at Nairobi, with whom I had a conversation on the subject. The suggestion was this: that a game-proof fence should be erected north of and alongside the railway line for about sixty or seventy miles, beginning some few miles east from Nairobi. The Game Warden was confident that such a fence, absolutely game-proof (I fully accept his statement on this point, though a game-proof fence is not easy to design and construct), could be erected for the sum of 7500*l.* The effect of this fence would be to prevent game from overflowing from the game reserve over the railway line towards settlers' land on the north. This barrier being erected, the game immediately north of the line could be either exterminated or so reduced in numbers as to become harmless to settlers. To attempt to exterminate or reduce without erecting the barrier in question would obviously be too large and drastic a business, so much so, in fact, as to be in all probability futile. For it would mean the attempted extermination or wholesale reduction of all the game in the southern reserve. Without the fence the game would continue to overflow north. With the fence, plus free-killing of game north of it, the settlers of that district would be more or less adequately protected against game depredation, and the value of

their settled lands would be greatly enhanced, while the general supply of game would remain practically uninjured, so far as the game reserve and its neighbourhood east and west were concerned.

It is not pretended that the suggestion of this particular fence is comprehensive or that it would settle all the difficulties of the Colony on this subject of game *v.* settlers. But it deals, at all events, with the particular district in a white man's country whence special complaints have come, and where special game depredation has occurred.

The point as to where the 7500*l.*, estimated first cost of the fence, is to come from naturally arises. I have it on high colonial authority that, if half of this sum, say 3500*l.*, were privately found, the colonial authorities would guarantee the completion and upkeep of the fence from colonial resources, such as game-licence revenue, for example. This always subject to the sanction of Downing Street, which, I presume, has yet to be obtained.

I believe in the proposal. It has emanated from a capable and experienced source—namely, the Game Warden of Nairobi, who thoroughly understands the subject. I further hazard the assertion that the colonial authorities would fulfil their part of the undertaking to the satisfaction of all concerned, if allowed a free hand in the matter within the limits and subject to the condition mentioned. I offer no opinion as to the probability of the official mind of Downing Street sanctioning the proposal.

As regards the 3500*l.* which it was suggested should be found from private outside sources. Here is a case where the help of the Fauna Society (of which I am a member) might very appropriately be invoked. Assuming that the big-game plains and jungles of British East Africa are a playground for the 'idle sporting rich,' to say nothing of their interest for the traveller and the naturalist; and that the Fauna Society, who exist simply for the purpose of judicious game preservation within the Empire, are desirous both of preserving British East African game, and also, incidentally, of squaring the settler, and so making things pleasant all round, what more fitting than that they should head and start the 3500*l.* subscription? As a humble member of that Society, I am all in favour of their doing this, and am prepared with my modest quota, subject to the conditions mentioned above. There are numerous millionaires, British, American, and others, who have gone big-game hunting to Nairobi, regardless of cost, and may want to do so again. It seems to me that they might most equitably and appropriately be appealed to for subscriptions to a game-fence which will help to preserve game for them on the one hand, and conciliate the settler, who otherwise suffers for their pleasure (it might be put this way), on the other. In other words, the proposed private subscription need not necessarily be limited to members

of the Fauna Society, though fittingly it might be started under their auspices. Its object should appeal to all who are either big-game hunters or interested in the wonderful wild animal life of Africa. Also, its amount need not *necessarily* be limited to 3500*l*. The larger the private subscription, the more likely is the proposal to take practical shape.

Dealing now more generally with the question of big game *v.* settlers, I am inclined to think that there is an unnecessary amount of the ordinary big game of East Africa, such as zebra and kongoni, in our newest Colony. From a sporting point of view, their protection is in fact overdone. Gazelle of sorts, and even wildebeeste to a lesser extent, are also almost ridiculously numerous. As I have remarked elsewhere, the number of these more ordinary big game takes away from the pleasure and sporting merits of their pursuit. The evidence of this is that all residents whom I met were in fact satiated and *blasé* on the subject of big-game hunting, and seldom indulged in it except to procure meat occasionally. These remarks, however, do not apply to the hunting of elephant, buffalo, or lion. The hunting of the former animal in particular will never lose its attraction, if only on account of the value of its ivory. But it is the common game that, lion-driven, break fences. They also help to feed and maintain the lion. Occasionally they may do some crop-stealing on their own account.

Again, so far as my own observation and information goes, the common game are so numerous that their natural increase must exceed the numbers annually shot by sportsmen and settlers combined. This is only an assertion, incapable of proof except by results and observations over a series of years. But, in my own mind, and from what I myself saw, I feel confident that this is the case; and, if this is so, the numbers of common game are steadily increasing, not diminishing, and the problem of game *v.* settlers is also proportionately intensified as time goes on. In fact, the day must sooner or later arrive, if it has not already dawned, when the question of how far and by what methods the common game, particularly zebra and kongoni, should in the interests of the settler be reduced will become an urgent one.

The practical difficulty has always been to avoid extremes in these matters. I am old enough to remember the Far West of North America when game, particularly buffalo, were abundant, and where some of my happiest hunting-days were spent. Then came the advent of the hide-hunter, with rifles of precision, and in a few years the buffalo were exterminated, and the wapiti, deer, and antelope very seriously reduced. I doubt if Uncle Sam has ever forgiven himself for permitting the total extermination of the buffalo. So if zebra and kongoni are pronounced to be vermin, and their material reduction decided on, what security is there for

moderation in the process, or that their doom is not decreed? Once start a ball of this kind rolling in a large new country of mixed nationality, and it may be difficult to stop. There is only one practical method of materially reducing the game, and that is to permit the free export of hides. It would then become a paying commercial business to kill them, and the process would be widespread and rapid. Possibly rarer and more valuable game would be involved in the destruction.

Again, the indirect effect and results of any such action lightly permitted and without proper safeguards, or even with them, are a little difficult to forecast. At present British East Africa is known to be a good game-country, adequately protected. If professional hide-hunters appear on the scene, might they not frighten away the licence-paying genuine big-game hunters who are now a source of substantial revenue to the Colony? Under such circumstances it might be difficult to convince these sportsmen that their fears were exaggerated.

I have, perhaps, said enough to indicate some of the difficulties of the position; also that these difficulties are real and may become pressing in the near future, and that they have a direct bearing on the material progress and prosperity of our newest Colony. That the problem of game *v.* settler is soluble, and will be more or less satisfactorily solved by the authorities of the Colony as time goes on, I have no manner of doubt. But, in my humble judgment, the question should be left to the men on the spot without interference or dictation from the authorities at home.

This leads me to a wider question and a larger view, namely, the relations of white men and black in British East Africa; in other words, to a brief consideration of the native problem, of the political and social relations of the invading, ruling white race, and the indigenous, conquered, subservient black.

Here I have a prefatory remark to make. I venture to make one claim for all men who have visited our Colonies and seen things as they really are, and have had intercourse with their own countrymen on the spot who live and move and have their being, and have invested their substance, in the new country of their adoption. That one thing is that we who have seen with our own eyes these great new countries in a new continent thousands of miles from the older civilisation realise, as no stay-at-home citizen can possibly realise, the enormous, the almost insuperable difficulty of getting the said stay-at-home citizen to see things colonial as they really are, as we who have been there see them; above all, to see them as their own countrymen who have made their home there, and are the essence and the backbone of Greater Britain beyond the seas, see them. The simple comprehensive lesson is that stay-at-home officials and public alike require to trust their

own countrymen abroad more than they sometimes have appeared to do in the past, and that the standards and conditions of our centuries-old, crowded, purely-white-populated home civilisation require revising and recasting when applied to a new Colony in the making, and with a mixed race and colour population.

The native problem looms large, then, in British East Africa. The difficulties it presents have been illustrated by recent occurrences in the Colony, which already have been the subject of questions in the House of Commons, and of which more, no doubt, will be heard in the near future. I propose to touch upon one or two of these occurrences in the course of this article.

The initial difficulty, as I have already indicated, is for the authorities at home and the stay-at-home public, or those of them who take interest in colonial affairs, to appreciate or understand the conditions of life in a new equatorial Colony, whose area, geography, climate and mixed-race population absolutely differentiate it from our own home civilisation. This difficulty leads to misunderstanding, to unwise interference from home, and possibly to occasional strained relations between our own flesh and blood abroad and the home authorities.

As an instance of such possible misunderstanding, take the question of game reserves already referred to. It is quite possible, in these democratic days, for some quite worthy but entirely uninformed M.P. to dwell on the iniquity of depopulating or shutting off from settlement large areas of fertile colonial land, in order therein to preserve big game for the pleasure of the 'idle rich.' Nothing could be more misleading than such a presentment of the case. The British East African game reserves, for example, are also, or rather include, the native reserves. Its southern game reserve is not required for settlement, even if white settlement therein did not interfere, as it now would do, with the native reserve. Parts of this game reserve, on the eastern side, touch on unhealthy fly-country, where game may live, but no settlement is possible. Other parts of the reserve are not too well watered. But game do not require water like domestic cattle. Some game go for days without it.

As a matter of fact the present game reserves are putting the land to its best possible use. There is plenty of good settlement land outside their boundaries and to spare. Also it may be said, as a minor point, that the overflowing game have their uses in keeping down the grass, which otherwise would grow even longer and more rank than it now does in this extraordinarily fertile equatorial country.

The northern game reserve of British East Africa is, I believe, a better class of country for settlement than the southern game reserve. At present, however, it is far away out of present settle-

ment reach, and not required. If and when required for settlement, it will no doubt be made available.

Then, again, some may ask, how can there be a game reserve and a native reserve in the same area? Surely one or the other, or both, must suffer. The answer is a simple and intelligible one when, and only when, local conditions are known. The native reserve within the game reserve is a Masai reserve. The Masai are a nomadic, pastoral, stock-owning race, who have never killed game and do not care to, except the lions and other carnivora that raid their stock. There is pasture and to spare within the reserve both for cattle and game, and so the two reserves are perfectly compatible within the same area. The Masai do not eat venison. They live on milk and blood drawn from their live cattle, and on mutton, their own or another's.

I think it will be fairly obvious, from what is written above, that on the game-reserve question, as on all other British East African matters, full local knowledge is required before judgment can be pronounced.

In considering the native problem, and doubtless it *is* a problem, in British East Africa, an elementary knowledge of the arithmetic and history of the subject is necessary. In the first place the white and black races are almost ludicrously disproportionate in numbers. Roughly, it is a case of some 3000 whites, who occupy, rule, and administer this fair territory, from the Indian Ocean to Lake Victoria Nyanza, to some 6,000,000 or so of a subservient black race. This is a proportion of about 2000 to 1.[2] How and why do this small white minority rule so large a territory and so numerous a native race?—it is pertinent to ask. Let us always bear first principles in mind. Our good stay-at-home folk occasionally appear to lose sight of them. Our white brothers in British East Africa rule, of course, by means and by right of the more capacious brain, the higher and better-ordered intelligence, the lofty morality and the stronger hand. By the same right the Anglo-Saxon race have occupied and developed the North American Continent, New Zealand, Australia, etc., and there ousted the indigenous natives who had neither the wit nor the capacity to develop these countries as we must presume the Creator intended them to be developed. The same process is now going on in British East Africa.

And what kind of people are the 6,000,000 natives who allow themselves to be ruled by a white minority whom they outnumber by 2000 to 1? Roughly speaking, there are about 30,000 pastoral Masai, 2,000,000 more or less agricultural Kikuyu, possibly 3,000,000 of Kavirondo (it is difficult, accurately, to estimate their

[2] The white population reside mainly on the Nairobi plateau. The native population are spread over the Protectorate, including the Uganda basin.

numbers, but the hut-tax they pay yields 80,000*l*. per annum), with a few other smaller tribes of sorts. Before the white man arrived the Masai, more aggressive and warlike than the rest, raided and kept the other neighbouring natives in subjection, stole their cattle when they had any cattle left to steal, and occupied the best and most healthy portions of the country.

Now our countrymen are there, with our moral laws, the Ten Commandments, mission stations, Courts of Justice, a Governor and Council, provincial and district commissioners, and all the rest of it. But the native, I regret to think, remains the half-naked untutored savage he has always been from time immemorial. He has no knowledge of the Ten Commandments. The only crime he is capable of recognising is the crime of being found out. The only power he really respects is the power of the rifle and the machine-gun. He could and would wipe out the whole white population to-morrow, and revert to his original savagery and tribal fighting, if he had the wit to organise and possessed capable leaders. Fortunately for us, and for the evolution and development of the world, he does not possess, and apparently is incapable of possessing, either of these essentials.

The British East African native, and the Masai in particular, is the more difficult to deal with because he has not openly fought us as did, for example, the Zulu and the Matabele in South Africa. There have been punitive expeditions, no doubt, but nothing like a general war. The Masai are clever bush-lawyers, cunning, controversial, and wholly without any moral sense. Their women and boys do all the work, the latter chiefly as cattle and sheep herds. The following is a missionary description of the Kikuyu native, taken from the British East African *Leader* of the 29th of April 1911. It applies with equal truth to the Masai. After describing how the small boys herd stock up to the age of fifteen and then enter the warrior class, it goes on :

> The young warriors' sole occupation nowadays is to bedeck themselves with paint and feathers, and to roam about the country brandishing their spears, and otherwise advertising their self-importance. Immoral dances are indulged in at night, and if ever it is true that Satan finds mischief for idle hand to do, it is so in the case of these young warriors.
>
> Later on [the extract proceeds] the warrior buys a wife and passes thereby into the third class, that of married men . . . Thenceforth he settles down to an empty, useless life, of which beer-drinking and gossiping among his neighbours form the principal elements. It is his wife who has to bear the burden of life, and she is kept hard at work from morning till night.

There is more to the same effect.

These, then, are the kind of people whose country we are occupying and administering, and between whose millions and the small white community of our own flesh and blood—who are

the sole possible means, if it can be done, of developing and civilising the Protectorate—the true and even balance has to be held by our Government at home, when and if it feels called upon to interfere.

The circumstances, conditions, and geography of the white settlers' farms and holdings are an essential feature of the problem. To be accurate, British East Africa is a Protectorate and not a Colony, though the latter term is frequently and colloquially applied to it. It is a little difficult for the ordinary layman clearly to understand this distinction and all that it legally implies. Theoretically, I presume, being a Protectorate, the land belongs to the native population under our administration. There is also a minor complication arising from the fact that the coast-strip for ten miles inland is held by us under lease from the Sultan of Zanzibar, its legal owner. As, however, we are mainly concerned with the high plateau inland, this point need not here be considered. As regards land ownership, the fact remains, whatever the term 'Protectorate' legally implies, that white settlers have acquired and are still acquiring from our British East African authorities farms and ranches both in freehold and leasehold, and are cultivating and developing the same, believing their titles to be good and secure. It is, of course, only by this process that the country can be gradually opened up and developed from savagery to civilisation.

I am inclined to look upon the term 'Protectorate' as a mysterious diplomatic expression, used in polite conformity with treaty language, and whose meaning in all its bearings the 'man in the street' cannot be expected fully to understand. We must assume, however, that settlers' land-titles are good, and that at the proper stage of its evolution the 'Protectorate' will blossom forth into a full-grown Imperial Colony.

With regard, then, to settlers' land. In the first place, settlers, so far as I have been able to ascertain, are dotted all over the British East African highlands, like irregular squares on a chess-board. Some pioneers received large tracts on the easiest terms. As time goes on farms are developed, and change hands at higher prices. Other substantial tracts are rented for stock purposes. As the country is gradually opened up and its capacities become better known, additional tracts of unoccupied land are offered by the colonial authorities for white settlement, and so the process of development and evolution goes steadily forward.

In the course of this process white settlers have been granted land on the borders of native reserves. It is only natural and obvious that this should happen. And hereby hangs the tale of the recent attempted Masai movement from north to south, and the trouble that has arisen in consequence. I submit the following as

a fairly correct and unbiased outline of the case. As previously pointed out, the Masai are a nomadic pastoral people, whose sole wealth consists of their flocks and herds. Their diet, as I have said, is milk, meat, and blood, the last being obtained from bleeding their live cattle. They drink the blood raw. They do not cultivate the soil nor indulge in manual labour. Some of their customs are not refined. If one may speak with brutal frankness, the Masai may fairly be described at present as more or less useless, and even mischievous cumberers of the earth.

The advent of European settlement made it impossible for the Masai to remain in occupation of the land along the Uganda railway; and the Government accordingly took steps to put them into reserves in order to avoid the friction that would certainly have taken place between them and white settlers had this not been done. The innate stock-raiding propensities of the Masai were too strong and deeply ingrained by years of practice on other tribes to be lightly ignored. Two Masai reserves were accordingly established, one to the north on the Laikipea plateau, the other to the south of the railway in the present southern game reserve. The northern Masai reserve had an estimated area of about 1,000,000 acres, practically uninhabited. The southern reserve was of a somewhat similar area. This still left an enormous tract of country, of about 2,000,000 acres practically unknown and uninhabited, between the western border of the southern Masai reserve and the German border, still available for further native reserve if and when required. All this happened in 1906. It may safely be said that in 1906 the reserves allotted to the Masai were more than sufficient for their requirements.

Then several things began to happen. First, the Masai did not, particularly in the north, keep within their reserve. White settlement had not reached it, and the Masai herds wandered gaily over boundaries without apparent let or hindrance. So long as there were no white settlers to be thus interfered with, this did not greatly matter, though possibly criticism might be directed against the British East African administration for not taking steps from the start to keep the Masai, and all other natives, as a matter of stern principle, strictly within their boundaries.

But when land was granted to settlers on the native reserve border, and this happened, matters assumed a different complexion. Friction was threatened and might have arisen at any moment. I know of one case in which a settler who has been granted land on the Masai reserve border is being sued by the Government because he has not fulfilled occupying conditions, although he has paid rent. The settler is setting up the defence that the Masai have encroached on his land. The Government have even received and have accepted hut-tax from these

encroaching natives, as well as rent from the white grantee—a double rent, in fact. The white grantee declares himself quite ready to fulfil occupying conditions provided he is given peaceful and undisturbed possession. To the impartial observer the defence set up appears to be good. I quote it as an illustration of some of the difficulties of the position.

The second event is the rapid increase of Masai stock, partly owing to the fact that they never sell a cow, partly to the fact that outbreaks of disease have been controlled by the quarantine regulations of a parental white administration. In 1906 a certain section of the Masai owned 5000 cattle and 20,000 sheep. To-day these same Masai own 20,000 cattle and 50,000 sheep.

It soon became obvious that the northern Masai reserve was inadequate for their increased requirements. Encroachment on the land surrounding it on all sides was becoming common. His Excellency the Governor therefore called a meeting of the headmen of the tribe and explained the situation. A removal was suggested from the northern reserve to an extended new reserve in the 2,000,000 acres adjoining the southern reserve already mentioned. This would achieve two important objects. First, it would bring the Masai tribes all together as formerly. Secondly, it would provide them with an extended reserve sufficient for their enlarged requirements. I am credibly informed that the new proposed reserve had been examined by experts and favourably reported on before the meeting was called and the move suggested. Doubts have since been thrown upon its grazing capabilities, and a second expert examination is now going on.

Now mark the course of subsequent events. The old Masai chief, Lenana, strongly supported the proposed move. All the Masai headmen concurred; all who live in the district, including the missionaries, approved. Every arrangement was accordingly made, and the Masai had actually started, when the Home Government took the responsibility of cabling to stop the move on the grounds that it was not clear that the Masai had willingly consented, and that they were not sure the proposed move was in the best interests of the native. All this happened more than a year ago. Eventually the Home Government were satisfied that the move was in the best interests of the native, and it was sanctioned. It may be remarked here that the consent of the Masai through their chief and headmen, finally accepted as a *bona fide* consent by Downing Street, entirely disposes of any charge of bad faith against us, the white men, in respect to the original promise by Sir Donald Stewart to the Masai that they should hold the Laikipea reserve in perpetuity. As a matter of fact there is, I am told, some conflict of evidence as to the terms and circumstances of this

promise. But this question does not now appear to arise. Another fair criticism is that the Home Government undertook a grave responsibility in cabling to stop a move apparently unanimously sanctioned by local opinion and authority—a responsibility which is not lessened by the fact that they afterwards consented to and endorsed the move. The delay naturally unsettled the native mind, and made the postponed move more difficult.

In May 1911, accordingly, the move began. Unfortunately it has been a failure. The Masai and their vast herds were moved too quickly, and too close together. Feed naturally failed, both for natives and stock. Some deaths occurred. Some of the Masai reached the new reserve. The bulk had to return.

Nothing, however, has happened to invalidate the reasons which dictated the move. The failure has occurred in the process of carrying it out. Probably the numbers of the Masai cattle were underestimated. It may be even permitted to remark that possibly the subordinate official mind, not being practically versed in the moving and handling of stock, had failed to anticipate and provide against the difficulties of the task.

Meantime the reasons for the move remain in full force, and are urgent as ever. Also it is probable that its difficulties have not been lessened by the original failure, coupled with the unfortunate effects on the native mind that such a failure must inevitably cause. There is reason to believe, also, that the Masai themselves contributed to the failure, by taking advantage of any excuse to stop in their old grazing-ground in the Rift Valley when once they found themselves there. The Rift Valley is in the direct route of the move.

The mutual advantages of the move may briefly be summarised thus: first, for the Masai, it brings the whole tribe in touch with one another, and places them under the direct guidance and control of their own paramount chief. It will give them a much larger area of suitable land for their requirements. Their boundaries in the new reserve will preclude all possibility of interference or limitation through neighbouring white settlement, having the German boundary on the south and the strong natural boundary of the Mau Range on the north.

For the white man and the Colony the move means the opening up of Laikipea and the country to the north for white settlement. It means doing away with all causes of friction between Masai and white settlers, and keeping faith with the white settlers who have already been granted land on the borders of the Laikipea district. As a minor practical advantage, one conterminous Masai reserve will considerably lessen the cost of administration, and make it easier to control the movements and possible depredations of the Masai tribes, as they necessarily require to be controlled. Finally,

the move will make the building of a railway through the Laikipia district (already, I hear, projected) both possible and advantageous.

What is written above indicates some, at all events, of the difficulties inherent in the British East African native problem. As time goes on we may hope to see these difficulties materially lessened or altogether solved. But in my view, the less interference there is from the Home Government, and the more freedom is given to the local administration to work out, as it sees fit and should best know how, its own salvation, the better for all concerned. I think I have said this before; but I repeat it, for it is a principle that underlies all successful colonial administration, if we are to be guided at all by the lessons of history.

On glancing over what I have written, it may seem that I have perhaps unduly depreciated the British East African native. Nothing is further from my wish than to paint the black children of Ham any darker than they really are. For some months now, off and on, I have hunted and travelled with a varied assortment of them and been served by them. Better personal servants I have never had. Many of them are excellent and keen sportsmen. Some of their attributes are admirable. But every now and then one is up against some little trait or manifestation that proves, perhaps in a startling manner, that their ways are not our ways, their thoughts not our thoughts; that there are dark recesses in their minds we have not fathomed; that they are, in fact, a race separate and apart from us; a race to be *ruled*, firmly and justly.

In British East Africa the Kikuyu are more useful and a better asset than the Masai. The former till the soil, do manual labour and personal service, and occupy less area of land to greater advantage than the latter. The Masai do no manual labour or personal service. They require far more land *per capita* than the so-called inferior tribes, and pay less taxation. Let our good folks at home trust their own flesh and blood in British East Africa to treat the natives fairly and according to their just deserts, and I for one am confident that they will not be disappointed.

Space will not permit me to enlarge on the general principles connected with the native problem in British East Africa. But I believe every thinking man who knows the country will agree that the first necessity for the native is to be made to work, alon with gradual education in the elementary Christian virtues o honesty, truth-telling, and some degree of thrift. Native labour is the necessary corollary in Equatorial Africa to the white man' brains and enterprise. The very worst master the native can hav is himself. The registration of labour, an effective pass-law, adequate taxation of idle nomad tribes, where they will feel it most —through their flocks and herds—the simplest and most effectiv

code and administration of criminal law—all these things are talked of, and sooner or later will have to come. Meantime, for the stay-at-home philanthropist to talk of the native as a possible equal of the white man, at all events for many generations to come, is mischievous folly. He is a child in intellect and morals. Allow him a white standard of freedom, and he still remains a miserable slave to his own inherent laziness and evil passions, the legacy of centuries of savagery. Ours is the responsibility to reclaim these millions of natives, and of fair acres of the earth's surface, for civilisation and development—a responsibility from which it is impossible to withdraw.

The impartial administration of justice as between white and black is the last of our British East African responsibilities to which I here briefly refer. The question is a grave and complex one, as only those who have studied the native mind and character, and lived in close contact with them, can fully realise. Some recent events, in South as well as East Africa, in connexion with this subject are fresh in the public recollection. A native condemned to death for an outrage on a white woman in South Africa was not long since reprieved by the High Commissioner. A white resident in Rhodesia subsequently shot another native for insulting his daughter, was tried on a charge of murder or culpable homicide, and acquitted by a white jury. A British subject, a well-known and popular white settler in British East Africa, has been recently deported by order of the Imperial authorities, after his acquittal by a jury of his fellow-colonists from the charge of murder or culpable homicide in the shooting of a native sheep-stealer practically caught in the act. The facts and details of these cases, the latter in particular, are now common knowledge, and need not be restated here. They have already been discussed in the public Press, the deportation case especially having been the subject of some controversy in regard to its legality, and to the responsibility assumed by the Home Government in going behind the verdict of a colonial jury and ordering the deportation of an acquitted and therefore legally innocent man.

Without going further into these aspects of the matter, on which I have already commented elsewhere,[3] I conclude with a brief reference to the wider question—namely, the extent of the responsibility of the Home Government, or the Imperial authorities, in seeing that stern, even-handed justice, irrespective of race, creed, or colour, is impartially meted out to all alike in our distant Colonies and Protectorates inhabited by subject native races. In consequence of the facts already recited, it has been contended in some responsible quarters that jury trial has hopelessly broken down in our white-and-black race Colonies owing to

[3] See *Times* of 7th November 1911.

racial bias; that some other tribunal and process of trial must be substituted, and, inferentially, that until this is done, direct interference by the Home Government, such as happened in the deportation case, for example, is fully justified.

It may be noted here that constitutional alteration of procedure is one thing, while direct interference from Home is quite another affair. Let us keep the distinction perfectly clear. The former is an arguable proposition, with historic precedent to support it. When jury trial broke down in Ireland owing to political and agrarian agitation, other temporary tribunals were appointed under the Crimes Act in proclaimed districts. But this was a public and constitutional proceeding, and only adopted after, not one or two, but many jury acquittals in face of the clearest evidence had taken place. Also the safeguards of trial in open court and in the locality itself were maintained.

Direct Imperial interference of the kind under discussion has none of these recommendations and safeguards. It is unconstitutional and unprecedented in modern history. It is a secret, not a public, process. It ignores the opinion of the locality. It smacks of the Star Chamber.

In an interesting and instructive article in the January *Fortnightly*, by Mr. H. Lardner Burke, K.C., entitled 'Trial by Jury in our African Colonies,' the question of modifying the jury system in British East Africa is fully dealt with, and South African precedents are cited. Referring to the deportation case Mr. Burke writes:

> The principle involved is of the highest importance. We cannot have executive interference with legal results. Security vanishes and uncertainty reigns. We cannot countenance the principle of deporting an acquitted man, or the plea of *autrefois acquit* will lose its beneficent significance in our legal system.

All this is admirable. A change of tribunal is then advocated. Unfortunately in an earlier paragraph the article is somewhat marred and prejudice aroused by the allegation of callous heartlessness against the deportee. From information obtained upon the spot, I believe this allegation to be entirely unfounded, and based on an erroneous and distorted presentment of the facts. Inasmuch also as local white opinion approved the acquittal and disapproved of the deportation, the allegation is a constructive slur on the white manhood of British East Africa.

But let all this pass. Assume, for the sake of argument, that direct interference, as has already been maintained in some quarters, is justified by circumstances. The corollary of this contention has not yet been mentioned, so far as I know, in any quarter, and it is, I submit, the essence of the whole case—

namely, that if the Home Government, as the parental Imperial authority, is justified, in defiance of and contrary to white local public opinion, in thus directly interfering to punish, it should also protect. Life, honour, property, white as well as black, must be adequately guarded and protected abroad in these distant Colonies by the strong arm of the law, just as they are at home, if the views and standards of home civilisation and of the stern administration of justice, irrespective of race or colour, are also to be there inflexibly applied. This would appear to mean Imperial police, provided at Imperial expense. We have encouraged our own flesh and blood to settle in distant countries, amid hordes of wild savages who outnumber them thousands to one, have built railways, given them grants of land, a Governor and a Council, courts of justice, and other constitutional paraphernalia. But what is our so-called Pax Britannica worth, and how is the Colony industrially and commercially to prosper, if the first condition of civilisation—namely, the due protection of life, home, and property—is not effectively established? This is one of the practical difficulties of colonial administration, which our good stay-at-home folks do not clearly appreciate, because they have never lived and done business on the fringe.

The plain truth is that white settlers are at present inadequately protected in British East Africa by the arm of Colonial law. No complaint is made of this. It is a necessity of the case. The country is too large and new, its revenues and white population too small, and its communications as yet not sufficiently developed for the purpose. There are no police-stations in the bush or on the veld. The white settler's chief protection lies in the fact that he *is* a white man, and generally of that able-bodied, energetic, and self-reliant class who open up and settle our new Colonies, and are well qualified, in emergency, to look after themselves.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in exceptional circumstances and under extreme provocation this kind of man, in protection of life, home or property, occasionally takes the law into his own hands, especially when he finds that local legal processes are unequal to the occasion. For this he must stand his trial, and rightly so, before a jury of his fellow-colonists, who are the best and only true judges of the provocation, aye, and the danger, when a white woman is insulted, or—a difference only of degree—property is stolen by native blacks. But if our paternal Government intervenes and sets local procedure at naught, then, clearly, it is also incumbent upon them adequately to police the Colony; and, as a minor, but not unimportant detail, to find the money required for the purpose. They draft Metropolitan police into Wales when industrial riots occur. Are they prepared on

occasion to do the same for British East Africa? But this is the measure and the test of the responsibilities they would apparently assume.

Finally, there is the native point of view. As I have already indicated earlier in this article, while we have rescued the native from slavery and from tribal warfare, he remains a savage still. Many generations must pass away before we can elevate his character, and instil into his nature the mere rudiments of any moral sense. At present he is absolutely incapable of appreciating our high standards of justice and equity, or our methods of procedure. Generosity, or even fairness, often appear to him as weakness or fear.

Take the recent deportation case as an illustration of what is meant. The native argument is this. A white man has been sent away because he shot a native thief; therefore the white men are now afraid to shoot native thieves; therefore it is now fairly safe to steal sheep, and—we will go on stealing. The crime, in fact, has been encouraged. By all means let us treat the native fairly and justly. His misreading of our motives and intentions is part of the white man's burden. But do not let us forget that we also owe something to our own kith and kin, our own race who have to stand the racket on the spot of these little misunderstandings, if and when they occur.[4] It is so easy for stay-at-home philanthropists to be sternly just and unctuously righteous, from a safe distance and at the expense of others.

And there is a possible danger in the situation, extremely remote, no doubt, but still latent. If a sudden native rising did occur where the white Colony is so enormously outnumbered by the black race, it would mean the wiping out of every outlying settler, the outraging of white women, and all the horrors of savagery turned loose before the white man finally reasserted himself.

The moral with which I would conclude is this: Let us be extremely careful how we arbitrarily interfere in the local affairs of a distant Colony, and, where any possible scintilla of a doubt exists, let us trust to the good sense, the equity, and the manhood of our own race in Greater Britain beyond the seas.

HENRY SETON-KARR.

[4] Since writing the above I have received a letter, dated November 20, 1911, from a white settler in the Nairobi district of British East Africa, in which he states: 'Stock-thieving (by natives) has been very much on the increase lately. We have also had an attempt of rape on a little girl of five years old by a native; . . . . the girl was so badly hurt that she is still in the care of a nurse and the doctors.'

AISCHRO-LATREIA—THE CULT OF THE FOUL

In Art, as indeed in not a few other things, a powerful man of genius who invents a new type, is a fatal snare to susceptible youth. He starts a reaction against some current form of which the age has grown weary; and forthwith in art, in books, or music, in collars, games, or slang—the young rush in to imitate the novelty, just as a flock of lambs will follow a bell-wether into a sunk ditch. The watch-word of the twentieth century is *Unrest*—Journalism, Politics, Literature and Art ring with one cry—'All change here!' Not that it is often change for any definite gain. It is 'change for the sake of a change,' the thirst to get out of our old life, habits, thoughts and pleasures, to get into new lives, new selves. It runs round England, Europe, America, Asia, and the World, like the dancing mania in the Middle Ages. We are all whirled along, thrust onward by the vast restless crowd, ever calling out for 'something fresh'—'something up-to-date'—for the 'last thing out!' 'Omnes eodem cogimur.'

Even in former ages, before the universal thirst for change set in, the impulse of a potent genius often had a disastrous effect on his own art. What academic mannerism followed the ideal compositions and bewitching poses of Raphael. As I write there stands before my eyes—it has stood so continuously since 1850—Volpato's fine engraving of Raphael's 'School of Athens' in the Vatican Stanze. It has always been to me the perfect type of artful grouping of grand figures—the symbolic Olympus of antique thought—and yet by its very grace, by its symmetry, its severe dignity, equal to a drama of Sophocles, it heralds a long era of vapid elegance.

Michael Angelo, a far greater mind and a bigger nature, had an even more ruinous effect upon those who tried to obtain his power by copying his exaggeration. It took the French stage a century and a half to shake off the tragic traditions of Corneille and Racine; as it took English verse a century to recover from Pope and English prose fifty years to recover from Johnson and Gibbon. Victor Hugo's sensationalism ran to seed in *Monte*

Christo, and Walter Scott's glorious romances led on to Bulwer and James. In music we get so cloyed with Mozart's melodies and Chopin's dulcimer tones that many flew to Wagner's crashing discords, as if robustious recitatives were a new avatar of Blood and Iron. Scott, Bulwer, Dickens, and Thackeray were voted to be both slow and longwinded; and then the smart world would read nothing but short stories about adultery and gold-bugs, or, it might be, a scrambling trip in a new Panhard. 'Quisque suos patimur Manes'—i.e. every great man brings his bogey with him.

The new craze under which we are now suffering is the Cult of the Foul, or, to put it in Greek, it may be dubbed *Aischrolatreia*—worship or admiration of the Ugly, the Nasty, the Brutal. Poetry, Romance, Drama, Painting, Sculpture, Music, Manners, even Dress, are now recast to suit popular taste by adopting forms which hitherto have been regarded as unpleasing, gross, or actually loathsome. To be refined is to be 'goody-goody'; gutter slang is so 'actual'; if a ruffian tramp knifes his pal, it is 'so strong'; and, if on the stage his ragged paramour bites off a rival's ear, the halfpenny press screams with delight. Painters are warned against anything 'pretty,' so they dab on bright tints to look like a linoleum pattern, or they go for subjects to a thieves' kitchen. The one aim in life, as in Art, is to shock one's grandmother. And when the Society woman dances in bare legs, the up-to-date girl can dress herself like a stable-lad.

A debasement so general and so violent must needs have an originating cause; and this will be found in two reasons—first, in the legitimate reaction against mawkish conventions; secondly, in the imitation of powerful examples. Both of these exist in a high degree. It is true that for about the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century, the dominant tone retained a strain of dull convention. It is ridiculous to call it Victorian—because it was more or less common to Europe and America; and in literature, drama, painting, sculpture, music, and certainly in dress, it was rather more French than English. The good lady who stiffly declined to be 'fast,' or even 'smart,' in anything, had very little to do with it. Things were decorous, refined, and conventional, because it was an age of serious, decent, unimaginative men and women with a turn for science, social reform, and making things comfortable.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century several men of original genius made their influence felt over Europe—all of them more or less anarchic souls. About two generations after the death of Scott and of Goethe in 1832, the world of literature and art began to be stirred by Ibsen, Tolstoi, Zola, Gorkhi, Wagner, Doré, Björnstjerne Björnson, d'Annunzio. All repudiated conventions and drove their scapels deep down into the vitals of

humanity. The Scandinavian and Mongol imagination revels in horrors, unnatural crimes, de-sexed women, and depraved and abnormal degenerates. The Latin races tend more to obscenity and gore. The world agrees that all those just named above were men of powerful genius, who have enriched their age with permanent masterpieces. The question remains if they have not encouraged weaker imitators to drag the type of Art down to the world of the crude, the cruel, the morbid, and the loathsome.

Foremost among the men of genius who are creating a new school in Europe stands Augustin Rodin, the author of that wonderful invention—Impressionist Sculpture. Rodin is a man of original genius, and most judges would call him the greatest living sculptor in Europe, and he is the leader of the most popular school of sculpture. He has certainly produced some works of marvellous power. His courage, his originality, his intelligence make him the idol of the younger artists, who see in him a new Michael Angelo. Not only do we note his influence in every art gallery in Europe, but he has formulated his canons of art in dogmatic and literary form. Like Leonardo, Buonarroti, and Cellini, he is not only a great artist, but a writer of distinction, at least his utterances are now embodied in books. One of these is *L'Art*, interviews recorded by Paul Gsell—a fine quarto volume with numerous photographs.[1]

Without attempting to offer any opinion about M. Rodin's fantasies in marble, as one of the plain people who cannot always grasp the mysticism under these veiled *ébauches* in plaster or stone, I can quite follow the doctrines laid down in the trenchant words of *L'Art*; for Rodin, who so often carves men and women as if they were seen in a fog, or behind a semi-transparent curtain, speaks with a clear and masterful voice which all can understand. The book altogether is exceedingly interesting, full of true and striking maxims, rich with apposite illustrations, and alive throughout with daring paradox. It enables us to know the man as well as his creations. And if it shows him to be a man of great original power, it explains the source of his gross extravagances, his caricatures which are called portraits, his love-dreams, and the crapulous nightmares he sometimes eternises in solid stone..

In the first chapter of *L'Art* Rodin expounds the key of his system. He opens with true and forcible protests against all kind of academic pose. He simply seizes a spontaneous movement which he sees in his model. He does not place him or dictate any set attitude. Very good, but not quite true; for the *Danaid*, the *Last Appeal*, and the *Ugolino* (pp. 29, 32, 209) are certainly not casual and spontaneous attitudes. He goes on to

[1] Paris, B. Grasset, 1911.

say that he does not reproduce the *external surface* of what he sees, but the inner spirit of what he imagines beneath the surface. A cast will only give the outside form. Rodin moulds the underlying *truth*. '*I accentuate those lines which best express the spiritual state which I am interpreting.*' That is an exact description of the caricaturist. Rodin proclaims himself to be a systematic caricaturist. 'Take my statue of the *Last Appeal*,' he says, 'here I overstrain the muscles which denote distress. Here and there I exaggerate the tension of the tendons which mark the spasm of prayer.' The average eye sees the things before its vision. 'The artist reads deep into the bosom of Nature.'

Of course the real artist sees much that the ordinary eye does not see. But he does not see that which is not—and cannot be—there. He sees more than the vulgar eye can see. This, of course, is the meaning of all great portraiture. The most exact photograph reproduces the minutest mark or trait on a face, but it does not reproduce the expression in its highest significance. No photograph of the living Monna Lisa would have given us all that Leonardo saw in that mystical and unfathomable smile. But Leonardo did not paint what no eye ever saw or could have seen in the living Monna Lisa, in order to express his own views of the lady's private character. Leonardo painted what was there, and showed the world what they might see if they had an artist's eye.

It is a quite different thing when we come to the sculptor's art, and are dealing with representations of the nude human body. One who puts into marble the appearance of the nude torso and limbs of man has no right to mould on his marble surface that which never was, and never could be, on the living skin. In vain he tells us that he brings out and stamps upon the surface or skin of his figure's torso and limbs the 'spiritual state' inside the organs, 'the interior truth' which he takes to be covered up in the outside show. Sculpture is an art of *surfaces* as painting is not. A statue is the exact facsimile of a human figure—made motionless, rigid, and self-coloured, so that by a stage device a living person can be mistaken for a statue. A statue professes to be the exact copy of a living figure in everything but movement and colour. The sculptor who moulds on his surface what does not exist on any living surface is a caricaturist.

This doctrine of presenting the 'spiritual truth' in sculpture, not the visible realism, is carried out in Rodin's figures where he 'exaggerates muscles,' 'overstrains tendons' in order to express ideas which are latent and not visible in fact. The *Last Appeal* is a youth on his knees 'torn with anguish,' and the arms flung upwards and backwards in convulsions, as they might be

in epilepsy, or in the horrible surgical study of *Opisthotonos* in Sir Charles Bell's book, *The Anatomy of Expression*, Essay VII. Again, in the *Ugolino*, perhaps the most ghastly subject which could be chosen for sculpture, the emaciated father is bending down to gnaw his dead son, like a famished beast. One fails to see where the 'spiritual truth' comes in with this bestial group. Then, the *Danaid* is turning a somersault in a mud-bath, apparently presenting the *nates* for surgical examination. All of these not only reek with morbid exaggeration, but are morally and physically loathsome.

Being loathsome enough to shock any grandmother, indeed almost loathsome enough to make a decent person sick, and being full of profound anatomical learning, and also of glyptic genius, these novelties are hailed as a new revelation by the youthful enthusiast who would be 'up-to-date.' Bestiality seems to be carried to its highest limit in the statue called *La Vieille Heaulmière*, of which a photograph is given at p. 40. The name, a word not current in French, is adopted from a ballad of that fifteenth century jail-bird, Villon, and means The Old Strumpet. Well! She is represented as an emaciated and diseased hag looking down on her mummified body, shrivelled limbs, and draggled dugs, with shame and horror. M. Rodin's gushing friend sets out the beastly little poem of Villon, and says that the sculptor has even surpassed the poet—*oculis submissa fidelibus*—by the horrible realism of this shrunken nudity. He goes into raptures over 'the knotted limbs,' 'the pendant teats;' 'the scarred abdomen,' and the 'wrinkled skin, dropping in shreds like bits of parchment.' 'No artist,' he says, 'ever yet showed us a naked hag with a crudity so ferocious.' Probably not; but those who care for such a spectacle might visit a dissecting table in a surgery or a riverside mortuary in the East End. He could there find some such pitiable human wreck, and might discover for himself the 'spiritual truth,' 'the inner moral' of it all, without the help of M. Rodin. The lesson of debauchery ending in corruption is one for morals, religion, science—not for Art. The *Heaulmière* as a statue is the last word of moral, physical, artistic degradation.

M. Rodin has certainly parted with conventional prettiness—your Venus, Cupids, and Apollos—but surely in too violent a rebound. He would be invaluable to illustrate a scientific work on morbid anatomy—where even 'exaggeration' and the 'inner truth' might be useful to students. In that most interesting book by Sir Charles Bell, *The Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression* (my copy is the sixth edition, 1872), there are some striking plates with the great surgeon's types of violent passions, agonies, and disease. These are Weeping, Laughter, Pain, Convulsions,

Hydrophobia, Terror, Despair, Rage, and Madness. These powerful designs express what, from the point of view of anatomy and surgery, these distortions of the human countenance are in real fact. They are instructive to students of medicine, and indeed to students of art. But they are not art, for they give not pleasure but disgust. Rodin's distortions, for all his exaggerations, are not nearly so real and true as the surgeon's work, but they are sufficiently true to disease and debasement to be horribly loathsome.

To answer this charge which his admirer repeats, Rodin says *equitibus cano!*—i.e. My work is for connoisseurs—and he then argues with truth and eloquence that a great artist, like a great poet, can transfigure the *ugly* and the *horrible* into grand works of art. And he cites Velazquez, Michael Angelo, Donatello, and Millet, Dante, Shakespeare, and Racine. No one denies the terrible power of the Sistine frescoes, of the *Laocoon*, of Botticelli's illustrations to the *Inferno*. As to poetry, and even painting, the conditions are different from those of sculpture. Michael Angelo's sublime frescoes or his *Notte* may have a terrible element, but they are grand, and not disgusting. Donatello's *Magdalene* is pathetic, and not loathsome. And as to Millet's *Angelus*, or his *Glaneuses*, they are full of the most subtle and exquisite grace. *The Peasant with the Hoe* is a composition as full of dignity as of simplicity. Yes! Millet's work really transforms the plainest and rudest labourers into figures radiant with the glory of simple Nature. That is the magic of true art. But Rodin's coarse types remain ugly brutes. And his *Old Strumpet* is nothing but a naked hag.

Great as Rodin is as sculptor, he often in this book appears even as literary critic rather than artist, sometimes almost as poet. He says some fine, true, and useful things. But when he handles his clay and begins to put his ideas of Nature into form, the craze for the ugly, the grotesque, and the morbid seems to overpower his sense of beauty, and with all his genius, his power, and his superb technical gifts, he produces too often caricatures not masterpieces. No judge of art, whether he sits in the ranks of the '*Knights*' or of the *Plebs* in the pit, denies that an artist can make a beautiful work out of the plainest and the commonest themes. Murillo and Velazquez did, Millet did, Israels did. But he must issue in beautiful and noble works of art, not in facsimiles of what is repulsive and nauseous. Now the *John the Baptist* of Rodin is an over-trained and coarse-limbed boxer in an ungainly attitude. The feet and hands may be 'true,' but they are unsightly; the Prophet's head is fine, but sits oddly on a stark-naked athlete. The *Burghers of Calais* has some powerful figures, and from the literary point of view it is an original

and telling conception. But one or two of the figures are in grotesque and ludicrous attitudes. Perhaps when they came before Edward the Third with halters round their necks they did not look graceful. But we trust they did not look absurd. Rodin has exerted his powers of caricature in making them ungainly mummers fit to make a crowd laugh.

Rodin, the romancer *à la* Hugo, is constantly carrying away the imagination of Rodin the sculptor. Unnatural monstrosities, nightmares, and Zolaesque and Doré-esque fantasies crowd his fertile brain—for he is a real poet—and they seize his hand when he begins to model. Blake was like this—but Blake was more the poet than the artist; Leonardo even had a love of grotesque. But there is nothing either laughable or disgusting in Leonardo or in Blake, whatever monstrosity crossed their brain; and they were painters, not sculptors. But Rodin's *Female Centaur* is monstrous, and ugly, and laughable all at once. His *Faun and Nymph* is coarse and absurd. Whatever of the monstrous, the unnatural, the morbid, is possible in literature, even in painting, this sculpture, with its definite solidity, its objective fixity, its tangible permanence, rejects from its sphere. We can imagine in poetry Satans, Apollyons, Minotaurs, Dragons, and Ghosts, and even may have them on canvas or in etchings, but they are impracticable and silly when fashioned in the objective solidity of marble. The bloody sockets of Oedipus or the snaky tresses of the Furies would not be tragic in stone. And even Rodin's genius could hardly convince us by making a statue of Banquo's ghost. It is a fatal snare when a man of genius in more than one domain loses all sense of the motives, limits, and conditions of the different arts.

The radical sophism on which much of Rodin's art is built is that which infects some things of Ibsen, Zola, Gorkhi, at times even of Tolstoi, and the small fry of the brutalising Decadence. It is the dogma that there is nothing in Nature—nothing visible—which is not a fitting subject for art, that when the artist presents in vivid words or form what he has seen, or can see, it is for the world to admire, and no one can complain. The most repulsive, unnatural, unmentionable act or sight, when represented with striking truth, becomes a work of art, and, according to Rodin, beautiful by its artistic power. This is an absurd sophism. Every hour of every day, in every street, or house, or room, with every man, woman, child, or animal, in every hospital, prison, mortuary, or battle-field, are infinite sights which cannot be shown in art. Of all the arts, that of sculpture is that which is least tolerant of that which is obscene or loathsome. A great poet in a lofty spirit of idealism can typify almost anything. Michael Angelo and Correggio have in painting idealised the myths of Leda

and of Ixion, and both experiments have been much doubted. But one may defy Rodin himself to make marble groups which should literally represent—say the last line of Canto XXI of the *Inferno*, or line 500 of the fourth book of *Paradise Lost*.

Anyone who tries to work it out can see that tens of thousands of things which in Nature are common, familiar, inevitable, and secret, cannot be expressed in permanent marble shape, and the nearer the sculptor gets to them, the nearer he is to that which disgusts. Rodin sometimes tries to get as close as he dare, and so do others of the decadent schools of literature and art. But he has not the courage of his convictions, and he has not yet literally carved any really bestial act or sight. Being a man, like Cellini, of brilliant literary power, he professes to be absolutely free of all conventions. But he is not free. He does not go far enough to practise his own theories. Feeling—and very wisely feeling—how lifeless a study is the model, rigidly posed upon a stand, he causes both male and female models to move about his studio in spontaneous action, so that he can observe them in continual movement. That is very well, and is the source of the vitality of so many of his studies. But it is not enough. If he could get his nude models to run, leap, wrestle in sunlight on an open sward, to play tennis, football, hockey, and a tug-of-war, as the Greeks did in the arena, M. Rodin would have incredible opportunities for study, and would be true to his own maxims. But unfortunately, modern conventions make all this practically impossible, and they bind Rodin as much as anyone.

If M. Rodin had less imagination, not such a flow of literary and poetic originality, he would be a greater sculptor. He would restrain his exuberant fancy within the inevitable limits of his own special art. He insists that what he can imagine, or dream, or recall in memory, he can carve in stone. He will not obey the maxim—*segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem*—things we can bear to read of in words cannot be borne face to face fixed in cold and solid stone. Milton can create a Satan; Shakespeare a Caliban; Shelley a Prometheus—but Satan, Caliban, or Prometheus would be grotesque in marble. Rodin seems to live in a dreamland, and not always the sane dreamland, for his dreams are often nightmares, and ghoulish abominations. But since dreams are vague, shadowy, evanescent, they can only be put into plastic form by being blurred, half-shown, sketched in the rough, as if just begun. The objective, tangible definiteness of statuary makes any attempt to carve a dream a foolish paradox. You might as well try to keep a verse of poetry ringing in your ears for hours together. Dreams and marble statues are incommensurable—not *in pari materia*. You might as well try to put a sonata of Beethoven in a glass case for exhibition, or carve one of Turner's sunsets in stone.

And then the portraits—diabolically clever, but rank caricatures. M. Rodin's way to make the portrait of a famous man is to twist his features up into a look which seems to suggest the character he attributes to his sitter. He knows perfectly well that the unlucky victim of his joke never did, or could, look like that. But it symbolises the inner nature of the man; or, like a nickname, it suggests the trait of character that is imputed to him. That is pure caricature; it is what Sir Francis Gould does with us, and what Caran d'Ache did in France. Having got the clay bust into a general resemblance of the features, the cheeks are pinched up and puffed out as if after a prize-fight, and gobbets are stuck on to the forehead and nose to represent scars, seams, wrinkles, and varicose veins. The sitter may have some such marks in his face, but these the sculptor magnifies to double or treble. They 'give character'—and are caricature. Where clothes are shown they have to be carved as if they were sackcloth daubed with tar. Naturally, Puvis de Chavannes did not like his bust; and the Balzac Committee repudiated the Guy-Fawkes mannikin which was offered to them. One hopes that Dalou, Falguière, and Laurens took it meekly. When Rodin began on a sitter, he likened him to some animal, and impressed on him that type. Falguière was 'a little bull with an eruptive character, a grumbling moustache, and a visage seamed with furrows.' So his bust appears in the photograph; but the illustrious sculptor looks like a boxer. Rodin seems to associate intellect with pugilism. His famous *Penseur* is the gladiator of the Municipal Museum of Rome; and the *Victor Hugo* is a sort of Hercules preparing to overthrow Antaeus. All this is excellent caricature, but it is not high truth.

Morbid exaggeration is the unerring mark of decadence, just as the Pergamenian or Rhodian schools of Hellenistic art exaggerated the athletic type of Lysippus. The example of this is the *Farnese Hercules* at Naples, which is now recognised as false art, in spite of its anatomical science. And Rodin pushes the decadence of the Hellenistic sculpture till it becomes grotesque.

Augustin Rodin is a man of rare genius, of original imagination, a poet, an orator, a critic—a great sculptor. He has done some grand, some beautiful things, many stimulating things. But with all his audacity and his powers, he has a morbid love for that which is either repulsive or impossible. And he must exert a fatal influence on those who are carried away by his genius and seek to imitate his brilliant gifts.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

THE PASSING OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT[1]

(*Continued.*)

III. Liddon the Saint

But Liddon was nobler than he knew. The man was greater than his creed. The soul of the Christian rose above the shackles of the slave. Hence, in view of the later developments of the Oxford Movement, which rapidly advanced down its disintegrating course from 'tracts' to 'ritual' and thence from *Lux Mundi* to 'modernism,' we must now approach Liddon on this his innermost side.

The life that Liddon chose was not the life we all should choose. He who lives a life in which the daily duties make no call upon the will cuts himself off from the very means of grace by which God, in the manifold experiences of this world, draws us the closer to Himself. 'It is not good that man should be alone' is a divine decree of fruitful significance and diverse application.[2] Yet from the various pitfalls bred by solitude it is wonderful how comparatively Liddon was able to keep himself free. We believe him to have been a genuinely good and honourable and high-minded man. Surely we may impute the noble traits in his character to that genuine sense of religion which underlay all the wrappings of his mystic and monastic garb. It was his knowledge of the Scriptures that preserved and latterly restored the balance of his mind. In his just resentment of the reckless statements of the Higher

[1] To the catalogue of authorities justifying the above title given in the previous article I should have added two venerable names. The Rev. Mr. Chancellor J. J. Lias in his *Canon Liddon, a Retrospect* writes: 'Liddon was in sympathy with a religious movement which . . . has never taken hold of the mind of England as a whole'; 'The High Church party as a party . . . appears to me [to] have somewhat lost its savour' (*Revue Intern. de Théologie*, Oct.-Dec. 1906). Dr. Dorner, in his justly celebrated *History of Protestantism*, ii. 491, remarks: 'On the whole the English mind has shown an antipathy to a symbolical religion which delights in twilight and sentimental obscurity; and the Puseyite movement is rapidly declining.'

[2] In the sixteenth century Luther and Erasmus warned their age of the evils of solitude.

Critics,[3] in his wise caution as to fasting, in his defence of Biblical inspiration, in his analogy from nature to the resurrection of the body, in his Pauline mode of upholding the innocent 'uses of this world,' in his innate dislike to 'dancing priests' and to theatrical shows on ecclesiastical subjects he proved himself a genuinely Christian man. In his last will and testament he 'trusts,' like a sound English Churchman, 'to obtain God's mercy ONLY through the merits of Jesus Christ.' Liddon, in short, was one of those gracious souls who, whatever the perversity of their theological prejudices, are elect vessels that bear, as Macaulay finely says, the visible stamp and superscription of the Most High; and who, whatever may be their shortcomings on earth, belong to that select but often invisible company of men whose hearts God has touched and whose names are already written in heaven.

Let us linger for a few moments over some of the more private characteristics of Liddon's personal life. From the first he was a being apart. His feeble health allowed him only a two months' curacy at Wantage. And yet in that short time such was the charm of his fragrant personality that many of those who scarce knew him in those early days can still recall the winning saintliness of Liddon's noble mind. At the last, when his friends were forsaking him and the newer lights of Oxford learning were arising, and while he himself waited for Death's gentle hand to remove him from the world of which he had been so distinguished an ornament, he left behind him in quiet and confiding conversations his occasional divergences from the school which he had so chivalrously led.

It has long been matter of debate among theologians whether the spiritual conflict described by St. Paul in the seventh chapter of the *Romans* refers to the Christian, to the unregenerate, or to the half-regenerate man. For those whom the Gospel has truly touched and transformed the answer has never been doubtful. St. Augustine,[4] Luther, Calvin, Whitefield, Spurgeon, our own Prayer Book,[5] Pascal and the Jansenists, the great saints of the Middle Ages[6] and of modern times, nay, St. Paul himself in the following chapter,[7] have interpreted it as true (perhaps) of the

[3] He heartily echoed Döllinger's comment on Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*: 'It is full of unproved assumptions,' and he used to cite with effect our Lord's words: 'If I tell you earthly things and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you heavenly things?' From which he drew the necessary inference that what is philosophically false cannot be theologically true—thus condemning the religious sophistry of the later Middle Ages.

[4] *Retractationes*, lib. i. cap. xxiii. (ed. Bened.).

[5] *Art.* ix. Also *Homilies* iv.

[6] Aquinas ad Rom. vii.: 'Carnalis ratio etiam hominis sub gratiâ constituti,' and consult a very remarkable list of names between Augustine and Aquinas given with citations in Elliott's *Horae Apocalypticae*, ii. 222 sq. (5th ed.).

[7] Rom. viii. 10, 23.

unregenerate, as true (in part) of the Christian seeker, but as specially and painfully true of the man after God's own heart. Is it not true that

> They who fain would serve Him best
> Are conscious *most* of wrong within?

The Tractarian party, like Wesley, like the Papacy, like Laud and the Arminians, like Molinos and the mystics generally, like the early Pelagians and the later Socinians, asserted the opposite view. Liddon for once sided with the Protestants.

Again, in the ninth chapter of the *Romans*, St. Paul develops a formidable argument of predestination. We know that our moral 'choice' (θέλημα) is free and that it is God's 'wish' (θέλημα) that all men should be saved. Yet philosophy must pronounce, after weighing all the evils incident to man's present condition, that our 'wills' (βούλημα) are not our own and that God's 'purposes' (βούλευμα) can never be thwarted. Theologians have from this mysterious dilemma raised a question that has baffled all Christian antiquity, and which still remains as interesting as it is insoluble. In the ultimate analysis, whose is the responsibility?—God's (the perfectly free Agent) or man's (the agent at once free and bound)? In other words, is God's sovereign choice one that affects each individual or merely churches and nations? Once more the same parties are divided. Once more Liddon chose the nobler side.

Liddon's wit was very keen and perhaps too restless for its possessor's happiness. The following is one of his best *bons mots*, and it is not mentioned in the authoritative *Life*. Seeing a friend in the 'High' at Oxford and being offered a seat in a gig that had the day before overturned the Khedive on to the pavement, Liddon sarcastically smiled and said: 'Wouldest thou slay me as thou diddest the Egyptian yesterday?' On another occasion he ascribed a prevailing fog to Dr. Westcott's having for the first time in three weeks unbuttoned his study window. Of the Evangelicals he said, with as much point as truth, that they drew all the texts for their sermons from a couple of chapters in the epistle to the Romans.*

These are happy and harmless gibes, but they were not always so harmless. And the cynical habit grew on him in his later years to the terror of his enemies and the anxiety of his friends. Yet his private life was beautiful, tender, and devout. In the peculiar language of his school—his friendships were sacred, sacramental things. For Pusey, for Keble, for Bishop Hamilton, for the great Dr. Döllinger, for the late Bishop King, Liddon's affection bordered on enthusiasm. He rarely missed a daily celebration of

* This, I am informed, has ceased to be true of them. My authority is Chancellor Lias (see note 1).

the Holy Communion. He never failed to recite the Daily Office.' Like Aquinas, half mystic, half metaphysician, he had early dedicated his pure soul to celibacy in defence of the Universal Church, and strove to reconcile with our modern ways of thought and with the findings of modern science

The rigid creed of Athanasius.

For twenty years, he tells us, he used—and apparently without injurious effect—the anodynes of the Confessional. Every Friday was observed, so the rumour at his college ran, with Compline and with candles; while the sight of some old hermit's cave in Wales affected him so strongly that he would gesticulate in forms of prayer and thanksgiving regardless of the present company about him.

> We need not bid for cloister'd cell
> Our neighbour and our work farewell,
> *Nor strive to wind ourselves too high*
> For sinful man beneath the sky.

The words are those of 'dear Mr. Keble.' But they were not for Liddon the counsel of perfection. He fain would 'hitch his wagon to a star.' He fain would go one step higher than divine wisdom or human nature would approve. If ever there was a man by grace or nature dedicated to the priesthood it was Liddon. We are fortunate in possessing from the pen of Mr. Frederic Harrison an early portrait of his schoolfellow :

> I was fond of all sorts of games; he [Liddon] of none. I read all sorts of books; he had even then his own fixed line. . . . He was at seventeen just what he was at twenty-seven or thirty-four or forty-seven—sweet, grave, thoughtful, *complete*. Others, perhaps, may recall *growth*. . . . I cannot! As a schoolboy I always thought he looked just what he did as a *priest*. There was the same expression of sweet, somewhat fatherly, somewhat melancholy, interest. He would reprove, exhort, advise boys just as a young *priest* does in his own congregation. . . . He was entirely a *priest* among boys. His school-work was always well done and adequately done, but I do not remember that he won prizes or cared to win any. His interests even then were entirely with theology. . . . At seventeen Liddon was just as deeply absorbed in Dr. Pusey and his work as at twenty-seven.[1]

Such an organic unity of purpose is rare in any life. It belongs only to outstanding characters.

IV. Liddon the Preacher

Yet it will not be by his theology so much as by his sermons that Liddon will be remembered. In these he left the sacramental shibboleths behind. In these he is loyal to his own true self and loyal to the language of the Prayer Book.

[1] *Life*, by Canon Johnston, pp. 6, 7.

Even as we write we seem to feel ourselves back in that familiar Cathedral where for twenty years the silver chime of his melodious voice so often rung. The vast audience is once more gathered under the great dome—solemn, silent, expectant of the good things to come. The well-known spare, emaciated figure has once more mounted the pulpit-steps. As with Mr. Wesley, the first parent of the Oxford Movement,[10] every part of Liddon's person and dress seems to betoken fastidious care. The dark countenance and flashing eye seem to peer into the hearts of all that sea of upturned faces. The manuscript is already arranged in its place. The little black Bible is in one hand. Upon the other arm he leans forward with impressive dignity as if conscious of the weighty charge which he is entrusted to deliver.

And now he slowly and articulately enunciates the text. The atmosphere is already charged with a strange kind of enthusiasm. A hush pervades the vast host spread out beneath the vaulted canopy of stone.[11] The keen, eager manner of the preacher at once arrests attention. The exquisitely modulated voice soon fills the ear.

And all the air a solemn stillness holds.

The burning zeal of the orator penetrates at once the heart of the subject. He holds the audience in the hollow of his hand. Conviction breeds conviction. Faith becomes as it were contagious. And as the roll of the well-turned period reverberates around the circle of the dome, thundering in the ear of the guilty the echoes of his doom, pleading in the bosom of the penitent the solaces of a pardoning love, we forget to notice the peculiar excited, energetic manner of the speaker who has woven around us the spell of his genius and lavished upon us all the resources of his art.

His models are French; he himself is a Frenchman by a long descent. As a result 'the grand manner' is, perhaps, a little too uniform. The ornate character of the diction is perhaps more than the texture of the discourse can always adequately bear. The structure of the sermon may sometimes lack that variety which conceals the laborious artfulness of art. But these defects are lost sight of in the splendour of the occasion and the universality of the theme—the joys of redemption, the hopes of forgiveness, the bliss of the sanctified, the trump of the archangel and the Second Coming to judge the world.

[10] The posthumous publication of John Wesley's friend Mr. Alexander Knox's *Remarks on the Life and Character of John Wesley* sowed the first seeds of the Oxford Movement, of which Charles Wesley was in later life the firstfruits. See Southey's *Life of Wesley*, ed. Rev. C. C. Southey and enriched with Coleridge's notes (Longmans).

[11] Strictly, steel and wood in imitation of stone.

In his last will and testament Liddon had expressed the wish that he might be buried in the Crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral. It had long been felt that such was the only place where his remains could fittingly be interred. It was there, on the 16th day of September in the year 1890, that he was laid to rest amid surroundings which in his lifetime he had known and loved so well.

Since Liddon's death there have been some strange developments in the party which Liddon led, or rather in the party which he lived to disown.[13] Transubstantiation is now openly professed by many in our Church as the key-word to their position. In 1896 the Rev. T. A. Lacey announced that his doctrine on this subject, though explicitly condemned by the Prayer Book as 'repugnant to the plain words of Scripture' and as 'overthrowing the nature of a Sacrament,' agreed entirely with that taught at Rome. In 1910 some fourteen clergy at Brighton so sincerely held this astonishing dogma, that on the Bishop's interference some of them indignantly resented giving up a doctrine they had preached with impunity for fifteen years; while others, for the first time as loyal to the Prayer Book as to their conscience, were shortly after received into the Church of Rome. The Mass, once reckoned by the Prayer Book among 'blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits,' is now common everywhere and is sometimes attended with those ludicrous impostures, such as kissing the crucifix, creeping to the Cross and blessing of candles and ashes, that became the scandal of religion throughout Europe in the Middle Ages. At one well-known church on Good Friday such a service has been conducted and apparently sanctioned for some three successive years; on the 15th of June last twenty-nine churches in one diocese publicly announced and observed the purely Roman festival of Corpus Christi; and churches might be named where enforced 'confession'[14] and 'reservation' of the Sacrament for *adoration* are allowed—not in China but in England.

Again, for nearly four hundred years the Ornaments Rubric has been understood to require the same vestments to be worn at Holy Communion as at other times. Yet, in violation of the universal consent and invariable custom of four centuries and of the recent interpretation of the same by our ecclesiastical courts, over two thousand clergy have for years past worn distinctive 'mass' vestments, and now plead that their interpretation of the rubric is the only possible one. The force of 'lawlessness'—the

[13] It is stated, on authority which is quite unimpeachable, that the publication of *Lux Mundi* aggravated the despondency which hastened his end.

[14] 'The hearing of confessions is now . . . a normal part of the duty of a parish priest.'—H. Hensley Henson, *Moral Discipline*, p. ix. I must be allowed to add from personal knowledge that confession is 'enforced' in many churches.

apostolic symbol of the anti-Christian spirit of the last days [14]—can no farther go. As a Bishop has recently remarked, 'There is now no Church of England!'

The question at issue is an important one. Let us take the Ornaments Rubric as an example. The English people may not be theologians. But they know something of their own Church's history. And the issue here affects the cause of learning as much as that of religion.

That the ORNAMENTS RUBRIC requires those mass vestments to be retained such as were in use 'by authority of Parliament' (*sic*) in the second year of Edward the Sixth is beyond all doubt, unless 'Parliament' has repealed this rubrical order. If Parliament has not, the rubric is still in force, and centuries of English Christianity have disobeyed the law. This rubric was in 1555 inserted, and in 1662 revised into closer verbal conformity with the Act of Uniformity bound up with every complete Prayer Book. Now that Act speaks of 'other ORDER' to 'be taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty with the advice of her commissioners appointed . . . for causes ecclesiastical.' Was such 'order' ever taken? No, say the new Tractarians. Yes, reply all the facts of history. Let us see. (1) In 1559, on the day the new Prayer Book came into use, the Queen issued INJUNCTIONS by the 30th and 47th of which distinctive dress for Holy Communion ('vestments . . . and other ornaments') are to be given up 'to our visitors' to be destroyed; and in 1571, in a letter to the Archbishop, she refers back to her ecclesiastical changes as 'further ORDER taken.' [15] Hence *the Ornaments Rubric was deleted in the semi-official version* of the Latin Prayer Book issued in 1560, while the Archbishop at the same time (1563) required the wearing only of a 'surplice' as 'prescribed by her Majesty's INJUNCTIONS and the Book of Common Prayer.' (2) In 1566 came, revised by the Queen's own hand, the Archbishop's ADVERTISEMENTS, which Parker in a letter to Cecil refers to as 'the ORDER' that was to prevail in the province of York also, in order to secure uniformity of apparel, say the Advertisements, 'for all the Queen's loving subjects' 'throughout the whole realm.' And these Advertisements Grindal, Whitgift, Wren, and Hooker regarded as 'authorised by law.' [16] (3) In 1604 were issued the CANONS, by the 24th, 25th and 58th of which 'surplices and hoods' were required for 'reading Divine service or ministering the sacraments'—the cope, a lay garment, being allowed for Cathedrals and Colleges for the 'principal minister.' Hence

[14] *ὁ ἄνομος*, 2 Thess. ii. 8; *ἀνομία*, 1 Jno. iii. 4.

[15] *Parker Corresp.* p. 375.

[16] Wren, *Parentalia*, p. 75; Hooker, ed. Keble, iii. 587; Grindal's and Whitgift's *Visitation Inquiries*, 1571 and 1585.

Archbishop Laud, in his visitation of 1628, inquired whether all 'vestments . . . or other *ornaments of superstition*' had been given up and only the 'surplice' retained 'while administering the Sacrament.' Further, Bishop Cosin, who in his youth had expressed in his Diary a Tractarian view of the Ornaments Rubric, added in his maturer age the following gloss in the margin of that diary: 'But the Act of Parliament, I see, refers to the Canon, and until such time as OTHER ORDER be taken'—thus citing the Rubric by its context given in the Act of Uniformity from which it was taken (*Works*, v. 42). Unfortunately by the last revision of the Prayer Book (1660), as the controversy had changed, the rubric was merely revised into closer verbal conformity with the Act its parent, and the anomalous clause left, or perhaps overlooked, as a protest against the endless alterations demanded by Puritanism.

But there is deeper reason for these disintegrating forces at work. Ritual is the expression of doctrine; otherwise it would rank among the non-essentials. Why is the ritualist so zealous for his badges and emblems? What is the mystery which these conceal? There is no adage truer than the old one, *les extrèmes se touchent*. Superstition is at once the parent and child of scepticism. Those who would fain have an infallible guide as a short way out of the moral responsibility involved in the stern lessons of life, or in the plain truths of Scripture and in the testimony of conscience, clamour for what they cannot have.[17] And, like men who refuse to walk by the light of the common sun, they walk by a light of their own kindling. And when that fails they fall into the opposite excess—of denying that any light anywhere exists. It is at this point that credulity and scepticism meet, that the Romanist and the Agnostic are at one. Both are willing to shut their eyes, while the one agrees to 'believe' everything, the other nothing. Perspective and proportion cease. God in their account must either be locally here, or else He is nowhere. He must be either everywhere, or else have no existence at all.[18]

The new 'High Church' party has largely given up 'the tradition of the elders.' It has ceased to regard the Holy Scriptures as the final court of appeal in things religious.[19] It has also, apparently, ceased to treat the records of history as the final court of appeal in things secular. As a result it has developed a 'mystic' sense borrowed from the monks, who in turn borrowed

[17] 'An infallible Church needs *moral* infallibility . . . even more than she needs infallibility of the understanding. I cannot conceive an infallible interpreter of a divine being without the fulness of that divine life which he is to interpret.'—R. H. Hutton, *Theol. Essays*, Pref., 2nd ed.

[18] See a remarkable proof of this in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* quoted in Neander's *Church History*, i. 18, 19 ed. Bohn.

[19] *Roman Catholic Claims*, pp. 60 sq. (8th ed. 1905), with *Orders and Unity*, p. 121 Contrast *Articles of Religion*, vi, viii, xx-xxii.

it from the allegorising Jews of Alexandria who took over from the heathen philosopher Plotinus what he had spoiled in the stealing from Plato. This mystical,[20] or rather mythical, sense has largely crept into the interpretation of the sacred documents, and is now busying itself in slowly 're-interpreting'—*i.e.* undermining—the Bible and the Creeds. Since the publication of *Lux Mundi*—an apologetic work of the most tentative kind, quite unworthy of its distinguished authors, and not always couched in the language of conviction—we now believe (somehow) in a fall *upward*, and in a Divine Election which is only a kind of natural *Selection*. All heresy originates in lax views of sin. Hence with the authors of *Lux Mundi* Sin is no longer an active principle of rebellion,[21] while Grace seems to be largely a theological quantity confined to the Sacraments. The Holy Scriptures can no longer be regarded as the basis of belief since, according to the new theories, they have been 'riddled by the critics'; although the latest of these critics, Harnack, himself a rationalist, has recently confessed that:

> In the criticism of the sources of primitive Christianity we are beyond question in the movement of reaction towards tradition. The chronological frame within which tradition has arranged the original documents is correct in all essential points from the Pauline Epistles down to Irenaeus, and compels the *historical writer* to disregard all hypotheses which contradict this framework.[22]

But the neo-Tractarian mystics have no eye for history.[23] In a recent work on the *Roman Catholic Claims* the Fathers of the second or third century are quietly corrected if they do not speak the language of the twentieth.[24] An entirely new theory of 'apostolical succession,' unknown to Hooker, Laud, Cosin and Andrewes, and unconfirmed by the vast amount of modern *data* which go to swell the verdict of history, has been formulated to support what Canon Henson not unjustly calls the new 'appetite

[20] Wesley once justly remarked that, whereas ordinary forms of heresy attacked Christianity in front, mysticism, which holds only the form of Christianity without its substance, saps it from below and secretly assaults the citadel itself.

[21] In its first edition *Lux Mundi* had no specific treatment of the doctrine of sin! In later editions the defect was in part supplied by a sermon touching upon the subject by way of appendix.

[22] *Chronology of Ancient Christian Literature*, p. ix. (I owe this reference to a pamphlet 'On Agnosticism,' 1908, S.P.C.K.). More recently Harnack in his latest books—*e.g.* '*S. Luke*'—has particularized this statement by fixing the dates of the Gospels and Epistles in their traditional places. The reviving orthodoxy of Wellhausen's pupils with regard to the Old Testament, and the multiplying confirmations in brick and stone of the narratives in Genesis and the Book of Daniel are facts with which it is now useless even for these 'lights of the world' to quarrel.

[23] Gwatkin, *Early Ch. History*, c. i.

[24] *Roman Cath. Claims*, p. 47 (8th ed.).

for miracles.'[25] Disestablishment of the Church has now been openly proclaimed by the leaders of this party as consistent apparently with this 'apostolic' programme; while an entirely new theory of the Canon law has forged for ecclesiastical ambition (or rather vanity) a new weapon with which to defy the State.[26] After this we are not surprised to hear that the great Hooker was 'defective on the Sacraments' and that the still greater Augustine was not a 'good Churchman,' or that the Reformation should be described by the leader of the neo-Tractarians as a grand act of 'rebellion against the traditional officers of the Church in repudiating a law of Divine authority.'[27] Yet, side by side with this, 'Secularism' has been openly and systematically proclaimed as the course to be taken with regard to our Church schools. A 'Christian Socialism,' avowedly identical with the anti-Christian Socialism of Blatchford and Bernard Shaw, is now publicly taught by the adherents of this school. The Ascension of Christ is conveniently explained as a figure of speech or only a mode of action in later Christian thought—that is to say, it never happened. The Second Coming and the Day of Judgment are only timeless modes of apprehending the great time process of an Advent and a Judgment that are always here and always coming.[28] *Lux Mundi*, in short, has become *Flux Mundi*. In this way the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection have to be 'reinterpreted'; and miracles are but exaggerations of natural phenomena.

At this point, we are glad to notice that the Bishops have interfered; and of these the Bishop of London has made a protest of no uncertain sound. After publications by some six clergymen announcing these obnoxious tenets, a High Church 'modernist' of Oxford has been selected for particular reprobation. And the Reverend Mr. Thompson, unless we completely misunderstand his explicit language, denies not only all miracle but the intervention of any strictly supernatural Agency whatever. Yet, as a defender of Mr. Thompson has pointed out in the October and December numbers of this Review,[29] the publication of *Lux Mundi* is indirectly responsible for these spiritual vagaries; and the episcopal patrons of that movement, men far superior both

[25] The author of *Orders and Unity*, as the result of this definition, hesitatingly states a belief, apparently, in modern 'miracles,' p. 109—thus controverting the position of the Fathers that all miracles strictly so called ceased with the Apostles (Chrys. *Hom.* xlii.; Aug. *de vera rell.* xxv. 47; Origen *c. Cels.* ii. 8, 46; Greg. Magn. *Hom.* xxix. in Ev.).

[26] *Nineteenth Century*, February 1910, art. 'Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister and the Cry of Disestablishment' (by the present writer).

[27] *Orders and Unity*, pp. 76, 176, 184.

[28] *Ibid*, p. 58, and the same author at the Cambridge Church Congress. The ... of these performances reminds one of Aristophanes' *ἀεροβατῶ καὶ περιφρονῶ*.

[29] 'Liberty of Criticism within the Church of England,' by the Rev. Cyril Emmet.

in character and attainments to the school they may be said to lead, cannot at once lay a ghost of their own raising. Indeed, so ingenious has become the art of theological controversy that Mr. Thompson's defender would respectfully claim both the Bishops who initiated this controversy as being on his side. But the issue is so serious that every section of the Church should earnestly support the public action of these Bishops in defending the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection. That all the leading views of continental infidelity can seriously be held by an English clergyman is in itself an absurdity. These views, perhaps, represent only a passing phase of opinion. Yet we fear they are far too rife among us. If evidence were needed, the correspondence columns of the *Guardian* for October, and the *Church Times* in its leading article for the 22nd of December, would be proof sufficient. Yet it should be carefully noted that nearly all these views were in general circulation, as forming part of the assault upon the infant Christian Church, among the Judaising Gnostics of the second century.[30] So old is modern unbelief veiled in the garb of Christian religion!

It is painfully strange to witness these aberrations of the human mind. That prophet would have been wiser than Daniel who a hundred years ago could have foretold the modern developments of Christendom in a papal, or rather pagan, direction. He would have been pronounced a madman had he foreseen that the twentieth century, owing to the call of Newman, would have been content to take for her model the tenth century, and that 'the dark ages.'[31] in which few could either read or write, should supply a pattern for the light and learning of our own times. Never did any age as ours so loudly boast of reason. Yet what could be more unreasonable than the present childish clamour of over 2000 clergy for vestments and censers, for pyxes and reservations, for blessing ashes and worshipping candles, and for what Laud justly called 'ornaments of superstition' derived from a barbarous age and a barbarous version of the Christian religion?

It would take no Oedipus to solve the riddle. Τὰ πρὸς ποσὶ σκόπει. The divine immortal part of man cries out for the eternal. It craves certainty. It demands a revelation.

> 'Tis the divinity that stirs within us,
> 'Tis Heaven itself that points out an hereafter
> And intimates eternity to man—
> Eternity, thou pleasing, dreadful thought!

[30] I have endeavoured to track this heresy in a letter to the *Guardian* for Oct. 27, 1911, and have cited a battalion of Fathers in support of the Gnostic ancestry of 'modernism.'

[31] The Anglo-Catholic Worley's *Jeremy Taylor* (p. 1, Longmans) admits the truth of this libel on the Middle Ages.

For such a being 'what,' as Cicero asks, 'is more miserable than uncertainty?'

To this craving the Christian Church in all ages—whether orthodox or heretic—has hitherto offered only one answer. 'She is the keeper and witness of Holy Writ.' 'The Bible and the Bible only'—the words are Augustine's[32] as much as Chillingworth's—'is the religion of Christians.' This contains, in the language of Solomon, 'the certainty of the words of truth'; St. Luke in like manner assures his readers of 'the certainty of those things which were most surely believed among us' (Pr. xxii. 21; Lu. i. 1-4). The facts of the Bible are testified to beyond dispute by suffering eyewitnesses in the cause of truth. The journeyings of Israel in the wilderness, the genealogies of the Book of Chronicles and of the Evangelists, the minute particularisation of dates and names and of local colouring which, as in Daniel and the Book of the Acts, had escaped the historians of a later age, find a marvellous confirmation in the annals of modern research. Six Jewish and several heathen prophecies of the Virgin Birth[33] and of a resurrection from the dead[34] were fulfilled in Him Who was to come as 'the desire of all nations' and 'the light and life of men.' And if man has control over the forces of nature to bind them to his service and to overcome the laws of gravitation, what shall we say of Him Whose power could suspend the ordinary sequences of phenomena by the superinduction of a higher law which His Own free self-determining personality decreed? It is impossible to escape the moral dilemma Anselm in the eleventh century propounded—*Aut Deus erat aut non bonus*. In two ways only could it be avoided. Judaism got rid of Christ by hiding Him behind the outward forms of His Church on earth. Gnosticism evaporated His gospel into metaphors and explained away His history as purely ideal. It was left for the ingenuity of neo-Tractarianism to combine both methods in the art of evading a plain historical issue.

It is not often given to prophets with accuracy to predict. But in the case of the Oxford Movement we can present a remarkable instance of a prophecy followed by its fulfilment. While Newman was at Oxford erecting a scheme of theology that regarded Gibbon as our one ecclesiastical historian, asserting that Hume's sneer against miracles was unanswerable, and despising Paley for any

[32] Augustine, *Ep.* lxxxii. 3, 'Solis eis Scripturarum libris qui jam canonici appellantur didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre.' So Aquinas speaks of the Scriptures (*Summa* I., i, Q. i. Art. viii).

[33] Isa. vii. 14 (Vitringa); viii. 10, 14; lxvi. 7, 8; Jerem. xxxi. 22; Mic. v. 2—4; Virgil *Ecl.* iv. ('virgo . . . progenies caelo').

[34] Isa. xxvi. 19 (Vitringa, footnote); Hos. vi. 2, xiii. 14; Plato *Rep.* 614 B. ed. Stallb. (Adam's note).

attempt at setting forth the evidence for the truth of Christianity,'[35] the brilliant Henry Rogers was writing for the *Edinburgh Review* on 'The Oxford Tractarian School' and its more 'Recent Developments.' Let us quote a portion of his prophecy:

The Oxford Tract School [has] suffered itself to speak of the Scriptures in language which cannot but tend to diminish reverence for them and to give no little advantage to *infidelity*. Indeed, we fully expect that as a reaction of the present extravagances—of the revival of obsolete superstitions—we shall have ere long to fight over again the battle with a modified form of *infidelity* as now with a modified form of *popery*. Thus probably for some time to come will the human mind continue to oscillate between the extremes of error, but with a diminished arc at each vibration; until truth shall at last prevail and compel it to repose in the centre. The offensive displays of self-sufficiency and flippancy, of ignorance and presumption, found in the productions of the Apostles of *the new infidelity of Oxford* are the natural and instructive, though most painful, result of attempting to give predominance to one principle of our nature. The excellence of man must consist in the harmonious action and proper balance of all the constituents of that nature—of his reason, his faith, his appetites, his affections, his emotions; when these operate each in due proportion, then and then only can he be at rest.[36]

These words were written between the years 1840 and 1850. Let us now turn to one of the most recent dispassionate historical accounts of the rise and progress of the Oxford School from the hand of a sympathetic and capable judge, Sir Samuel Hall, K.C.:

It seems paradoxical to assert that the efforts of the great leaders of the Oxford Movement to place the Christian faith and the Anglican form of it on the firm basis of [ecclesiastical] authority should be responsible, even in part, for the *undermining of the faith* of the laymen—which really is the cause of [their] indifference and aloofness. But there can be little doubt that the attack on the doctrine of 'the Bible and the Bible alone as the religion of Protestants,'[37] and the effort to rest religion mainly on the authority of the Church . . . . have helped . . . . to bring about such indifference and aloofness, even when it has not resulted in *absolute disbelief of the Christian theory*. And this indirect help to the destruction of the basis of belief which has led to *agnosticism* must be reckoned among the indirect results of the movement.[38]

Human nature is always the same. Once more the cry is being raised, *Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*.[39] And we turn to the second

[35] Read a brilliant exposure of 'le Newmanisme' by M. E. Michaud in the *Revue Intern. de Théologie*, Oct.-Dec. 1905.

[36] *Essays Theological and Controversial*, vol. iii. pp. 61, 63, 190. (*Ed. Rev.*, April 1843, October 1844, October 1849.)

[37] The famous title Chillingworth gave to his great work on the Roman controversy.

[38] *Short Hist. of Oxford Movement*, p. 250 (Longmans). *Archbishop Tait to the last held the same view and published the fact.* Cf. Milman, *Essays*, pp. 303, 309; Gwatkin, *Early Ch. Hist.*, ii. 95, 248.

[39] *Orders and Unity*, p. 49. It appears from pp. 39, 40, 172 that 'faith' in the Bible or Christ is not sufficient for salvation as stated in Art. vi. Has this author ever read Bishop Jeremy Taylor's damaging conclusions to the contrary in the celebrated Preface to his *Holy Living*?

and third centuries for an explanation of its meaning. For in these centuries we may take Professor Gwatkin as an unimpeachable guide:

> Step by step from this age onward Christ's minister is advanced forsooth to a dignity Christ never gave him. First he is turned into priest to offer sacrifices. Then a material sacrifice is invented for him to offer. Then the whole work of the Spirit is shut up into his ministrations. *No grace but in the visible Church, no salvation outside it.* Nothing remained but to 'compel them to come in.'
>
> The entire mediaeval system from the Papacy downward is no more than a natural development of the *unbelief* which knows no working of the Spirit but one transmitted by outward ordinances from a distant past.[40]

The distinguished theologian, Dr. Dorner, tells the same tale of modern Germany:

> A tendency *partly infidel, partly Romanising* . . . . in its latter aspect [for the two positions are interchangeable] is already striking its roots over into Germany.[41]

And this *religion of scepticism* leads to many practical abuses. Sir Alfred Cripps has attributed the present attack on the Welsh Church as largely due to that striving after a fictitious and artificial unity created by the mediæval ideal.

It may be asked, What is to be done? Persecution has been tried. Toleration has been tried. When the ecclesiastical courts decide against the recalcitrants they carry their cause to a civil court; and from a civil court the sticklers for ecclesiastical purity threaten us with an appeal to a still more secular court—the House of Lords.[42] It has been proposed to reduce the power of Bishops. It has been proposed to multiply the number of Bishops. It has even been proposed to have no Bishops at all. WE PLEAD FOR A RESTORATION OF THE OLD-FASHIONED HIGH CHURCH PARTY. But where shall we find it? The answer will be found, where Macaulay long ago found it—*viz.* in the good sense of the English people. The Bishops are sincerely honest, hard-working, God-fearing men, who have the Church and nation at heart as much as the Bishops of the second century. But they lack support. The cumbrous machinery of ecclesiastical law is extremely expensive to put in motion; and the vast number of the inferior clergy are hard workers rather than hard thinkers, and represent, perhaps without knowing it, the 'moderate High Church' tradition. Moreover, no director of a diocese cares to live in an atmosphere of quarrel; and thus human nature sometimes triumphs over the divine sense of justice.

[40] *Early Church History*, ii. 95. Cf. his *Knowledge of God*, ii. 252.

[41] *Hist. of Protestantism*, vol. i. p. xv. (Pref.).

[42] The latest case was that of Thompson *v.* Bannister over the Deceased Wife's Sister. See the *Nineteenth Century* for February 1910 (by the present writer).

But let a public opinion be created, fostered, maintained. Let preachers preach, and the public demand from the pulpit, the fundamental truths of Christianity. Let clerical offenders be shown the just indignation of honourable men against professing the Creed of a Church which impugns not only their public utterances but their private principles.[43] And the cry of remonstrance will ascend to heaven, and the voice of truth, of reason, of religion and of moderation will ere long be heard. Let the Prayer Book be taken as the standard of doctrine and practice till it be modified; and let such change be duly carried out through the constituted authorities and by the proper forms of law. Let the appeal to history and the Fathers be fairly faced and honestly represented, and the general judgment of antiquity have its due weight in the interpretation of those things on which Scripture is wisely silent. Above all, let the Episcopate be honestly defended as a vital part of our Christian institutions, not on the insane plea of being an essential factor of a revelation from heaven, but on the true ground advanced by Jewell and Hooker, by Laud and Jeremy Taylor, by Bull and Waterland—that of its primitive antiquity in some churches and of a very early antiquity in most; while the merely outward advantage of an apostolical succession is great 'where it may be had.' Of this position the present Archbishop of Canterbury is a steady supporter and worthily upholds the great Hooker, Tillotson and Tait tradition.

Zwinglianism in the countries once ruled by Calvin is fast running to seed. Popery, with its various counterparts and counterfeits, has everywhere degenerated into a weak and silly superstition. It is the province of the English Church to preserve the balance and to hold the mean—not with the calculations of a prudent compromise by which religion is turned, as at Rome and Geneva, into an engine of politics, but with that Christian intuition and nice sense of spiritual perception which can improve on the adage of Terence: *Christianus sum. Nihil Christiani a me alienum puto.*

'The Church of England is now at the parting of the ways.' Which path will she take? The road to Rome and ruin, against

[43] Thus in a new and valuable book called *Aspects of the Communion*, 1911 (Longmans), the reverend author informs us that while Transubstantiation is 'condemned' by Article xxviii, yet 'in its more refined and spiritual form it may be held within the Church' (p. 266)! In the same way he evades the Articles and the Black Rubric by allowing 'adoration' of the elements (p. 283). On the other hand, the Bishop of Chester, in his Visitation Charge at his Cathedral in 1908, represented this 'drifting away from the position of Bishop Bull and our Anglican divines' as a challenge to 'Protestant' feeling, which in its grosser form savours of 'superstition and even idolatry' as exhibited at the late Eucharistic Congress. The Archbishop of Sydney and the Bishop of Manchester have since as courageously and moderately blown the trumpet of alarm.

which the genius not only of history but of Christianity cries out? —or the road of reason, of religion, of the Reformation, which after three centuries of uninterrupted prosperity has made us the polestar of Christendom and the envy of the nations? As Döllinger says, the issue will not be doubtful except for those for whom the warning page of history has been written in vain. *Πάθει μάθος.*

A. H. T. Clarke.

MRS. JOHN STUART MILL

A VINDICATION BY HER GRANDDAUGHTER

IN an article entitled 'Famous Autobiographies,' by an anonymous writer in the *Edinburgh Review* for October, certain statements have been made that must have grated upon all admirers of John Stuart Mill, accustomed as they are to pay respect to the memory of the woman whom he loved with unfailing constancy from youth to the day of his death; and also to that of his step-daughter, who, at the sacrifice of her best years, which she had desired to devote to her own chosen career, did her utmost to fill in some measure the void in his life caused by the death of Mrs. Mill, and to assist him in his great and exhausting labours for the good of humanity.

The injustice of the attack made upon Mrs. Mill's memory is shown by the comparison of her with the women of Cellini and Rousseau. That such men should be mentioned in the same breath with Mill in order to compare their love affairs with his attachment to Mrs. Taylor shows clearly the spirit in which the article is written. Cellini's revelation of himself in his autobiography has its chief interest as revealing the strangest union of artistic genius with the lowest depravity and brutality; while the insistent eulogy of the amours of Rousseau in the article alluded to is particularly offensive in connexion with the strictures made on the acknowledged pure relations which existed between Mill and Mrs. Taylor. According to the author of *Emile*, he had five children by Thérèse, each of whom he secretly consigned to the Foundling Hospital as soon as it was born. This wronged and unfortunate woman, who could neither learn to read, remember the names of the months, nor tell the time from the face of a clock, and whose deficiencies were made an occasion for jesting between him and his friends, is represented by the *Edinburgh* reviewer as the right helpmeet for Rousseau. But he overshoots the mark when he recommends to a man of distinction like Mill such a type as this for his life companion.

That Mill's literary work was 'vulgarised and enfeebled' by the Taylor influence is an accusation against his wife and step-daughter which is not supported by a single instance given.

Certainly we cannot take this statement on the mere judgment of the writer, and no one capable of admiring the *Liberty* and the *Subjection of Women* will admit it to be other than an impertinence. The sentiment of the latter work was largely inspired by Mrs. John Stuart Mill's warm and far-seeing enthusiasm for the needs and claims of her sex. She at least led this strong masculine mind, already prepared by nature and education for just and noble thoughts, in that particular direction. It was impossible for him to reflect upon the subject of the disabilities of women, amounting, as he says, to 'chains riveted upon the weaker sex,' without desiring to strike a blow at those disabilities.

The remark that 'no one alive' could have rendered to such great writers as Rousseau, Goethe, and Mill any assistance in the formation and expression of their ideas is a species of intellectual arrogance and conceit of which I venture to say no man of genius would be guilty. The published letters of John Stuart Mill suffer, it appears, from the impression left upon them by Mrs. Mill and Miss Helen Taylor. This critic insists that no man of superior gifts should have a highly educated helpmeet, lest she by her 'flabby views of life'—a common result, he says, of high education among women—should exert a vulgarising influence upon him. He goes on to say: 'It is a well-established statistical fact that the average of two characters will always diverge less from the commonplace than a single character.' What is the logical deduction we are expected to make from this last observation? Apparently, that no one ought to influence any one else, lest the individuality of the person influenced should be lessened. Are not all education, literature, and social intercourse means through which characters endeavour to make their influence felt upon others?

The assertion that 'Mill's fame was made before his marriage and he never afterwards greatly increased it,' is written in utter disregard of the fact that the close intellectual friendship between Mill and Mrs. Taylor had existed for about twenty years before their marriage, which covered only a period of seven years. Unless, therefore, a great man should 'materially increase' his fame every seven years of his intellectual life, we must look for a 'vulgarising and enfeebling' feminine influence.

W. L. Courtney, in his *Life of John Stuart Mill*, says:

> *Liberty* was planned by Mill and his wife in concert . . . we cannot be wrong in attributing to her [Mrs. Mill] the parentage of one book of Mill, the *Subjection of Women*. It is true that Mill had before learned that men and women ought to be equal in legal, political, social and domestic relations. . . . But Mrs. Taylor had actually written on this point, and the warmth and fervour of Mill's denunciations of women's servitude were unmistakably caught from his wife's views on the practical

disabilities entailed by the feminine position. . . . What his wife really was to Mill we shall perhaps never know. But that she was a natural and vivid force which roused the latent enthusiasm of his nature we have abundant evidence.

Any inferiority which the *Edinburgh* critic sees in those works which Mill produced after his marriage can be no proof of the deleterious influence of his wife upon his literary output, since while he was writing those books which are here acknowledged to be great he was in close touch with her, at a period when she was even more likely to be of that assistance to him which he declared she was than during the years of her increasing invalidism after their marriage.

Thérèse and Christiane, the women of Rousseau and Goethe, are contrasted for their helpfulness to those great writers with Mrs. Mill and Miss Helen Taylor in their injurious effect on Mill. The former were, we are told,

healthy, robust-minded persons, whose outlook on life was free from trepidation or the vacillation which comes from unrealised ambitions and hopes . . . women . . . whose whole interest was in domestic life . . . whose outlook on life was simple, robust and confident.

Does this writer consider that Thérèse showed that 'interest' and that 'robust outlook on life' by submitting, albeit with grief and reluctance, to be deprived of all her children? It was necessary, Rousseau informs us, in order to save her honour. Our critic maintains that in the women of Goethe and Rousseau feminine characteristics predominated, but that highly educated women are apt to lose their femininity. Poor Thérèse! Hers are the womanly charms and outlook, yet she was not allowed the indulgence of her natural tastes; or perhaps the writer thinks that 'domestic life' for even the most 'feminine' woman means simply subservience to the man. But even he might have hesitated to allude to her 'freedom from the vacillation which comes from unrealised ambitions and hopes.' He proceeds to plead 'that Thérèse, after an association of thirty years with Rousseau, should fall in love with a stable-boy may not be creditable to her, but is powerful evidence of a vigorous vitality'; and to assert that this 'vigorous vitality' was the best thing for Rousseau, as having an 'invigorating effect' upon him. In other words, he looks upon a woman purely as an animal. While fully admitting the unsullied nature of the affection that Mill entertained for Mrs. Taylor, he leads the reader to imagine that, had this been otherwise, she might *then* have been able to compete in his estimation with Rousseau's mistress, as producing an 'invigorating effect' on the great man who honoured her with his r[illegible]rd

As if in order to justify his comparison of Rousseau's love affairs with that of John Stuart Mill in favour of the former, we are informed that Rousseau 'must have been called a chaste man even had he lived in our day,' and that the charges of immorality against him are 'ridiculously feeble.' Does he suppose that his readers have not read the *Confessions of Jean Jacques Rousseau?* The candour of the author is the excuse made here for the revolting revelations of that autobiography. But this so-called candour is no virtue. It is rather a species of shamelessness, although Jean Jacques is primed with glib phrases expressive of self-disapproval while describing those episodes of his life which do not commend themselves for quotation here.[1]

Lord Morley remarks: 'Rousseau's repulsive and equivocal personality has deservedly fared ill in the esteem of the saner and more rational of those who have judged him.'

In short, if the *Edinburgh* critic considers that Rousseau 'cultivated morality and simplicity of life,' what value can praise or blame from his pen possess? Absolutely none.

In the last page of his article we are told that

> the only philosophical lesson we can learn from these lives is that—whether the talents were *good* or *bad*, large or small [the italics are mine], they were in each case drawn upon and exercised to the maximum extent of their capacity,

and we are to

> learn to strive not . . . even for what we think the public welfare, but simply to make the best of our talents, whithersoever they may lead.

What if these talents lead us, like Rousseau, to theft and lying and even worse actions? It is still our talent, good or bad, that we are exercising. Is this the only 'philosophical lesson' we can learn from the life of John Stuart Mill? To what a depth has criticism descended here!

Another proof of the deleterious influence exercised on Mill by his wife and step-daughter alleged in the *Edinburgh Review* is the asserted inferiority of the letters written by him after his marriage to those of an earlier date. Here again the fact that his intellectual friendship with Mrs. Taylor had survived the test of twenty years before he married her is conveniently ignored. That there is a 'vulgarisation and enfeeblement' in the letters that he wrote after meeting her in 1831, as compared with those he wrote before that date, every impartial critic will deny. Vulgarity is the last quality that can be attributed by a sincere and well-balanced mind to any of Mill's productions. But letters are only the by-product of a literary life, and by these, there-

[1] On this subject see Francis Gribble's *Women whom Rousseau loved.*

fore, it cannot be judged. They are written not to instruct posterity, but for their immediate ends.

If the quality of Mill's correspondence after his marriage was really in any way impaired this is no more than we should expect. In middle life he was attacked by consumption. That in spite of this, and of his arduous work at the India House, he was still engaged in writing for the public is simply a marvel, when we consider that he was compelled to spend his winters in our raw climate and in the confinement of an office, and that the disease did not leave him until one lung was destroyed. This fact I have heard from my father, who was an inmate of Mill's house, after the latter had married my grandmother, until his own marriage in 1860, subsequent to her death. Mill's remaining lung was not attacked; consequently he recovered a tolerable degree of health, but his vitality was necessarily lowered. Mr. Courtney tells us that Mill's medical adviser at this time believed that general debility would probably prevent him from doing any other considerable work. The reviewer entirely ignores these considerations when attributing to the 'Taylor influence' the fact that in his judgment Mill wrote no great work after the age of thirty-nine. It is fortunate that the *Logic* and *Political Economy* were written previous to this; works requiring such a prodigious amount of thought and labour could scarcely have been produced afterwards. Works as great in moral inspiration might have been, and *were*, written at a later date. In such circumstances was it any wonder if less care and thought were spent upon his correspondence than during his younger and more vigorous years?

Besides, when a man has the satisfaction of close and constant intercourse with a chosen woman friend, capable of sharing in his great ideas and of appreciating his grand visions for the future of humanity, he may naturally feel less craving for expressing himself by means of his pen to friends of his own sex.

Finally, the amount of general correspondence Mill had to deal with had by this time increased to almost unmanageable proportions, and no friend of his would have wished him to use up the spare strength that remained after the duties alluded to had been discharged, by long philosophical letters that were not essential to his life-work. One can imagine how much those who cared for Mill must have desired that he should shorten his correspondence and increase his hours of rest.

With regard to the assertion that Mrs. Mill was not received in society, I challenge the writer to bring forward his authority for this statement. It was Mill himself who declined to see the three ladies mentioned by Bain as having expressed their opinion freely on the previous platonic affection between my

grandmother and himself. It may be remarked that throughout her maturer years her health, as well as her natural tastes, had induced her to prefer a retired life. For many years before her second marriage she had suffered from consumptive tendencies, and had been obliged to winter abroad. Bain, whose opinion as an intimate friend of Mill can hardly be gainsaid on such a point, makes the following observations:

> Mill could almost always allow a visitor fifteen or twenty minutes in the course of his official day, and this was the only way he could be seen. He never went into any society, except the monthly meetings of the Political Economy Club. He was completely alienated from Mrs. Grote, while keeping up his intercourse with Grote himself, and as she was not the person to have an opinion without freely expressing it, I inferred that estrangement had reference to Mrs. Taylor. Mrs. Austin, too, I was told, *came in for the cold shoulder*, and Harriet Martineau, who had special opportunities of knowing the history of the connection, and also spoke her mind freely, was understood to be still more decisively *under the ban*. [The italics are my own.] He asked no one, so far as I know, to visit her. Grote would *most cordially have paid his respects to her*, had he known it would be agreeable; but he did not receive any intimation to that effect, and never saw her either before or after her marriage to Mill. Mrs. Grote had on one occasion, at Mill's desire, taken her to the House of Commons to hear Grote speak. . . . During all the years of her marriage with Mill she was properly described as an invalid.

It is evident that the critic in the *Edinburgh Review* makes the assertion referred to in the last paragraph with the intention of prejudicing his readers against Mrs. John Stuart Mill. That Mill had close communion with my grandmother for so many years with perfect propriety, and the countenance of my grandfather, would speak in most people's estimation for the inherent goodness of both natures. Not so in the eyes of this writer; the credit is entirely the man's, and we are to take this at his word. 'John Stuart Mill,' he says, 'was by this same feature [his hatred of sensuality] preserved from immoral relations with Mrs. Taylor.' The insinuation that Mrs. Taylor was virtuous only because of Mill's impeccability shows that this anonymous critic, who professes to admire him, is incapable of appreciating the true greatness of either.

In answer to the statement that Mrs. Mill 'had no unusual qualities of mind or body,' I shall content myself by quoting George Mill, who, while unable to recognise the extraordinary genius attributed to her by his brother John, yet spoke of her as a 'clever and remarkable woman.' The impression she left on the mind of her bereaved husband is touchingly conveyed in his letter, dated November 28, 1858, acknowledging Mr. Grote's tribute of sympathy after her decease: 'Without any personal tie, merely to have known her as I do would have been enough to make life a blank now that she has disappeared from it. I seem to have

cared for things or persons, events, opinions on the future of the world, only because she cared for them: the sole motive that remains strong enough to give any interest to life is the desire to do what she would have wished.'

Reference is made in the article under consideration to the intellectual pretensions of Mrs. Taylor and Miss Helen Taylor. That John Stuart Mill found his inspiration and delight in my grandmother's companionship during twenty-seven years speaks infinitely more for her mental qualities than these studied yet shallow reflections can detract from either her intellectual or moral reputation. In what way did Miss Helen Taylor pretend to intellectuality? Simply by giving up her life to her step-father when her mother died. Had she left Mill alone, while pursuing her own path in life, instead of soothing him, as she knew her mother would have wished, by sharing his grief, distracting his thoughts by inducing him to travel, and assisting him with his books and correspondence and in any other way in which he desired her help, the reviewer would not then have accused her of pretending to intellectuality.

When the *Letters*, chiefly on public questions, appeared more than a year and a half ago there was a general demand in the Press for others of a more personal and domestic character. It was impossible to bring these out at the same time, as the book would have been swollen to too great dimensions. Besides, I felt that my personal editing would be required. Having many interesting letters of John Stuart Mill, and others bearing a Mill interest, I hope soon to carry out this work. As they only came into my possession in 1907, and two volumes have been already issued, it cannot be considered that there has been so far any unreasonable delay.[2]

MARY TAYLOR.

[2] In the published *Letters of John Stuart Mill* a portrait was given of Mrs. Mill, which professed to be a copy of a cameo in my possession, but which was not a good reproduction. All those copies of the *Letters* that are now being sold contain an excellent engraving (substituted for the original one) which faithfully represents the beautiful likeness. Any persons who have the *Letters of John Stuart Mill* containing the inferior engraving, page 213, may obtain, cost free, this new production of the portrait from the publishers, who will also, if desired, insert it in their copy of the *Letters* in place of the original one.

THE LEGAL POSITION OF WOMEN IN NORWAY

In all European countries women have been held in subjection for centuries. In legislation they have, in almost all conditions of life, been treated as subordinate to men. When legislation has been in the hands of the people women have been excluded, and the laws of all countries have borne and still bear unmistakable signs of having been worked out and enacted by men, and only by men.

The reasoning underlying this fact has been that as woman's proper place is within the four walls of the home she can have no concern in political and social questions and other matters of public interest. From childhood she has been educated to this dependent position. When married she was, according to the law, the property of the man—entirely under the authority of her husband. She had no control over her own property or over what she might earn by her own efforts. Whether married or unmarried, she was excluded from all important positions in the municipality as well as in the State.

In all civilised countries these walls of injustice and prejudice are now being broken down. In no single country has the work yet been completed. In spite of opposition, however, it is going on, and to-day it may be said that the development of justice and civilisation in any nation is to be measured mainly by its progress in regard to the emancipation of women and the protection of children. In this article I will endeavour to describe briefly how far, and in what respects, this work has already been carried out in Norway.

The work of strengthening and raising the weak must begin at the root. The most important basis for the establishment of equal rights for men and women is to be found in education. In Norway all the schools, from the lowest to the highest, are open to boys and girls on the same terms. All children must attend the primary schools from their seventh to the end of their fourteenth year; the boys and girls sit together and, in the recreation

hour, play together. In all the higher schools established by the State, as in most of the private higher schools, the same system prevails. In all these classes of schools women as well as men are teachers, the women thus instructing both boys and girls. Young men and women are also admitted equally to the university. From 1882 to 1909 about a thousand women passed the entrance examination to the university. Previous to 1909 sixty-four women students had graduated, and these are now practising as physicians, solicitors, barristers, or teachers. Their admittance to all offices in the State is under consideration, an alteration in the Constitution in that direction having been carried a few years ago.

The system of mixed schools has turned out to be successful and beneficial. It is generally acknowledged that these schools have had no objectionable influence, but that, on the contrary, they have in every case been instrumental in raising the moral level of the young. It has also been shown that the girls generally follow the instruction quite as easily as the boys, and at the final examination in the higher schools (the entrance examination for the university) it very often happens that a relatively greater number of the highest certificates is taken by the female pupils.

In Norway the age of consent is sixteen years. The age of majority is the same for women as for men, viz. twenty-one. This holds good both for married and unmarried women. In every marriage, when not otherwise arranged by marriage contract, all the property becomes the joint property of husband and wife, and is divided equally should the marriage be dissolved. When a married person dies, one half of the estate is thus the property of the surviving consort—man or wife. This is his or her part of the joint property. A person who leaves children cannot bequeath away from them more than one-fourth of his or her half; the other three-fourths must go to the children, girls and boys alike. There is, however, this difference—that a widower, even when he has children, has the right to use and manage the whole estate so long as he does not remarry; while a widow must divide the estate with the children when any of them have reached the age of twenty-five years and demand such division. If there are no children, the surviving consort, besides his or her half, takes as inheritance also one-third of the deceased's half.

While the marriage exists the husband is the manager of the joint property; but real estate which the wife may have contributed cannot be mortgaged or sold without her explicit consent. All debts incurred by the wife for the benefit and requirements of the family are binding upon the joint property, and must be paid by the husband. On the other hand, the wife has full right to the exclusive management and use of all she may earn by her personal

work and industry. As the manager of the home she has a legal right to be supported by the husband in accordance with his social and economic standard of life.

If the husband deserts his wife, or if, by want of judgment or laxity in his management of the joint property, he arouses apprehension that he may waste or squander it, the wife is entitled to require it to be divided, so that she shall have one-half of the joint property under her exclusive ownership and management. Here may be mentioned, as a further safeguard of the rights of women, the law under which a person may be declared incapable of managing his affairs. When a man becomes insane, or is so given to drink, or so dull-witted, or so prodigal, of his means as to endanger the welfare of himself or of his family, a court constituted for this purpose shall, at the request of his relatives or of the authorities, issue a decree declaring him incapable of managing his own affairs. This request may be set forth by the wife when her husband, for the reasons mentioned, has neglected his duties towards his family, thereby exposing his wife and children to want or to the loss of the common property. The whole property is then put under the control of a guardian, who is appointed by the magistrates, and who is responsible to the Committee for the management of the estates of minors.

By marriage contract, as well as by a later agreement, it may be provided that either party shall have the exclusive ownership and management of all that he or she has contributed, or may afterwards acquire by work, donation, inheritance, or otherwise. In that case dissolution of the marriage has for its only legal consequence, in regard to the property of the consorts, that the survivor takes as inheritance one-third of the estate of the deceased should there be no children.

To the independence of women in marriage the nature of the law in reference to divorce is of great importance. An unhappy marriage from which neither party can escape, and which in extreme cases resembles a dungeon whose poisoned vapours slowly stifle soul and heart, is, when maintained by compulsion, a reversion of the matrimonial idea, debasing to both parties and noxious to the children in the home. This is a truth quite as pressing to the poor as the rich—to the poor perhaps more so, for they must live much more closely together, and have not the many means of relief and diversion which wealth affords. A humane and liberal system of divorce is specially needed by woman, for she suffers bitterly under the tyranny of a brutal or neglectful husband. The first principles of a just system of divorce, then, should be: No privilege to the wealthy in respect to the costliness of the proceedings, and no privilege to man in respect of unequal conjugal duties and rights. And, in regard to the placing or apportionment

of the children, the mother, in the event of divorce, ought to have a legal presumption to her advantage, as the natural tie is stronger between the infant and the mother.

Little by little we are introducing a humane and equitable system of divorce, based upon a recognition of the full equality of husband and wife and of the principle that marriage is an institution resting upon free will and reciprocal consent. This system, which had hitherto rested mainly on practice, was recently elaborated and codified as law.

The law establishes two methods of dissolving marriage—one preliminary, separation; and one final, divorce. When it is demanded by both parties separation is always granted by the magistrates. No special reason for the demand requires to be adduced. The agreement must specify which of the parents shall have custody of the children and provide for the financial side of the matter. Both parents, however, have the same obligation to maintain the children after the separation as before, and the sum which is to be paid can at any time, if necessary, be fixed by the magistrates without regard to any former agreement or contract by the parents.

If claimed by one of the parties only, separation can be granted by the Crown (really the Ministry of Justice); also against the protest of the other party when drunkenness or gross neglect of conjugal duties is involved; and, further, when there has arisen so strong an incompatibility between the husband and wife that, in view of their own welfare as well as that of the children, it could not reasonably be demanded that the marriage should be maintained against the will of the claimant. Separation may be granted also even when the conduct of the claimant is not blameless. The vital point considered is whether continuance in the married state would be an outrage against the principle of matrimonial freedom and be really inimical or dangerous to the welfare of the children. The question which of the parents shall have the custody of the children, as well as the question of maintenance, is settled by the magistrates, an appeal being allowed to the Ministry.

A decree of divorce, following a separation, is granted by the Crown when one year has elapsed from the granting of the separation, provided that both husband and wife are agreed in claiming divorce. Otherwise the requisite interval is two years. The Crown has also the power, in certain cases, to grant divorce on the claim of one of the parties without a legal separation having taken place—i.e. when the husband and wife have lived *de facto* separated for at least three years previously, and also when either husband or wife has been insane for at least three years previously, and it is declared by two medical experts that the possibility of

recovery must be regarded as practically excluded. In all other cases applications for divorce must be brought before the courts.

Divorce is granted by the courts, without previous separation, when the defendant prior to the marriage—the other party being ignorant thereof—has been insane, infected with sexual disease, or subject to alcoholism; as well as when the defendant is found guilty of adultery, of ill-treating his wife or children, or of various other offences specified by the law. Further, should either of the parties be sentenced to penal servitude for three years or more, divorce can always be claimed by the other party.

In divorce cases the court sits with closed doors, and any report in the Press is forbidden by the criminal law. We have no desire that the most intimate and private affairs of family life, and incidents involving personal distress, shall become matter for public sensation and be exposed to the curiosity of scandal-loving audiences. Such unlimited publicity is needless cruelty, liable to divert sensitive men and women unhappily married from making use of the legal remedy for relief, while, on the other hand, it may also press hardly upon the children and injure them in their future career. Nor do we consider that the publication of divorce-court details can benefit public morality, and especially the morality of youth. We have confidence in our judges that they will do their duty although the doors are closed, and, moreover, the parties are always entitled to appeal to the higher collegiate courts, and finally to the supreme court of the realm.

In regard to the cost of divorce cases it must be noted that all ordinary courts have the power to hear and decide such cases, and that when a petition for divorce is to be heard and decided by the court it is the court of the district in which the defendant is domiciled that is the competent tribunal. The judge must begin the proceedings with mediation, but if his efforts fail he is obliged to ensure that all the evidence shall be adduced before judgment is pronounced. The whole proceeding is cheap, and, for the poor, practically gratuitous. Moreover, should cases come before the courts of appeal no fees are required to be paid.

Neither the mediation of the judge, nor of the clergyman, nor of the special court of conciliation which precedes the magistrate's grant of separation, is of any particular importance in practice. On the other hand, it frequently happens that, after having been separated, husbands and wives renew conjugal cohabitation, and thus abandon their intention of being divorced.

When divorce is granted by the Crown or by the courts, the question of the maintenance of the wife and of the custody and maintenance of the children has to be settled. The man pays alimony to the wife unless the ground of divorce has been misdemeanour essentially on her side. On the other hand, the wife,

if she has the means, must pay alimony to the man if he, through sickness or for other reasons, is unable to maintain himself and is without sufficient property, provided that the divorce has not been brought about by his misdemeanour or bad behaviour. The alimony ceases should the wife, in the first instance, or the husband, in the second, re-marry. The yearly amount of the alimony is fixed by the magistrates, subject to an appeal to the Ministry of Justice.

The custody and maintenance of the children is settled in the same manner. As a general rule it is provided by the law that the children, especially if infants, shall not without special reason be taken away from the mother.

By far the largest number of divorces are granted by the Crown (the Ministry of Justice). Thus, in the years 1901-1906 about 90 per cent. were so granted, only about 10 per cent. of the decrees being pronounced by the courts. The reason of this is *not that the petitions for divorce are generally refused by the* courts, but that the liberal system—if I may so call it—of the administrative granting of divorces makes the appeal to the courts in most cases superfluous. This liberal system of separation and divorce has been in force substantially for the past twenty years, and has in all essentials proved successful. The method of granting divorce by the Crown is a hundred years old, and it works, on the whole, unobjectionably and without friction. Many unhappy men and women, rich as well as poor, are saved by the system from a life of misery and disgrace. In spite of our liberal practice, divorces in Norway are not exceptionally numerous—relatively, indeed, they are less numerous than in most other continental countries. In the years 1904 to 1908 there were yearly, on an average, 237 divorces, of which sixty-six were in the rural districts. In the same period the number of marriages contracted was 13,688, of which about three thousand were in the rural districts.

A comparison with other civilised countries shows that the annual number of divorces for each 100,000 existing marriages about the beginning of the present century was as follows :

Country		Country	
Norway (1901-1908) ...	54	Germany	79
Sweden	48	Denmark	89
Hungary	59	France	103
Belgium	60	Switzerland	190
The Netherlands	67	United States	250

The figure for Norway is of a later date than the figures for the other countries. Although the number of divorces in Norway is increasing somewhat, it is still lower than in most of the other countries mentioned, if not in all.

It has been successfully proved in Norway that a liberal system of divorce is capable of averting much misery without endangering the moral life and feeling of the people. Our experience has been that men and women generally do not ask for divorce unless their marriage has been the cause of real suffering and lasting calamity for one party or for both. The system of one or two years' separation before the granting of divorce in cases where no special offence (such as adultery) is pleaded has contributed considerably to this result. The difficult question of the children has, of course, to be most carefully dealt with. The power of the authorities to determine their custody, and to fix and collect the payments of either parent until the children are grown up, is not only an indispensable remedy but also a check upon frivolous petitioners.

In all countries illegitimate children and their mothers are usually treated in a fashion which fails to satisfy the claims of justice, and which exposes the health and lives of the children to unusual perils, raising the death rate of this class of infants to an alarming height and often stamping them for life as outcasts of society. In Norway, where the illegitimate births amount to about 4500 out of a total of about 62,000—that is, about 7 per cent.—a child so born has in reference to its mother the same legal rights as her legitimate children : it takes her surname, and is entitled to inherit from her and from her relatives and to be maintained by her equally with her legitimate children. The father, on the other hand, is only bound to pay a small contribution towards the expenses of the confinement and to the child's maintenance until its fifteenth year—and only when he is formally required by the mother or by the parish to fulfil these obligations. The right of taking the father's family name is an exclusive privilege of his legitimate children. His illegitimate children are excluded from the right of his family inheritance and have no legal relation whatsoever to the father. The result is that, in most cases, the mother is left alone in her distress; very often she delays the undesirable appeal for the father's contribution, and the infant is boarded out with strangers, where it is deprived of its natural nourishment and a mother's care. The mother herself, in her abandoned and miserable situation, is often driven to despair and tempted to commit a crime against her child. As to the children, a recent medico-statistical inquiry has shown that the death rate among illegitimate children in the early months after birth is nearly thrice as high as among legitimate children, without doubt because the former, for the most part, are deprived of their natural feeding and care.

To remedy this unsatisfactory state of things the late Government introduced a Bill aiming at a thorough reform. This Bill

provided that, when an illegitimate child is born, the man who is stated to the registrar by the mother to be the father of the child shall be notified of this statement by the authorities, and be asked at the same time whether he acknowledges the child to be his. If he denies that he is the father he must defend his declaration before the court within a fixed period. Should the court find it proved that he is the father, or if he acknowledges that he is, he must assume all the duties towards the child which he would incur if it were his legitimate child, while the child has all a legitimate child's rights in relation to the father. If, however, the court finds it only proved that he has had relations with the mother at such a time as to make it possible for him to be the father, without venturing to declare that he and no one else really is, then he shall only be ordered to pay the confinement expenses and a monthly contribution towards the maintenance of the child until its sixteenth year. In all cases any contribution shall be imposed on him and collected by the authorities without regard to the request of the mother. The mother may also demand compensation from the man for her loss of working ability in the last three months of pregnancy and in the six weeks following childbirth, and such damages, as well as the contribution to the expenses of confinement, can also be claimed within a fixed period *before* the birth of the child.

A very important part of the Bill is the section which provides for a contribution from the public funds (State and municipality) to the support of the mother for the six weeks preceding the birth and for three months thereafter, provided this is necessary to enable her to keep the child with her and give it its natural food. This support is paid in advance to the mother, and the father of the child is held debtor to the public funds for the expense thus incurred. The same provision is also made for married women who have lost or are deserted by their husbands.

The foregoing Bill was not passed by the last Parliament owing to insufficient time. Now that a new Government has come in, it will probably be submitted to the present Storthing as a private Bill. Its provisions for giving an illegitimate child the same family rights in relation to the father as, by Norwegian law, it already possesses in relation to the mother, have aroused considerable controversy. Generally, the Bill has been most heartily approved by the labour organisations and by working-class women as well as by the more advanced women of the upper class.

As an important measure recently enacted, it may here be mentioned that, by the Sick Insurance Act of September 1909, childbirth is regarded as an illness entitling women to gratuitous medical aid, and for a period of six weeks to a daily allowance of 60 per cent. of their ordinary average earnings. The provision applies to all women working for employers.

Turning now to the participation of women in public life, I would first call attention to the fact that as long ago as 1896 they obtained the right to take part in a special kind of municipal referendum with reference to the abolition of liquor licences. In Norway the so-called Gothenburg system prevails—*i.e.* the entire sale of all sorts of spirits is exclusively in the hands of associations (*samlags*), which are substantially governed by the County Councils, and whose profits go entirely to the State or to the communities and to charities. The continued existence of such an association, whose premises must always be in a town, has to be decided by a referendum every four years in each town concerned. Every person over twenty-five years of age, men and women, has a vote. In these referendums the women have always taken a very active part, generally in the direction of abolishing the licences. They have thus been largely instrumental in limiting the traffic in alcohol and supporting the strong temperance movement in Norway.

The most prominent feature of the movement for women's rights all over the world is, however, the struggle for the vote at municipal and parliamentary elections. But it ought never to be forgotten that women's suffrage should be only a link in a chain of reforms and reform movements all aiming at the emancipation of women and their equalisation with men. Hearty and strong support of women's suffrage can never be expected in any political party, or any nation, that has not previously been penetrated with the comprehension and recognition of the justice of placing women on the same footing of respect and rights as men, in their capacity both as human beings and citizens. Of this Norway is an example. There the victorious struggle for the women's vote has partly followed, partly gone hand in hand with reforms and reform movements which have gradually trained men to look upon women as of equal legal standing with themselves, and which have developed and strengthened the self-respect, the self-confidence, and the social and political faculties of the women themselves. On this basis the fight for the women's vote was gradually carried on to victory.

The women's vote was carried for municipal elections in 1901 and for parliamentary elections in 1907. In Norway the men have universal suffrage on the one man one vote basis. No system of plural voting exists. All parliamentary electors who have lived in the constituency for one week before the polling day are placed upon the register and have the right of voting. About 450,000 men over the age of twenty-five have this right. For women, on the other hand, the franchise is limited, comprising those women who themselves or whose husbands pay taxes upon a yearly income of about 16*l.* 10*s.* in the country and about 22*l.*

in the towns. As incomes, particularly in the case of small farmers, agricultural labourers, and domestic servants, are very low in the rating-lists of Norway, this limitation excludes about two-fifths of all the adult women—i.e. about 200,000 out of 500,000.

With the municipal franchise for women is combined eligibility not only for the County Councils but also for all commissions and functions for which men are eligible: for example, poor-law commissions, school boards, commissions for the assessment of taxes, and juries. The parliamentary franchise carries with it eligibility for Parliament. In all cases such eligibility imposes the obligation upon the enfranchised of accepting the function bestowed by the County Councils or by the electors. Thus the eligibility is not only a right, but a legal duty.

The agitation for the women's vote was first begun in Norway about 1885. It was begun by women. By their cogent arguments and spirited demonstrations of the injustice of excluding them from public rights they aroused the conscience of the people. From the first they obtained the sympathy and support of the Labour parties and a good many of the Liberal party. Proposals for granting the parliamentary suffrage to women were repeatedly submitted to the Storthing, and in several divisions obtained considerable support; but as the reform involved a change in the Constitution, and a majority of two-thirds was therefore required, it was long before the measure could be carried.

The opposition to the vote for women was based upon the principle that woman's place is at home, and that her participation in public life is not conformable or consistent with woman's nature and capacity. The adherents of the reform, on the other hand, maintained:

That the woman's vote would not interfere with her duties as wife and mother;

That the interests of the family would be strengthened by husband and wife having two votes instead of one in cases where both were agreed upon great public questions, the vote being thus, in a sense, a reward for domestic political concord;

That in all countries the industrial system has forced a very large number of women to take a prominent part in producing the wealth of the community;

That women as a whole, married and unmarried, have quite as great, important, and heavy duties to perform towards mankind and society as men have;

That the women's vote would develop the social and public spirit of women, and thus prove a valuable educative force, as manhood suffrage had proved in the case of men;

That the general welfare of the people would be promoted by

the exercise of the peculiarly womanly interests, faculties, and opinions;

That, as the people consist of women as well as men, the principle of self-government requires the equal admittance of all citizens, regardless of sex, for the purpose of influencing the Government and its legislation; and

That the admission of women into the body of voting citizens is, therefore, only a simple act of justice.

When the universal parliamentary franchise for men was carried in 1898, the attitude of the Conservatives was somewhat altered. Many of them were now induced to support the women's vote as a Conservative force in public life. When the universal municipal franchise for men was carried three years later, in 1901, the grant of a limited municipal vote for women followed, enfranchising for municipal purposes three-fifths of all married and unmarried women over twenty-five years of age. The women have now exercised their right to vote at municipal elections since 1901, and their activity has varied in different parts of the country and chiefly in the towns. In the aggregate, however, it has increased at each election. The number of women voters rose from 78,000 in 1901 to 91,000 in 1907. The proportion of actual women voters to the total number of enfranchised women rose in the towns from 48 per cent. in 1901 to 63 per cent. in 1907, the last figure being considerably greater than the percentage of men who went to the poll in 1901. About 150 women have been elected as members of County Councils. Women are members of all the school boards, and often sit on juries.

The granting of the municipal vote to women facilitated the carrying of women's suffrage for Parliament. The women were now a real political power, whose good will every party was anxious to gain, because local government is of great importance in Norway, the municipal elections being, as a rule, on political lines, their issues having considerable bearing upon the general political situation of the country.

Presently an event occurred which gave the women an opportunity to press their claim still more closely upon public opinion. When the union between Norway and Sweden was broken in 1905 it was resolved by the Storthing to ascertain by means of a referendum whether the people were prepared to sanction the dissolution of the union. This referendum was an answer to the pretension of the Swedes that the Storthing had resolved upon the dissolution against the real will of the Norwegian people. The question was then submitted to all the parliamentary voters in the country. The women were consequently excluded. This did not satisfy them. They established a referendum of their own. In all the towns and most of the parishes throughout the country the

women organised themselves, and put their names on their own voting lists. In the official referendum about 400,000 men took part, and of these only thirteen recorded their vote against the dissolution. About 300,000 women over twenty-five years of age voted unofficially, all of them *for* the dissolution. This patriotic act of the women, and the love of national independence which it manifested, aroused general admiration and strengthened the universal confidence in their public spirit. The act gave the Government and the Storthing increased strength in their difficult and dangerous task. It proved that the policy of complete independence was backed not only by the men but by the whole people. It was the more remarkable as all knew that that policy might possibly cause a war with Sweden.

At the parliamentary elections in the following year, 1906, the parliamentary franchise for women was not only included in the programme of the Labour parties and the Liberals; a great many Conservatives also were now in favour of it, although in a modified form. The Radicals did not approve of any limitation. For years the removal of the limitations in the male parliamentary franchise had been the first and foremost task in their long struggle for democratic progress. They also feared that a limited franchise for women would contribute to their defeat at the polls. In spite of this they resolved to act as in 1901. They considered that the injustice of the *entire* exclusion of women was greater than the injustice of a limitation which excluded only two-fifths of them, and they hoped that it would be but a short step from such a limited franchise to the complete enfranchisement of women.

In its official report the Constitutional Committee of the Storthing thus summarised its view of the question :

> That women should believe [it said] that the interests of society will be best safeguarded when they obtain the same opportunity of influencing the solution of public questions as men now possess, is, we consider, natural and reasonable. In States where the sovereignty of the people is acknowledged, the franchise ought to be bestowed upon all those who are qualified to use this right in a way which promotes the welfare and favours the progress of society. To exclude any solely on account of sex is not only an injustice towards the individual, but is also detrimental to society, which stands in need of all the forces it can command. The question, then, is whether women do possess proper qualifications for using the franchise successfully, and this question must, in the opinion of this Committee, be answered in the affirmative. The faculties of woman, as well as her education, character, and intelligence, point out her place as collateral with man's in the solution of social problems, which can hardly be satisfactorily solved unless all the forces of society work together.

On the 14th of June 1907 the question was discussed and decided in the Storthing. First the proposition of universal suffrage for women was defeated, forty-eight out of 123 members

voting in favour of it. Then women's suffrage, limited, as above mentioned, to three-fifths of all women over twenty-five years of age, was approved by ninety-six votes, only twenty-seven members voting against it. Of the majority sixty-seven were Labour men, Radicals, and Liberals, and twenty-nine Conservatives. Almost the whole of the Liberal and Labour parties voted for it.

The Norwegian women exercised their new right for the first time at the general election which took place in autumn 1909. Their participation in the elections was very active. In the two largest towns, Kristiania and Bergen, the number of men's votes was about 39,000 and that of the women's votes about 33,000—i.e. 70 per cent. of the enfranchised men and 72 per cent. of the enfranchised women used their votes.

What is our experience of this first participation of women in our parliamentary elections? Have the women been moved by personal feelings or regard to the sex of the candidates, or have general political opinions governed their votes? The answer is that the women were divided on the same political party lines as the men. Their political and social views have guided their votes, not considerations of sex. When the foremost female advocate of women's suffrage, a leader in the fight for women's rights, Miss Gina Krog, stood as a Liberal candidate for one of the constituencies of Kristiania, nominated by the Liberal organisation, the great bulk of the women voters in that wealthy constituency gave their votes to her Conservative opponent, a man, and she was accordingly defeated. In all, three women stood as candidates, but they were all defeated by the votes of their political opponents of both sexes, and men were elected. The women obtained only a single place as a member's deputy—that is, one who has to take the place of the member if he dies or if he is absent through illness or for any other cause.

Another feature of the new franchise is that, generally, married women and their husbands are found voting for the same candidate. Of course, there are exceptions. But in most cases it may be said that the influence of the family on the result of the elections has been doubled.

As a general rule, I think it may be said that the first result of the women's parliamentary franchise in Norway has been, to a great extent, to awaken the public spirit of women. Undoubtedly the women voters have also helped to direct the attention of politicians more closely to the moral and social side of politics.

At the same time, the opinion is gaining ground that it is unjust and irrational to exclude 200,000 women who stand in the greatest need of the franchise as an instrument for the improvement of their condition. The limitation in municipal franchise has already been removed, the Storthing having last summer

passed a bill giving full suffrage to women at municipal elections. The extension of the limited parliamentary franchise to universal suffrage for women was proposed by the late Liberal Cabinet; it is now a part of the programme of the Labour parties and the Liberals, and is supported by many of the staunchest female leaders in the struggle for women's rights.

Norway has been one of the first nations to include women among their self-governing citizens. One may think, perhaps, that it is of small consequence what a small country like Norway has done in such a domain as this. But it must be remembered that it is often just the small nations from which mankind derives the impulses which stimulate its uninterrupted progress. Norway's emancipation of women is based upon justice and confidence. It points the way in which all the nations of the civilised world will follow as enlightenment and the sense of justice grow apace.

J. Castberg
(Ex-Minister of Justice).

THE COAL CRISIS

It is no exaggeration to say that the attention of the whole nation is riveted upon the great and all-important struggle that is proceeding between the colliery owners and their employees upon the question of a minimum wage.

The solution of this complex and difficult problem is fraught with the most stupendous consequences, not only to all those engaged in industrial and commercial pursuits, but to every householder in Great Britain.

The ballot which has just been taken in the mining centres has declared by an overwhelming majority in favour of tendering notices on the 1st of February to terminate contracts, in support of the proposals for a guaranteed minimum wage, so that unless an agreement is arrived at by the end of the present month, there promises to be a complete stoppage of the mining industry upon the 1st of March.

During the course of last summer the whole industrial world was thrown into confusion by an epidemic of strikes; the industrial population of the country still continues to be in a very disturbed state, and the future is full of anxious uncertainty. So great an upheaval in the ranks of labour has not been experienced by the present generation; demands continue to be put forward by the different labour unions, and these demands are a source of most serious concern to all those who have capital invested in our industrial undertakings employing large bodies of workers.

A complete stoppage of the nation's coal supplies will be quickly followed by a compulsory cessation of labour in every branch of industry dependent upon coal for its motive-power, as the reserve stores of fuel cannot possibly hold out for more than two or three weeks; and even although some of the largest consumers may take the precaution of augmenting stocks, yet so interdependent are our national industries that the stoppage of any particular industry cannot fail to react immediately upon others. Moreover, it is important to remember that the storage of large quantities of coal means an abnormal demand upon the market, and, as we have already seen, a sharp rise in prices. Such a policy can only be conveniently resorted to by undertakings with

command of reserve capital. Again, if the action of the miners receives the general approval of workers in other branches of industry, we may expect the principle of the sympathetic strike to extend to those workers who may be asked to handle coal from store, and thus any precautionary measures adopted by great railway companies and other employers of labour will be nullified.

The development of the coal-mining industry in Great Britain has reached gigantic proportions, and the extent of its operations may be imagined when we remember that the total quantity of coal brought to the surface during 1910 was 264,433,000 tons, while the Miners' Federation of Great Britain has a membership of over 600,000, and even this immense total does not embrace the whole of those engaged in the industry, which, with non-unionists, etc., must exceed a million.

It will be interesting to quote the following table taken from the Report of the Royal Commission on Coal Supplies (1903), which is an approximate summary of the consumption of coal in the home industries only :

	Tons.
Railways (all purposes)	13,000,000
Coasting steamers (bunkers)	2,000,000
Factories	53,000,000
Mines	18,000,000
Iron and steel industries	28,000,000
Other metals and minerals	1,000,000
Brick works, potteries, glass works, and chemical works	5,000,000
Gas works	15,000,000
Domestic purposes	32,000,000
Total	167,000,000

These figures show the extent to which the country is dependent upon the regularity of its coal supplies and the national importance of the present crisis.

There is a great difference between the demand for a minimum wage now formulated by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain and previous claims which have been the cause of serious contention between colliery owners and their employees. The history of the coal trade is unfortunately too full of records of bitter and long-continued strife, but hitherto disputes have been confined to a particular area. In our coalfields the conditions of employment vary to a considerable degree, and a dispute in one part of the country has not necessarily been a matter of vital concern to those employed outside the affected area.

South Wales had a prolonged strike in 1898, but the struggle did not extend, and during the whole term of the strike the

English and Scotch colliers enjoyed the benefit of continuous work. In the present case, however, the demand for a minimum wage is a claim put forward on behalf of the whole body of miners of Great Britain, and the Birmingham National Conference has shown that the principle is supported by a majority of 330,080 out of 561,522 who took part in the ballot; the figures are well over the two-thirds majority necessary to enable a national strike to be declared.

The demand for a minimum wage has been the subject of serious thought on the part of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain for a considerable period, and has now been pressed forward ostensibly to serve the interests of the miner whose work lies in getting coal in abnormal places. Where a collier is at work on a good normal seam, he is always in a position to earn a high wage from the facility with which he can win the maximum amount of coal, upon which he is paid a fixed wage per ton; therefore the question of a minimum wage will not necessarily affect his interests. On the other hand, where a working place runs abnormal—*i.e.* with bad roof or floor, faults, and other geological disturbances which prevent the collier from raising sufficient coal to furnish him with a fair wage for the labour expended, he too often finds, when pay day arrives, that his earnings fall much below those of his more fortunate fellow workmen engaged in a good normal place in the same colliery.

In such cases it is the general custom that managers make an allowance to the collier, over and above the piece-work rate of wages, to compensate him.

It may be thought that the question of whether a working place is normal or abnormal is not a difficult matter to determine, but unfortunately the contrary is the case, and disputes are constantly taking place between colliery managers and the men upon this point; in fact, the difficulty in arriving at an acceptable allowance for these places is the cause of constant friction.

It cannot be ignored that there is undoubted hardship to those colliers who work in abnormal places, and since the crisis has become acute, numerous instances have been made public. In Lancashire, difficulties have arisen so frequently on this point, with consequent stoppages of work, that the heavy calls upon the local branch of the Miners' Federation for strike-pay have resulted in its income being entirely expended, and demands have even been made upon the accumulated funds.

The acceptance of the principle of the minimum wage would of course finally settle the question of the allowance to be paid for cutting coal in abnormal places; but whatever advantages may be claimed for the establishment of the principle, colliery owners take strong exception to the manner in which this question has

been forced upon them at the present juncture. Especially is this the case in the important South Wales coalfield, where the masters contend that the tendering of notices to terminate work on the 1st of March is a violation of the present South Wales wage-agreement arrived at after prolonged negotiation in April 1910. This agreement was entered into for five years, so that it has still three years to run. The same complaint is made by the owners in Scotland, where the miners are also working under an unexpired agreement.

The socialistic influences which, unfortunately, are now an active force in trade unions, have led to an utter want of respect on the part of the workers for agreements entered into on their behalf with the masters. Vexatious demands are of constant occurrence, and colliery owners have no guarantee that work will proceed from day to day. This not only leads to friction, but adds greatly to the difficulty of fulfilling contracts, curtails the output, increases the cost of production, and is the means of diverting trade.

Let us now briefly consider the main objections to the principle of the minimum wage. In the first place, the strongest possible exception is taken to the proposal to fix a guaranteed minimum wage for each person working in coal mines, without regard to the amount of labour performed, as the incentive which at present exists for the miner to turn out the maximum amount of coal, to enable him to earn the highest possible wage, would be destroyed. It is held that the present system of payment by results cannot be superseded if the satisfactory working of the mines is to continue, as, owing to the very nature of work underground, there is a difficulty of supervision which is not met with when large bodies of men are at work in the light of day.

A guaranteed minimum would be a premium upon idleness and an encouragement to the shirker to win as little coal as possible in exchange for the minimum wage.

Owners contend that a fixed minimum wage is impossible without a corresponding guarantee of a minimum output of coal, and until such a guarantee is forthcoming the demands of the Miners' Federation will continue to meet with a firm refusal.

Owing to the variation in the wage-agreements in different parts of the country, the Birmingham Conference of Miners' Delegates failed to arrive at a uniform minimum wage to suit the requirements of the different coalfields, and eventually left the unions in the various centres to negotiate direct with their employers on this point. The most unreasonable demands were made by the Northumberland and South Wales miners, whose ideas of a minimum are actually in excess of the present

average piecework rate of wages in their respective districts. This strengthens the contention of the owners that the demand for a minimum wage is only a veiled attempt to raise the standard rate of wages beyond what is due under the terms of existing agreements.

A very important objection urged against the innovation is that its adoption would be fatal to the employment of any but able-bodied men, and would mean the discharge of miners who have passed the prime of life, and those who are suffering from physical defects. At present the latter find employment in the mines, and, although not able to earn as much as their more robust fellow-workmen, yet can earn a living; but under a minimum-wage system it would be idle to expect an employer to retain the services of those who could not be relied upon to give a fair return for the fixed minimum to which they would be entitled.

A study of the proceedings of the Birmingham Conference undoubtedly suggests the presence of a strong feeling of moderation in the minds of several of the delegates, and we may expect the influence of these moderate men to play an important part during the critical period which intervenes before the expiration of the month's notice. It is a hopeful sign that the difficulties which exist in arriving at a satisfactory working scheme under a minimum wage are recognised by this section of the delegates. Already the following proposal has been put forward on the men's side as a possible solution:

> A committee, consisting of an equal number of representatives chosen by the owner and the workmen, shall be appointed in every district to consider and determine any disputes as to wages and working places.

There is also a disposition, which, however, has not yet received unanimous approval, to meet the owners as regards the question of aged and physically infirm workmen, shirkers, and malingerers, so that a scheme may yet be devised by which the owners would get a fair day's work in exchange for a guaranteed minimum wage.

With regard to abnormal places it is also proposed by the men that a joint committee should decide whether places are abnormal and the extent of abnormality, so that it should not be impossible to arrive at a solution of this difficulty; more especially as colliery owners have already expressed their willingness to discuss grievances as regards inadequate remuneration of those colliers whose occupation is in abnormal places, and colliery owners are also prepared to consider the position of the low-wage men (*i.e.* those not actually employed in winning coal), with a view to an improvement in their rate of pay.

As has already been stated, the demand for a minimum wage and the national ballot in favour of tendering notices for a general strike is a departure of the most serious character. It has been held, and doubtless with good reason, that this drastic and sudden step is the direct outcome of the unrest consequent upon the working of the Eight Hours Act, which provides, *inter alia* :

That a workman shall not be below ground in a mine for the purpose of his work and of going to and from his work for more than eight hours during any consecutive twenty-four hours.

In the winning of coal the occupation is attended with great and constant danger; it is therefore the duty of legislators to do everything possible by Act of Parliament to minimise the risks and safeguard the interests of those engaged in so hazardous a calling; but the Eight Hours Act is a measure which, in its practical working and general application, has led to grave dissatisfaction and personal inconvenience, has seriously reduced outputs, and has also resulted in a reduction of the earning-power of the collier. Often the cutting-surface of the coal will be a mile or more from the pit-mouth, therefore the actual working time will be reduced to 6 to 7 hours, after deducting the time necessary for the collier to travel from and to the surface.

The present abnormal price of British coal, and the uncertainty of our coal exporters being able to supply their foreign customers with regularity, must give an impetus to the coal industries, not only of the Continent, but of the United States.

Indeed, the prevalence of strikes in the coal industry of Great Britain is a matter of serious concern to those engaged in the exporting branch of the industry, and must inevitably hinder its progress and expansion. Although the export of coal from the United Kingdom for the year ending the 31st of December 1911 shows an increase of 2,513,790 tons, in comparison with 1910, yet if we examine the figures for the port of Cardiff, which has suffered so severely through labour disputes during the past year, we find that the foreign exports of coal for 1911 show a decrease of 829,979 tons, as compared with 1910. Thus it is apparent that foreign buyers of Welsh smokeless steam coal have turned their attention to the less valuable steam coal worked in the English and Scotch coalfields.

The gravity of the present crisis cannot be overrated, and it will be the duty of the leaders of both owners and men to do their utmost to avoid a conflict which will result in untold misery and suffering, starvation and ruin to hundreds of thousands of our population, besides entailing an immense depreciation of national capital and the creation of enmity between capital and labour, the end of which none can foresee. Great Britain has already

suffered enormous loss of industrial and commercial prestige from the disturbances which have been so common in the ranks of labour. We have just had a serious conflict in the Lancashire cotton industry, with disastrous consequences to those directly concerned, but a national coal strike of even short duration would be a calamity of appalling magnitude. Not only would it have a paralysing effect upon home industries of every description, but it would seriously cripple our great shipping operations. Our merchant vessels look to exported coal to provide them with the outward cargoes for their voyages to all quarters of the world, from whence they return with the cargoes of foodstuffs and raw materials upon which our national existence depends.

Then there is the grave and urgent necessity of an uninterrupted supply of Welsh smokeless steam coal for the British Navy.

It is impossible to think that the old and tried leaders of the miners do not comprehend the danger which threatens the country, and it is to these men that the nation looks to curb the spirit of the younger and less experienced delegates who will share the responsibility of conducting the negotiations during the crisis upon which they have just entered.

It has been asserted with great persistency by the highest authorities that a minimum wage is an impossibility if applied to the majority of the collieries in the United Kingdom, and that its adoption would end in the closing of a large percentage of the pits now in operation; the great body of colliery owners have therefore declared in no uncertain language that they will not agree to a minimum wage, but have expressed their willingness to negotiate upon the question of work done in abnormal places, which is really the crux of the minimum-wage demand. The door is therefore open for a compromise, and, provided both sides enter into the negotiations with a determination to avoid a conflict, a workable solution will yet be found.

W. H. RENWICK.

Cardiff.

A NEW IMPERIAL PREFERENCE SCHEME

As that reduction of freights goes on it makes the locality of the coal mines of less and less importance, provided they are near water transit to the sea, or can secure very cheap land transit. It is possible to look forward to a time when the production of fuel throughout the world will be so abundant that a new Jevons may arise to discover that the decisive point on which the material welfare of nations turns is the cheapness of transport and facilities in the accommodation of ports. In these circumstances will not the old advantage of Great Britain's geographical position reassert itself, and the immense imperial coast line of 42,000 miles, washed by the tide in every quarter of the world, stand us in good stead? It remains for Government to pave the way for cheapness of transport and improvement of the ports throughout the kingdom and empire. I have no hesitation in asserting that any one who examines this question will come to the conclusion that the advantages of position are all on our side, but that the high charges for transport are a severe handicap on nearly every branch of our trade.— *Lecture by invitation in May* 1901 *before the Society of Arts.*

Without venturing on any dispute as to the precise circumstances in Canada, it is certain that the defeat of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's treaty for reciprocity with the United States means in the United Kingdom the victory of preference. The Radical party hailed the treaty as the deathblow of preference, and they cannot complain if all that they said and wrote is now remembered against them. It is difficult to understand why a party should so deliberately espouse an unpopular cause as 'to bang, bar, and bolt' the door in the face of the Empire, unless we remember how in politics as well as in religion the letter of the law killeth, and a fetish may be made of a principle of strictly limited application. Any form of preference conflicts with the Radical principle of buying in the cheapest market—a principle which might easily be stretched to the belief that it is far more desirable to deal with a Chinaman than an Englishman. The policy of *laissez-faire* necessarily regards agreements with the Colonies as entanglements. Its ideal is that the six Governments should advance like six armies, under six different generals, pursuing policies which may or may not be mutually destructive. In the circumstances, the Radical party has only itself to thank for the fact that the salient feature of the situa-

tion to-day is that in policy it is hostile, not merely to the Unionist party, but to the Unionist party in alliance with the rest of the Empire.

It may be asked how, with such advantages of position, the Unionist party has failed to beat the Coalition. My answer is that they threw away their advantages. Their campaign was suddenly diverted from one of grand imperial scope to one of a purely sectional character, by making a *vital* issue of the defence of the landowning interests of the country; and, in the matter of preference, they have all along made the mistake of doing precisely what their enemy wished them to do, by limiting the discussion of preference to its most unpopular side of preference by means of food taxes. This form of taxation has been historically burned into the minds of the people of Great Britain as oppression for the many for the benefit of a mere section of the population. The false cry 'Your food will cost you more' has been a most potent weapon in the hands of demagogues. Pledges of the most binding kind were given by the Unionist leaders that in no circumstances would anything be done which would increase the cost of living of the working classes. They were of no avail. The explanation lies in the fact that the Unionist party has all along allowed itself to be tricked into discussing preferences as though they were limited to an unpopular tax, and thereby sacrificed all its best weapons. Had a different policy been pursued, a policy of conceding preference wherever possible, a policy which would have benefited not merely Canada and Australasia, but also South Africa and India, we would by now have carried all before us.[1]

If I have dwelt on maxims of war about not doing what an enemy wishes one to do, I can also bear in mind the teaching of a great master of war about the inadvisability of changing plans of campaign. Moltke told his generals that a leader might choose a plan which was intrinsically by no means the best, and, persisting in it, achieve success, whereas if he had taken the second best and then vacillated to the ideal plan he would probably fail. My answer is that we are in winter quarters. We have failed, but I propose that we should try again with a plan of vaster scope, of which the old one need only be a portion if the leaders so wish it, and under it we will trump the false cry of the enemy by saying to the people of Great Britain with absolute truth 'Your food will cost you less.' Not the least important aspect of the proposals which I am about to make is the prospect of divisions in the ranks of our opponents.

[1] The idea of preference by means of a tax on foreign food was originally suggested by the Canadian Government, under the impression that it was the easiest if not the only means of conceding a preference.

Foreign Preferences

It is first necessary to correct the diligently fostered idea that the field of preference is limited to food taxes. Apart from taxes altogether, foreign countries afford many examples of the workings of preference. We may summarise some of them :

(1) Examples, such as the Erie Canal, conducted free of tolls.

(2) The great development of rivers and canals in Europe by other than private enterprise.

(3) In the United States, Belgium, and Germany the railways are used to strengthen the hold over external markets by rebates for exports.

(4) In Germany, Austria, and Norway the shipping is not allowed to alter freights except by Government permission, and the Government also dictates the carriage of goods by weight instead of volume when it favours the trader. Through bills of lading are also given.

(5) It is stated that sixty per cent. of the trade of Germany is carried on under a preferential system.

Contrasted with this position the existing *laissez-faire* system in the United Kingdom has resulted in transport charges being generally the highest in the world, for both internal and external transport for the inter-Imperial and home trades.

Preferences under the Unionist Government

Apart from penny postage, to which I intend to refer later, there were several distinct attempts to concede preferences within the Empire under the last Unionist Government :

(1) The Home and Colonial Governments attempted to restrict their buying orders to the Empire.

(2) Trustee stock was extended to the Colonies, thereby sending them a considerable amount of capital.

(3) On certain African railways cotton was carried free of freight in order to establish cotton-growing within the Empire.

(4) The Crown Colonies were able to borrow money under the Home Government's guarantee, and in return placed their orders in the United Kingdom.

(5) The Pacific Cable was laid with Imperial subsidies to bring down the telegraphic cost of the carriage of speech.

Under the Radical Government

Though both preferences (3) and (4) were done away with by the present Government, we may note some striking inconsistencies. Of these the most glaring is the adoption of a Conserva-

tive measure, the Patents Bill, forcing patents to be worked in the British market, and so conceding a most desirable preference to British labour. To their credit also they redressed the preference to foreign ships in the load-line regulations. Incidentally, I might suggest an easy remedy for them in reference to the outcry about foreign merchant ships carrying guns in their holds. By agreement let the Empire deny all opportunities of port and refitment to vessels so equipped. As his Majesty's Government state that no vessels are so equipped, there need be no fear of any grievance in the immediate promulgation of such regulations. The abolition of the light dues I would hold as an inducement to lower freights for Imperial trade. Taxes on transport are bad, and these have led to special retaliation in the United States against British ships. This, however, at the best is only tributary to my main scheme. Our object should be, not to help particular trades or localities in the Empire, but, free from all taint of favouritism or injustice to any part, to help the Empire as a whole. Such was the case with the great work of penny postage within the Empire, or the preferential carriage of speech, so that a letter to New Zealand is carried for two-fifths of the cost of a letter to France. It is an enormous preference in the carriage of speech, and if ever we have penny postage to Europe I hope it will not be before we have halfpenny postage at home and to the Empire.

Preferential Transport

We have, then, the preferential carriage of speech, and I now propose to extend it to the carriage of goods within the Empire by bringing about a lower cost of transport through the use of subsidies than is at the disposal of foreign countries. Any reduction in the cost of freight thus obtained of necessity benefits both producers and consumers within the Empire, the producer by strengthening his hold on the market and working on a larger scale, the consumer by the reduction of price which ensues. The shipowner, dealing with larger cargoes or full cargoes both ways, is enabled still further to reduce freights.[2] Thus, under the *laissez-faire* system which resulted in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Reciprocity Bill, Canadian wheat would actually have risen to the American level in price—an increase of 2*s*. 8*d*. per quarter—whereas under this proposal, in proportion as freights are cheapened to Canada so the price of bread would tend to be lowered. Therefore the practical policy of the Radicals was to increase the price of the

[2] 'The balance of evidence appears to us in favour of the view that, owing to the keenness of competition between merchants, any reduction of freight does ultimately reach the consumer in the price.'—Report of Sir Alfred Bateman and Sir John MacDonnell, Vol. 5 of the *Report of the Royal Commission on Shipping Rings*.

loaf, the practical policy of the Tariff Reformers under my proposals would be to lower it. Grant the claim that Canada can supply the United Kingdom's wheat requirements twenty times over from her immense agricultural area, then, if she has a cheaper transport than the foreigner to bring us wheat, meat, and lumber, it will do infinitely more for her than a slight tariff advantage. Even the concession of a preference to British manufacturers was not a sentimental action, but a business desire to give the shipping fuller cargoes from east to west, so reducing the freights both ways and developing her east to west railroads. The trade of the British Empire is mainly by sea, and immense as is its area of upwards of one hundred times the size of the United Kingdom, that vast land surface is united by sea roads and depends for its welfare on cheap sea transport. In fact it would be almost impossible to concede preferences to India, South Africa, and many Crown Colonies except by conferring on them the boon of cheap freights for their Imperial trade. In that way, and in that way only, can we cut the ground from under Mr. Asquith's feet when he jibes at the Unionist for forgetting India, asks why we help the Canadian farmer and leave the Canadian lumberman, the South African, and Australian wool merchant in the cold. In that way, and in that way only, can the Unionist party win back the boroughs, without whose support they can never hope for a majority independent of Mr. Redmond. A system of preferential freights is one which can be equally applied in all inter-Imperial trade; it is one which will leave no sense of favouritism or injustice in its train, and will conciliate a mass of voters who have been alienated by the proposed food taxes from the party which is, when all is said and done, the party hitherto instinctively trusted by the people in foreign and Imperial policy. By this policy the cost of living will be reduced, and not only will food and raw material come in cheaper, but our manufactured goods will also benefit in corresponding degree. Larger cargoes both ways will tend to lower freights, and there will result growing prosperity in our Empire. Increased Imperial resources mean additional contributions for the Navy defending commerce, and larger subsidies to lower the freights still further.[3]

A Board of Transport

'How is all this to be effected?' it may be asked. My answer is: Let the Empire nominate a Board of Transport, consisting of men versed in transport questions but having no pecuniary interest

[3] The fact that the present President of the National Liberal Federation is an advocate of the 'entire abandonment of laissez-faire' and urges 'active Government aid to trade' suggests how easily a schism could be made by the new preferential proposal in the ranks of the Radicals.

in any system. This body would study transport questions as a whole, and working in conjunction with it would be the internal transport boards of the different parts of the Empire constituted much as our new Road Board is to-day.

The Board of Transport would be armed with subsidies from the whole Empire; the amounts could be agreed upon and revised from time to time, just as the four Governments concerned easily reached an agreement as to their respective contributions to the Pacific Cable. The internal transport boards would assist in the reduction of freights, with information, the promotion of through bills of lading, and the development of the different systems of transport and accommodation generally. The subsidies would be given for the definite purpose of reducing freights in inter-Imperial trade below the level of the freights charged by shipping in the trade of foreign Powers. The position of a foreign Power, say Germany, might then be illustrated thus: If she tried to rival us in the Indian trade there would be a German subsidy, whereas we would have a British *plus* an Indian subsidy. It is true that America might do again what occurred in the case of the shilling duty on wheat, when the railways reduced the freights by an amount balancing the duty, so affording a characteristic example of the producer paying. In that case we shall enjoy even cheaper transport for trade to our Empire from a foreign country without any subsidy from ourselves, and the tendency will be for the inter-Imperial transport charges to go still lower. The Board, being experts, will be easily able to gauge in a rough-and-ready way, if there is a compulsory publication of classifications and tariffs charged by the shipping, whether the rates offered are sufficiently lower than those of foreign trade to justify a subsidy. I am fortified in this belief by the evidence given before the Royal Commission on Subsidies by members of the Shipping Rings.[4] The Royal Commission also considered the late Sir Robert Giffen's suggestion that foreign ships should be excluded from the coasting trade of the Empire. This is the plan followed by America in excluding all foreign ships from trade between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the United States. The objection to so sweeping a change is its tendency to lead to monopoly, with the further evils of the displaced shipping going to develop foreign trade and the cost of our transport being enhanced. The Commission came to the more moderate conclusion that 'means should be taken to obtain the removal of foreign laws and regulations which exclude

[4] One great authority said: 'I think that the standard you have to go by as to whether our rates are reasonable is *the price that is paid in other trades where liners carry on this business.*' As to comparing our trade with another he said: 'You can to a certain extent, you cannot altogether, but you can in a rough-and-ready way.' That is all that is required.

the British shipowners from the "coasting trade," and that if need be, regulations for the admissions of foreign vessels to British and Colonial trade should be used to procure reciprocal advantages for British shipowners.' While much can be said for this view, the governing principle is lost sight of—viz. that the provision of cheap transport is the supreme object of good government. It seems that the first rule should be that foreign ships which call at a British port may compete in the imperial coastal trade, provided they carry goods at a rate which, on comparison with their other freights, offers no preference to the foreigners.

Are Large Funds Available?

To realise the situation we must remember that the great dominions think, live, and breathe in terms of transport. We may think it an illustration of the changes transport has made in the habits of our people that the hop-pickers of Kent are drawn all the way from Ireland, but in Canada men travel two thousand miles every year to reap the harvests in the western fields. Canada owes her position entirely to a policy which is the very antithesis of Radical *laissez faire*. The determination to build her railroads from Atlantic to Pacific, so that three of them will stretch across by 1914, is the reason that she is not a mere tributary to the American railway system, or a congeries of States within the Republic. All the colonies know well how the bulk of British subsidies have gone to mail steamers carrying trade, population, and capital to foreign countries. They will take one item alone, such as emigration, and reason somewhat like this. In 1878 the Registrar-General calculated that each individual was worth 159*l.*, since he made that average clear profit in his life. An adult who has received all the costly preparatory education is worth even more, and therefore the loss of a million adults by emigration in four years is an immense loss to Great Britain and a corresponding gain to other countries. It is not the fault of British *laissez faire* that the gain has not been almost entirely to foreign countries. Then the mind of our cousin, who, as I have said, thinks, lives, and breathes in terms of transport, will turn to the exodus of capital which Mr. Asquith regards with so much satisfaction. Since 1869 four-fifths of the railway construction of the world has taken place, and since then Great Britain has been fighting for her industrial life. The railway booms in the United States and Europe of 1869-72 brought Great Britain temporary prosperity and terrible reaction. Her capital was waiting for its interest to be paid out of the future prosperity of rivals. The railway booms in India and Canada brought no such disasters in their train. Her empire has ever been her best market, and her self-governing

colonies give her three to eleven times as much trade per head of population as the best of her foreign customers. Knowing, then, that cheap sea-roads feed all the internal industries and transport facilities, the mind of Greater Britain eagerly turns to cheapening those sea-roads. South Africa was willing to spend 500,000*l.* per annum in fighting the Shipping Conference. The Crown Colonies' protest against the tyranny of the Shipping Conference has become almost a bore, and they, too, would spend large sums to obtain cheaper freights by fighting the combination of liners. This would simply mean internal warfare of British colonies against a British industry. How much better is harmonious combination than internal dissension; and, if the worst comes to the worst, and the offer of subsidies fails, then it will still be true that the pressure of an empire is more effective than the blows of a colony.

Subsidies

When the Radical party realise that the cry 'Your food will cost you more' recoils on themselves, they will be thrown back on dry-as-dust diatribes on the heresy of subsidies. It may be conceded that throughout the world most subsidies have been of a somewhat dubious character. Speed is its own subsidy leading to a quick turnover of cargoes, or it is a luxury which those who want it can pay for. Subsidies for the possession of ships are about as unsound, except for war-transport requirements, as subsidies for the possession of ploughs. They have been given on a mileage basis, so that ships could make a profit without a cargo just as under the old fishing subsidies a profit could be obtained without a catch. At present we give subsidies to the ten per cent. of our steamers carrying the mails, the aristocrats of the ocean, mainly to get them to their destination a day or two quicker. The result means but little to the food or wages of the toiling millions; but the cargoes, which mean everything, earn nothing by way of subsidy. It is not even sought in a mail subsidy to prevent preferential rates to foreign trade, as is the practice of rings to which the subsidised ships chiefly belong. In America these rings are illegal.[5] The *laissez faire* system, so beloved of Radicalism, has resulted in a system of preferential rates in the United Kingdom for foreign trade, and in the transport charges to England being the highest in the world. In England itself, by rail, the rates are double almost anywhere

[5] Note.—The 'ring' in practice pays a rebate to all merchants who for a year ship entirely by the ring. This rebate amounts to a percentage of the customs duty. Competition is driven out and the ring dictates freights except to countries where the *laissez faire* system does not exist. The profits thus go partly to the shipowners and partly in customs duties to foreign countries.

else. Yet England offers the cheap refitment of a great shipbuilding country endowed by Nature with splendid ports, and coal and iron close to the sea instead of several hundred miles inland as in Germany. She offers full cargoes of coal and manufactures outwards, and food and raw material inwards. She should have the cheapest freights in the world, and *laissez faire* gives her the most expensive. A policy of subsidies for preferential freights will, I am convinced, offer a successful cure.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON SHIPPING SUBSIDIES

It may be said this question was gone into by the Select Committee on Shipping Subsidies, a Committee appointed in the days when Free Trade dogmas still reigned supreme. Incidentally I may point out that no fewer than three shipowners prominently identified with shipping rings were members of this Committee, whereas the only position a shipowner could properly claim is that of a witness submitting expert evidence in his own interest. The Committee, however, did report that foreign subsidies had benefited foreign and injured British trade, and that subsidies to *selected* lines 'tend to restrict free competition and so to facilitate the establishment of federation and shipping rings, and therefore that no subsidies should be granted without Government control over maximum rates of freight and over this combination of subsidised with unsubsidised owners to restrict competition.' In addition they recommended a subsidy for establishing a fast direct line to East Africa. In other words, they were prepared to repeat the mistake of the subsidy for a service to Jamaica, the partial application of a principle which, if it had been applied to the whole Empire, would have suffered no discredit. They, however, assert 'that subsidies are the minor factor, and commercial skill and industry the major factors, of the recent development of the shipping and trade of certain foreign countries, and notably of Germany, *where, for example, the granting of through bills of lading via the State railway has had an important effect.*' One notices here a confusion of thought, for the through bills of lading by the State railways are a direct subsidy conferring the inestimable boon of cheaper transport on German trade. In addition, so closely is the principle of granting subsidies only for services rendered followed in certain foreign countries that in Germany, Austria, and Norway, they are only given on condition that the freights cannot be altered without Government permission. The German Government also insists in many cases on goods being carried by weight and not by measurement, thereby gaining for the German manufacturer an enormous advantage for articles occupying space out of all proportion to their weight.

Preferential railway rates are not the only form of subsidy resorted to by Germany, as in some cases exemption from Customs duties is given, notably in the case of shipbuilding materials.

British Agriculture

The apparent stumbling block to the proposed policy is British agriculture. A great industry, which Sir Reginald Palgrave estimated some years ago had depreciated in value by a sum considerably over double the National Debt, British agriculture has been well nigh ruined by the cheapening of all transport outside England. Wheat coming to England from Chicago encountered in 1866-70 an average freight charge of 15*s.* 11*d.*, and in 1901-4 of 3*s.* 11*d.* per quarter. While this reduction to one-fourth of former charges went on from America, the English farmers' charges increased to double. 'And now,' I can imagine the agricultural interest saying 'You are going to cheapen transport to the Canadian farmers, so that we are going to be worse off than ever.' My answer is that it is *laissez faire* which has half-ruined agriculture. There are no limitations to the principle of cheap transport as the foundation of prosperity in a nation, and consequently what is good for external trade in this direction must be good for internal trade. Relief from rates, and the other proposals in Unionist policy, must be supplemented by the clear recognition that the country is the natural market for the towns, and vice versa, and to develop this trade we must have cheap transport, storage and markets. Home agriculture has been so neglected by transport that the amount of trade between country and town is trifling compared with what might actually be done. Some indication of how this is to be effected may be briefly set down :—

1. The development of road, canal, and coastal trade in rivalry with the railroads. As one of the greatest railway chairmen we have had said at a meeting of the London and North-Western Railway shareholders, 'the sea and canals do more to bring down railway rates than any competition among the railways themselves.' The deliberate policy of rival Powers has been to induce the heavy traffic to go by water. Under *laissez faire* the only deliberate policy triumphed, and the railways, possibly to their own detriment, killed much of the canal traffic and forced the heavy goods along their own systems.

2. The right to allow a system of transport to lie derelict, or even to be limited below its capacity, must be subject to regulation.

3. Concessions can be given to the railways in the form of relief from taxes and rates, in return for reduced rates on agricul-

tural trade both ways, it being understood that in any case the original intention of Section 27 of the Railway and Canal Act of 1888 will be enforced against any preference to imports from foreign countries. The rates and taxes on railways now amount to 4,800,000*l*. per annum.

4. Transport systems can be worked in conjunction with newly-created markets for produce in the towns, facilities for storage to small producers can be provided, and, in conjunction with transport systems, public authorities should provide means of collecting and pooling produce so as to obtain the rebates given to larger consignments. The Post Office or other authorities should run motor vans for the smaller parcels of produce.

5. Legal procedure and acquisition of land for transport purposes can be cheapened. Our railways under *laissez faire* policy have cost 52,000*l*. a mile, as compared with 20,000*l*. for Germany, and 12,000*l*. for the United States; and this huge extra expenditure is a severe handicap on trade for ever and ever. The railway companies and Liverpool were able to put the Manchester Ship Canal to an extra expenditure of 400,000*l*. in Parliamentary costs alone. How much it cost the rival transport systems is unknown.

Laissez Faire

Mr. Gladstone, in his famous 'Silver Streak' article in the *Edinburgh Review*, declared with profound truth that when a nation is given extraordinary natural advantages they are often accompanied by a blindness which prevents her from seeing how to utilise them. Placing my own interpretation on the words, I would say that the road of suffering is what teaches a nation to make roads. England had to make roads on the sea or perish, and she made them. But within her own border she possessed such extraordinary natural advantages with security from her Navy, coal and iron near the sea instead of 400 miles inland as in Germany, her unrivalled *natural* ports, her own position at the gates of Europe, so that, as Emerson said, England's best admiral could not have anchored her in a more favourable position; all these things combined to blind a people. We sank into the complacency of *laissez faire*, allowing transport systems to be run for the benefit of the few instead of the many. Once before, *laissez faire* was the rule in England, in the middle of the eighteenth century, and then the roads were described as the worst in Europe, and impassable for the greater part of the year. Our commerce was poor. Holland, with absolutely no natural advantages beyond a surface lending itself to cheap transport by canals to the sea, became the foremost commercial power in the world. Then England abandoned *laissez faire*, and a great industrial revival set in with increasing

population. I believe we are once again on the eve of such an awakening, only one not merely concerning the roads uniting two kingdoms together such as Scotland and England, but the roads of an Empire by sea and by land in the full consciousness that the rivalry of nations has changed its ground to one for the possession of the cheapest transport facilities. So some nations are striving to reach the sea, so other Governments are working with financial groups to acquire railways, so shipping magnates are always at the elbow of the Kaiser, and so England is waking up to the challenge. It is not sea power alone that gives the English speaking peoples their supremacy. It is because they possess a great hold over the transport facilities of the world in so great a slice of its coast line and ports, nearly all the submarine cables, most of the wireless telegraph system on the sea or by the sea, 58 per cent. of the railways and 60 per cent. of the shipping. These provide the sinews of trade, and therefore the sinews of war. Being vital, being the keys of the position, there is an ever increasing tendency under *laisser faire* of those controlling transport to take advantage, to levy an increasing toll so that the roads are there, but they cease to be cheap, and the power of the nation is sapped by its own service. It must not be. Cheap transport is our life blood. It carries cheap power and cheap capital into our borders, and makes us ever richer and more powerful. Russia builds a railway into a desert. It becomes the source of her cotton supplies; Canada touches the West with railways, and we see the most stupendous material progress that has been witnessed in any generation of the world's history. It is the magic of transport which turns earth into gold.

Economics and Policy

The fundamental principle underlying my plea for a new system of preference is that empires are not held together so much by trade as by transport in the form of vehicles, whether on wheels or floating, and by all that belongs to them on land or sea, such as warehouses, wharves, docks, and railway sidings. Hence we talk of natural barriers between nations when there exists some dividing line such as a chain of mountains offering an obstacle to transport. However unpromising the soil of a country, that country can wrest greatness if the conditions are favourable to enterprise in the provision of cheap transport. Whether it be trade, government, or any other variety of social activity, cheap transport is a vital factor, and so the Romans built roads. Its development increases the military as well as the commercial power, and ministers to every other force working within the nation. If a dock is built to accommodate an *Olympic*, it is

equally available for a *Dreadnought*. If a railway line is doubled to carry goods or passengers, it can also carry soldiers or munitions of war. Realising that this possession of transport was vital, Adam Smith threw overboard his free trade theories the moment he came to deal with the navigation laws. Always in English history we will find a school which believed in transport or maritime interests, as opposed to the purely military school which believed in the mere acquisition of territory *qua* territory. So the House of Lords in 1708, the year of Oudenarde, found it necessary to petition the Throne to keep in mind above all other things the fostering of the maritime interests of the country.

Years ago Jevons wrote a book to prove that the prosperity of nations depends on coal, and his work made such an impression that Gladstone, in the sixties of the last century, quoted it at length in a famous Budget speech as proving that we were using up our coal, or exhausting our capital, and we should therefore reduce the National Debt. Gladstone was right in assuming that economic principles must dictate policy, but was Jevons' theory correct? Not if the view I put forward is sound that cheap transport is the source of all progressive prosperity, for thus we would expect to find that the source of our coal supplies is not a vital matter provided the fuel can be brought cheaply to our doors. A case in point is the iron ore of Spain, which, instead of being worked on the spot, is brought very cheaply to England for the purpose of making pig iron, steel, etc. Without the cheap transport service this would be commercially impossible. A converse case, where cheap transport does not exist, is afforded by hilly countries. They were notoriously backward until advantage could be taken of the fact that nature transported power for nothing in waterfalls. The moment a nation secures cheap transport she secures cheap power for industry, and therefore tempts capital to embark in enterprises within her territory. The workings of transport affect civilisation to such a degree that we may not only say that it is transport alone which enables the Anglo-Saxon race to keep to the same language over the earth's wide surface, but that had our cheap transport of speech in writing, printing, telegraphs, telephones and gramophones been in existence a thousand years ago, there would to-day be not one thousand languages but only the three or four from which they sprang. Had these means of transport existed only six generations ago, Burke would never have spoken of the impossibility of keeping the North American colonies because of the three thousand miles of separating ocean. The development of cheap transport, whether in the carriage of speech, goods, or human beings, is the unifying agent of nationality and civilisation, and should therefore be the chief material aim of

all good government. It lies at the root of all our knowledge, as indeed knowledge itself began to advance from the day the exploration of the world to the west of England set free the founts of thought by the discovery that the world was round, and priestly wisdom, anchored to its cloisters, was not infallible.

The Prevalence of Scepticism

In no direction do our leaders in thought show more scepticism than over the illimitable possibilities of cheap transport. When suggestions were made in Parliament in the eighteenth century for extra speed in locomotion, a statesman replied that 'if we were told by some enterprising man that he would transport us from London to Edinburgh in seven days, should we not very properly adjudge his proper place to be a lunatic asylum? Stephenson, the great railway engineer, declared in Parliament that after an examination of the ground he could affirm that it was physically impossible to construct the Suez Canal. Palmerston placed it in a similar category to the South Sea Bubble, and held it, if it could be constructed, as injurious to England. It was worthy to rank, he said, 'among the many bubble schemes that from time to time had been palmed off upon gullible capitalists.'

Thiers said that railways would never be of any use for the carriage of goods. The *Quarterly Review*, at the time of the construction of the first railway, asked, 'What could be more palpably absurd or ridiculous than the prospect held out of locomotives travelling twice as fast as stage coaches?' These instances could be multiplied. I believe that what has been achieved, even under a system of *laissez faire*, will be stimulated to an extraordinary degree if private enterprise is backed by the allied governments of the Empire, but if a spirit of scepticism leads to my proposals being brushed aside we may lose our opportunities. It is our best chance of convincing the people and uniting the Empire, so that we may face with confidence the future rivalry of Germany, though to-day she has fifty per cent. greater population and she is increasing twice as fast.

All Roads Lead to England

The old Romans built roads and conquered the world. 'All roads lead to Rome' epitomised their Empire. I have asked for a *new* policy of preference, but let me finish by an appeal to revive the old policy of Rome suited to the new times that are before us. Let us ever bear in mind that there is but one law for trade, not, as the Radicals contend, that it goes to the cheapest market; or, as their opponents say, trade follows the

flag. Trade follows the path of least resistance which is the cheapest road. It only follows the flag if the flag is carried on cheap transports. So again we may say that empires are not held together by trade, but by the cheap transport which carries the trade. Our political maps, like our political cries, are mostly fallacious. They show the towns of England as near together and New York far away. That is for children at school. When they are constructed to show distances in shillings and pence, and tariff walls are drawn as hills, we shall realise that Montreal is nearly twice as far off as almost any American port, and New York is nearer to London than almost any English town. Then Great Britain will wake up to the need of revising the map of the world. The elector will realise that he is not only taxed to maintain a market into which the foreigner comes free of all taxation, but that the system of transport which invades our market is one of preference for the foreigner. He will see on his map that foreign butter is nearer than British butter, and American meat than British meat. In that day the Unionist party will have no difficulty in persuading the electors to realise that the future greatness of their race can only be won by building the roads which will make our Empire the wonder of the world.

CARLYON BELLAIRS.

APPENDIX

It may be useful to give a few examples, drawn from many official records, of the state of affairs produced by the present system of *laissez faire*, resulting in rings and conferences which, as pointed out elsewhere, are illegal in the United States.

1. In 1902 the Government of Hong Kong, in an official despatch, pointed out that, owing to the Conference, general merchandise was paying 46*s*. a ton from England, as compared with 30*s*. a ton from New York, and piece goods from Manchester 42*s*. 6*d*., as compared with 20*s*. from New York, though the latter was 2000 miles further off.

2. The Birchenough Report of 1902 said of the shipping preference to America, 'After careful inquiry, I am convinced that no single circumstance has done so much to promote the growth of American trade during the past twelve months as these low freight charges between America and South African ports. It is not pleasant to reflect that they are the result of the action of British, and not of foreign steamship companies.'

3. In 1904 the Associated Chambers of Commerce unanimously called attention to the fact that 'the rates of freight charged by the shipping companies carrying to South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, are so high in some instances as to cause the diversion of trade to the Continent and America, where much more reasonable rates obtain.'

(4) The recent Minority Report of the Committee on Shipping Rings stated that the result of the Eastern Shipping Conference on the trade of Singapore had been that 'the freight is now 15s. to New York, 50s. to London, 57s. to Glasgow, and 55s. to Liverpool.'

(5) A case came before a chamber of commerce in which the New York shipper had sent cotton goods via Liverpool to Shanghai at a little over half the price the Liverpool merchant paid.

(6) The Leeds Chamber of Commerce found bottles from Germany to New Zealand were charged 22s. 6d. per ton, as against 42s. 6d. per ton from England.

(7) The Glasgow Chamber of Commerce reported on soft goods of all kinds from Hamburg to the Colonies via London that there was a differential freight in favour of Germany of upwards of 50 per cent., and that 'such differential rates are iniquitous, and seriously detrimental to the interests of British manufacturers and shippers.'

(8) The Government of Hong Kong complained of foreign companies competing to England charging exactly the same freight as the P. and O., but lower freight to the Continent. The Chairman of the P. and O. seemed to think that the nation should rest satisfied with his statement that his company did not charge lower freights to the Continent, although the companies with which he had agreements did.

(9) The British Iron Trade Delegation which visited the Continent in 1895 lay the greatest stress on the higher range of transportation charges in Great Britain. This is described as 'undoubtedly the greatest factor in favour of the foreign producer.' Figures are given to prove that 'Continental rates are generally at least one-half the rates charged for long distance traffic in this country.' It is added that the Belgians can send their iron one hundred miles to Antwerp by rail, and thence by sea to London for considerably less than is charged by rail from Staffordshire to London. 'Not only have Continental manufacturers cheaper transport from works to ports by railway, but they also have cheaper freights by steamer from the ports of Antwerp and Hamburg to outside markets, and even to our own Colonies and India.'

CARLYON BELLAIRS.

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HOLDING A NATION TO RANSOM

In spite of the many columns that have appeared in the daily papers upon the coal crisis, the public does not appear even yet to have fully realised all that is involved in the attitude taken up by the Miners' Federation. It is mainly because the situation is a new one. The conception of the 'general strike' is a quite modern development in the trade-union movement. Until this conception was borrowed from the Continental syndicalists, English trade unionists were content to use the weapon of the strike to hit particular enemies against whom they had a particular grievance. If a firm or group of firms refused an advance of wages, or took some other course of which the union disapproved, a strike was decreed against that firm or group of firms, and unless other employers made common cause with those firms and ordered a lock-out, the strike remained localised. The new development consists in striking against all the employers because of a quarrel with some employers.

The first complete revelation which the country received of this new method of industrial warfare was last autumn, in

connexion with the railway strike. Here the point at issue was the 'recognition' of the trade unions by the railway companies. Most of the companies refused to grant recognition, and therefore in this case the strike would have been extensive, even on the older principles of trade unionism. The significant fact was that the strike was declared not only against the companies which refused recognition, but also against the one company—the North Eastern—which had already granted recognition. On the surface nothing could be more absurd than such a proceeding. The servants of the North Eastern Railway Company had no quarrel with their employers. They had secured the very object for which the servants of other companies were asking, and according to the older conception of trade unionism their duty was to continue at work and to help their less fortunate comrades by subscribing liberally to the strike fund. By this means increased pressure would have been brought upon the other railway companies to follow the example set by the North Eastern, which, for the sake of argument, is here assumed to have been a good example. Why, then, was this rational and traditional method of trade-union warfare abandoned? The answer is, because the new conception of a general strike had become the basis of trade-union policy. The essence of that conception is that the strike must be so general, so widespread, as to terrorise the whole nation. Therefore good employers must be attacked as well as bad employers. Those firms which have conceded every demand of the trade unions must be treated in the same way as those which refuse to make any concession. The purpose to be accomplished is not the punishment of particular firms, but the holding up of the industries of the country on so gigantic a scale that the nation may be cowed into immediate surrender.

This is the true meaning of the railway strike last autumn, and of the threatened coal strike in the present spring. The deliberate purpose of the authors of these movements is to hold the nation to ransom, and the important question for the nation to decide is how it proposes to meet this new danger.

One thing at any rate is certain: that the danger will not be obviated either by appeals for pity or by expressions of moral indignation. The men who are responsible for the policy of the general strike will not be deterred from their purpose by being told that its execution will bring ruin and misery to tens of thousands of persons who have no share in the original cause of dispute. This is exactly the object of the general strike. The more widespread the misery threatened, the more likely is the nation to succumb in a panic of terror to the demands of the strikers. Nor is it in any way profitable to point out that

such a policy involves the negation of most of the virtues which the human race has hitherto respected. The men who organise general strikes are at war with society as now constituted, and would probably argue that they are morally justified in adopting any methods which would be employed by belligerent armies. In the United States, trade-union leaders of the new type have even gone to the length of organising dynamite outrages. There is happily no sign yet of any such extreme development in our own country, nor is there any evidence that the trade-union leaders have personally encouraged criminal violence or intimidation. They have, however, displayed a laxity with regard to the observance of agreements which can only be explained on the supposition that they hold that in time of war it is legitimate to deceive an enemy. Their ethical outlook is, in fact, so remote from that of the average English citizen that it is useless to employ arguments which would be applicable to any ordinary political or social movement.

Nor is there much, if anything, to be hoped from Government intervention. On the contrary, there is good reason to believe that the present epidemic of strikes is very largely due to the constant intervention of the Government in industrial disputes. Certainly in the case of the railway strike last year, if the Government had stood aside, the strike organisers would have received so severe a rebuff from the railway workers themselves that the popularity of the general strike as a weapon of industrial warfare would have been greatly diminished. There is, indeed, always the danger that when the Government intervenes it will be actuated by political motives. Those who remember clearly the history of last autumn's strike will not dispute the statement that the action of the Government was determined rather by the necessity of conciliating the Labour party in the House of Commons than by the desire to avert a national disaster. As regards more general action on the part of the State, the results have been, if possible, even more disastrous. On all sides it is agreed that the unrest among the coal miners throughout the kingdom is largely the consequence of the Eight Hours Act which was forced through the House of Commons in obedience to the demands of the Socialist party. On this point an illuminating passage appears in the *Daily Chronicle* of the 21st of February. In support of a suggested scheme for a Government guarantee against any losses which mineowners might incur by conceding the minimum wage, this paper wrote:

> A few years ago the State enforced on the coal-mining industry an eight hours' working day. Eight hours is quite enough for a man to spend underground in the laborious and hazardous occupation of mining; but it is

undeniable that the adaptation of working conditions in the mines to meet the requirements of an eight hours' day has, in the transitional period, meant new difficulties and extra cost of working to the management. So far as the miners themselves are concerned, the eight hours' day has also produced inconveniences. If the State can now help to mitigate the effects of past State action, it is bound in honour to do so.

This gem, culled from an extreme Radical paper, sufficiently illustrates the mischief which can be done by Parliamentary interference with the organisation of industry.

The essence of the present situation is that the coal-miners now, like the railway workers last autumn, are threatening by their collective action to deprive the nation of the necessaries of existence. It is a conspiracy so gross in character that almost any action for the effective defence of the community would be justifiable. 'They that take the sword shall perish with the sword.' It would, however, be a grave mistake to rush into a panic and to adopt measures for dealing with this particular evil which might afterwards be misused for the destruction of the legitimate liberties of the subject. As long as the coal-miners give the agreed strike notices before leaving their work they are within their legal rights, whatever the motive of the strike may be. It is true that the exercise of a legal right by a number of persons in combination may become an illegal act. For example, every man has a legal right to walk up and down the Strand, but if a thousand men agree together to exercise that right simultaneously they would become a public nuisance, and could be restrained by legal process. Conceivably the same principle of law could be applied to the men who organise a national strike. But it is not desirable so to apply it; for the result might be to prevent workmen from using the weapon of the strike in perfectly legitimate circumstances. It is far safer to maintain the principle that any number of workmen may agree together to hand in their strike notices for whatever reason they choose to adopt, or for no reason at all. This is one of the British workman's most valuable liberties, and no temporary danger ought to make us even consider the possibility of withdrawing it. We must find other ways of dealing with the general strike.

At the back of the present strike epidemic there is the desire on the part of a large section of the working classes to improve their economic position. It is not only a legitimate, it is a laudable desire. Indeed, the pity is that the desire is not more widely felt and expressed. The mass of the worst-paid workers and semi-workers, the alleged 'thirteen millions on the verge of starvation,' submit to their lot with regrettable apathy. The

movement for higher wages and improved conditions of work comes from those who are relatively well off. The railway men who struck last autumn were able to point to the low wages earned in certain grades of the service, but even in the lowest grades the wages and general conditions of employment are so much better than those of agricultural labourers that the railway companies are besieged with applicants for employment. Moreover, it was noticeable that the strength of the railway strikers lay not with these poorly paid men at the bottom of the service, but with the more skilled men earning relatively high wages. In the same way with the coal strikers now, it is absolutely false to allege that the men are striking for a 'living wage.' This is proved by an examination of the detailed demands put forward. Within the area of the English Conciliation Board the minimum demanded by coal-getters varies from 6*s*. a day in North Wales to 7*s*. 6*d*. a day in Yorkshire. At the same time, the minimum for other adult workers in the mines throughout the same area is fixed at 5*s*. a day. These variations show clearly that the minimum wage asked for is not the lowest that a man can afford to live upon, but the highest that the different grades of men think they can obtain as a guaranteed minimum. In practice the men under existing conditions earn more than the minimum demanded. They nearly always earn very much more than men living in the same villages whose work is overground, and a skilled coal-getter may even earn in a day almost as much as an agricultural labourer in some of the southern counties of England earns in a week. These are facts which it is well to bear in mind, but they do not affect the right of well-paid workers to strike for better pay, or for any other object that they think worth striking for. The producer is justified in getting the best terms he can for his work. That is his business. What the consumer has to consider is whether he can afford the terms asked.

Let us be clear that it is upon the consumer that the charge must fall. We are all so accustomed to the relationship of employer and employed—wage-payer and wage-receiver—that even thoughtful people frequently fall into the mistake of assuming that the whole wage problem can be settled by taking something off the employer's profit and adding it to the workman's wages. That is a gross error. In some cases, no doubt, employers are making such large profits that they could afford out of their own pockets to add appreciably to the wages of all their workpeople. But it will be found on examination that in these cases the number of workpeople is generally small in relation to the fixed capital employed in the business, and that there is

also, as a rule, some special circumstance, such as a lucrative patent or an inherited goodwill, to account for the exceptional profits. In all such cases it may be suggested that the employers would be wise, not only in their own interests, but for the sake of the industrial welfare of their country, to give their employees a share of profits on some definite plan. Profit-sharing schemes are much more easily established and maintained when profits are high than when they are low and irregular.

Such cases as those just referred to are, however, exceptional. More often it will be found that the employer's profits, after deducting a reasonable rate of interest on capital, would not make any serious difference to each workman's wage if distributed equally among all the persons employed. Nor is it possible to leave out of account the very large number of firms which make no profits at all. I have before me the accounts of an important colliery company which has lost money year after year, and now is trying in vain to find some new group of persons with fresh capital and fresh optimism to take over the concern. In a recent year the company raised and sold coal to the value of 45,000*l.* Out of this total, labour received 29,623*l.* under the head of wages, plus 707*l.* under salaries. Capital received 843*l.* in the shape of interest on debentures. The ordinary shareholders, with a paid-up capital of 100,000*l.*, received not one penny. Yet it was the enterprise of these shareholders which opened up the colliery, and enabled the nation to obtain for its use many thousand tons of good coal which otherwise would have remained buried beneath the earth. These same shareholders by risking their capital also enabled a large number of colliers to earn wages far in excess of those paid to men doing similar work above ground. For these services to the community the owners of this 100,000*l.* have received no reward whatsoever. They have lost for many years the interest which they might have obtained in a score of safe investments, and now they are about to lose their capital too. Unless capitalists have the chance of off-setting such losses as these by occasional large gains they will not invest their capital in the establishment of new enterprises. There will consequently be a falling-off in the production of national wealth, and in the sum total of employment. These are considerations which may be commended to the attention of Socialists like Mr. George Lansbury, who, in the House of Commons and elsewhere, talk as if all the wealth annually created was due to the workman's pick. If Mr. Lansbury really believes this nonsense, let him take a workman, or a hundred workmen, to a field covering a coal seam quarter of a mile down, and tell them to get out the coal

with their picks and to keep all the profits of their industry for themselves.

Neither the coal industry nor any other industry can be carried on unless an adequate supply of capital is annually forthcoming, and the supply will certainly fail if the capitalist cannot on the average obtain what he regards as a sufficient remuneration for his risk and forbearance. The workman is equally entitled to say that he will not go down into the pit unless he receives what he considers a sufficient wage; and it then remains for the community to consider whether it can afford to pay the aggregate price.

Lest the point should be raised, it is worth while to add parenthetically that this broad way of stating the problem is not affected by the question of mining royalties. For example, in the case of the colliery referred to above, rent and royalties together amounted to 2702*l*., so that even if this item had been wiped out entirely the shareholders would only have received the altogether inadequate return of 2.7 per cent. on their investment of 100,000*l*. Royalties throughout the kingdom vary from 2½*d*. per ton up to 1*s*. 3*d*., the average working out to about 6*d*. The total amount of the royalties is the comparatively insignificant sum of about 6,000,000*l*. a year. On no principle would it be justifiable to hand over this sum either to the capitalist or to the collier. If the royalties are to be taken away from their present owners—in defiance of legally established rights—they can only be assigned to the nation as a whole, and used in reduction of general taxation. Already, by the way, mining royalties pay to the State a tax of over 10 per cent. Since there is so much popular misconception on this subject, it is perhaps worth while to add that the Royal Commission on Mining Royalties—which included such well-known spokesmen of the miners as Mr. Thomas Burt and Mr. William Abraham, besides representatives of colliery companies and impartial economists like Professor Munro—reported as follows:

> We are of opinion that the system of royalties has not interfered with the general development of the mineral resources of the United Kingdom or with the export trade in coal with foreign countries.
>
> We do not consider that the terms and conditions under which these payments are made are, generally speaking, such as to require interference by legislation.

We come back, then, to the point that the question of increasing the wages of coal-miners is one between the miners and the community. The miners want to get as high a wage as possible: the community wants to obtain coal as cheaply as possible. Both aspirations are equally natural and legitimate: the question

on what principle should the controversy be settled. That iere is no justification for the use of force on either side ought be universally admitted. The nation has no right to compel iners to hew coal for a less wage than they consider sufficient: nd, equally, the miners have no right to prevent the community om obtaining coal as cheaply as it can be got.

It is upon the second of these propositions that the present ontroversy really turns. In effect the miners are preventing the ommunity from obtaining coal as cheaply as it can be got, and hey are doing this by the use, or by the threat, of force. There an be not the slightest doubt that if every collier in the kingdom new that he was free from all risk of personal violence or molestaion for disregarding the orders of the trade union, there would e no strike. It is inconceivable that miners in one county would oluntarily go on strike in order to secure for miners in another ounty a higher minimum wage than they are themselves earning. ltruism does not run to these lengths even in English trade nions. The threatened coal strike of this year, like the railway trike of last year, has been engineered by very skilful leaders, ho have captured the machinery of the unions and have ehind them a fighting force of enthusiasts who by their energy ominate the more apathetic majority. These elements dictate he policy of the unions, and if any individual member ventures o oppose that policy, life is made extremely uncomfortable for im. There is, consequently, no chance of obtaining a fair settleaent of the wages question until adequate police and military rotection is given to the individual working-man.

That is exactly what the present Government has so far reused to give. In previous labour disputes extra police have, it is rue, been sent to disturbed districts, but they have been little use ainst armed mobs. Soldiers, who alone possess the weapons ecessary for quelling a riot, have generally been withheld until the iischief has been done and a whole district has been terrorised. In no occasion has the Government made it clear from the outset f the dispute that, whatever might be the cost, the liberty of the ndividual workman to work or not to work would be protected. et the same Government did not scruple to send 5000 soldiers to elfast in order to secure the right of free speech for Mr. Churchill. y all means let freedom of speech be protected, but freedom of abour is even more important.

This does not in the least mean that the work of trade unions to be set aside. It only means that this very valuable work aust be based on the willing assent of the members of the union. not, it becomes possible for a well-organised union to establish n effective tyranny over its members, and to exercise that tyranny

in such a way as to inflict the gravest injustice on the rest of the community. The moment the output of coal from the mines of the country ceases, a large number of workmen engaged in other industries will be thrown out of employment. Many of these workmen under ordinary conditions would be earning very much less than the wages which coal-getters demand as a minimum. When thrown out of work they will be earning nothing at all. If perfect liberty existed throughout the community a considerable proportion of these men would immediately find their way to the coal-pits, there to undertake the work which the members of the Miners' Federation refuse to discharge.

In this way the question of the remuneration of miners would settle itself automatically. If the work is so hard, and requires so much skill that a sufficient supply of competent men cannot be obtained, except by offering a wage far in excess of that earned in other occupations, then that high wage must be paid by the community. But if a large number of men are competent and willing to do miners' work at lower rates than those demanded by the Miners' Federation, it is unjust to them and to the community that they should be deprived of the liberty of doing so. For in that event the Miners' Federation will be able not only to destroy the existing occupations of a vast number of innocent men, but also to prevent these same men obtaining coal either for sale or for their own domestic use. The proposal to exercise such an intolerable tyranny as this is all the more unjustifiable in view of the particular ground on which the present dispute is based. For the miners are not now demanding a better reward for the work of supplying the community with coal. What they are demanding is that they shall be paid upon a system which will certainly tend to reduce the output of coal, and so injure every coal consumer in the kingdom without necessarily adding a penny to the earnings of the coal producers.

This anti-social and unjust demand ought to be resisted at any cost, not only because it is in itself injurious to the nation, but also because a concession made to the Miners' Federation—not on account of justice but on account of fear—will only increase the grip of that body over the coal resources of the country, and intensify the tyranny which it is able to exercise over the rest of the community. Radical orators are fond of letting themselves go in perorations about the way in which the landlords have monopolised the natural resources of the country. So far as coal is concerned, the only monopolists are the Miners' Federation. Hundreds of different landlords are eagerly offering their pits in competition with one another: hundreds of enterprising capitalists are willing to risk their money in order to get out the

oal : the way is blocked by the Miners' Federation. That body ys in effect : 'The coal-mines of the kingdom are ours. You hall have no coal for your homes, for your factories, for your ailways, for your ships, except upon our terms. To-day it is a minimum wage we demand. To-morrow it will be something lse. We have you by the throat, and we mean to hold you to ansom.'

HAROLD COX.

ENGLAND'S ECONOMIC POSITION AND HER FINANCIAL RELATIONS WITH SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

It is not necessary at this moment to emphasise the importance of an inquiry into the financial relations of England with Scotland and Ireland. The Government are about to introduce a measure providing, *inter alia*, for the readjustment of the financial relations of Ireland with Great Britain. In order to form a sound judgment upon the equity and practicability of the financial clauses of the Home Rule Bill, it is essential that the taxpayers of Great Britain should have a full knowledge of the present economic position of each of the three Kingdoms and their financial relations with each other. The writer has already discussed the positions of Ireland [1] and Scotland [2]; and in the following pages it is hoped to complete the study of the problem of the Federal finance of the United Kingdom by a detailed statement of the economic position of England and her financial relations with her two partners.

The first point to which attention must be directed is that as to population. It has been estimated that in 1700 the population of England and Wales was probably 6,000,000. The first Government census was taken in 1801, when the results were as follows: England, 8,598,825; Wales, 557,346; Scotland, 1,678,452—total, 10,834,623. At the second census, which was taken in 1811, the figures were as follows: England, 9,826,042; Wales, 628,487; Scotland, 1,884,044—total, 12,338,573. The population of Ireland was enumerated for the first time in 1813; and from 1821 onwards the particulars are available of the population of each division of the United Kingdom, and they are set out hereunder. (It was originally intended to submit a separate memorandum on the economic position of Wales, but the data available are too meagre and unreliable to admit of the presentation of a statement

[1] Vide *Nineteenth Century and After* for October 1911.

[2] Paper read before the Royal Statistical Society, December 19, 1911, vide *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, January 1912.

which would have any real value, and the figures relating to Wales have therefore been incorporated with those of England.)

Census of	Population of United Kingdom	Population of England and Wales	Per cent. of U.K.	Population of Ireland	Per cent. of U.K.	Population of Scotland	Per cent. of U.K.
1821	20,893,584	12,000,236	57.4	6,801,827	32.6	2,091,521	10
1831	24,028,584	14,156,988	57.9	7,767,401	32.3	2,364,386	9.8
1841	26,730,929	15,914,148	59.5	8,196,597	30.7	2,620,184	9.8
1851	27,390,629	17,927,609	65.5	6,574,278	24.0	2,888,742	10.5
1861	28,927,485	20,066,224	69.4	5,798,967	20.0	3,062,294	10.6
1871	31,484,661	22,712,266	72.1	5,412,377	17.2	3,360,018	10.7
1881	34,884,848	25,974,439	74.5	5,174,836	14.8	3,735,573	10.7
1891	37,732,922	29,002,525	76.8	4,704,750	12.5	4,025,647	10.7
1901	41,458,721	32,527,843	78.4	4,458,775	10.8	4,472,103	10.8
1911	45,216,665	36,075,269	79.8	4,381,951	9.7	4,759,445	10.5

Several features of great interest are revealed by the figures contained in the foregoing table. In the first place, it will be observed that in the ninety years that have intervened since the first census of the United Kingdom was taken, England and Wales's proportion of the total population has increased from 57.4 per cent. to 79.8 per cent. These figures establish the growing predominance of England. In 1821 England alone contained 54 per cent. of the total population of the United Kingdom; at the last census her percentage was 75.3. It is instructive to note also the growth of population in Wales. In 1821 Wales contained 717,458 inhabitants. In 1911 her population numbered 2,027,610, an increase during the ninety years of 1,310,152, or 182 per cent. Within the same period the population of England increased to the extent of 22,764,881, or 201 per cent.; that of Scotland to the extent of 2,667,924, or 128 per cent.; while that of Ireland decreased by no less than 2,419,876, or 35 per cent. Throughout the period covered by the census returns the ratio which the population of Scotland bore to the aggregate for the United Kingdom remained in the neighbourhood of 10 per cent. with remarkable uniformity. In 1821 the population of Ireland was three-and-a-quarter times as large as the population of Scotland, and it constituted 32.6 per cent. of the population of the United Kingdom. At the date of the last census Ireland only contained 4,381,951 inhabitants, or 377,494 less than the population of Scotland, and only 9.68 per cent. of the total population of the United Kingdom. In 1821 Wales contained 3.4 per cent. of the total population of the United Kingdom; in 1911 her proportion of the aggregate increased to 4.5 per cent. The intercensal increase of England between 1901 and 1911 was only 10.5 per cent., which was by far the lowest ratio of increase recorded since 1821. Wales, on the other hand, had an intercensal increase of 18.1 per cent., the highest ratio of increase she has yet attained. The

increase of population in Scotland was only 6.4 per cent., the lowest rate of increase reported for any intercensal period with the exception of 1851-61. The decrease of population in Ireland was only 1.7 per cent., which was by far the lowest ratio of decrease reported since 1851.

No doubt the large scale on which emigration has proceeded from Great Britain during the past ten years is largely responsible for the check which has been experienced to the growth of population in England and Scotland. The official returns with regard to emigration are not yet very satisfactory. They show in detail the number of persons leaving each port of the United Kingdom, but they do not distinguish their nationality, *i.e.* whether Scottish, Welsh or English, nor do they distinguish emigrants from ordinary passengers. During the ten years 1902-11, 3,110,617 passengers of British nationality proceeded from the United Kingdom to countries outside Europe; while 1,431,250 passengers of British nationality entered the United Kingdom from countries out of Europe. It may, therefore, be assumed that in ten years no fewer than 1,779,367 British subjects emigrated, giving an average of 177,936 per annum. This loss of population is a serious economic factor and its gravity is emphasised by the fact that in recent years there has been a steady increase of emigration from both Scotland and England. During 1911 the volume of emigration reached the highest total yet recorded—namely, 270,244; and, so far as it is possible to form a judgment, this aggregate was provided from the different divisions of the United Kingdom as follows—namely, England, 179,714; Wales, 5355; Scotland, 61,348; and Ireland, 23,827. One of the most satisfactory features of this question is the growing tendency for British emigrants to settle within the Empire. Out of the total departures during 1911, amounting to 270,244, no fewer than 217,516 went to the British Empire—134,900 to Canada, 58,700 to Australia, and 23,916 to other parts of the Empire.

The decline in the agricultural population of Great Britain, which has formed a prominent feature of the census returns for the past sixty years, has materially helped to swell the volume of emigration. In 1861 the total number of persons engaged in agriculture in England and Wales was 1,454,222; and at the census of 1901 the number thus employed had fallen to 868,029, a decline of 586,193, or 40 per cent. In 1906 the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries instituted a valuable inquiry with regard to the movement of agricultural population and the causes which have affected it. A considerable number of circular letters of inquiry were issued by the Board to their staff of agricultural correspondents. Among the causes assigned for a smaller demand for labour on the farm was the necessity imposed upon farmers to

reduce their expenditure by reason of low prices and diminished capital. In this connexion it is instructive to note that in 1905 Sir R. H. Inglis Palgrave estimated the losses of agriculture in the United Kingdom between the years 1872-77 and 1904 at about 1,600,000,000*l*. Under the pressure of economic necessity the farmers have altered their methods of farming as far as possible, with a view to economising labour. One of the most important and practically universal changes referred to by the correspondents was the laying down of land to grass. In the twenty years 1881 to 1901 there was a loss of 2,000,000 acres of arable land in England from this cause, which is estimated to have thrown between 60,000 and 80,000 agricultural labourers out of work. Another and still more potent influence has been the introduction of labour-saving machinery; and it is claimed that the saving of labour from this cause on the 15,000,000 acres of arable land that still remain under the plough was greater than on the 2,000,000 acres laid down to grass. Concurrently with these adverse influences affecting the demand there has been an increased desire on the part of the labourers to leave the land, and the higher wages and the attractions of town life have tended to increase the volume of rural migration.

Notwithstanding these adverse influences, agriculture remains one of our most important industries. It is true that in England the value of the gross output of the cotton industry exceeds the value of the agricultural production, but the number of workers employed in agriculture is still greater than in any other industry. The following may be submitted as an estimate of the value of a year's agricultural production in England and Wales, on the basis of the prices and crops, etc., of 1910, namely:

	£
Wheat, 6,614,000 quarters, at 31*s*. per quarter	10,251,000
Barley, 6,626,000 quarters, at 23*s*. per quarter	7,619,000
Oats, 10,930,000 quarters, at 17*s*. per quarter	9,290,000
Potatoes, 2,596,000 tons, at 64*s*. per ton	8,307,000
Clover hay, 2,595,000 tons, at 84*s*. per ton	10,899,000
Meadow hay, 6,027,000 tons, at 72*s*. per ton	21,697,000
Other crops	7,000,000
Cattle and sheep, horses, pigs, etc.	30,800,000
Total	£105,863,000

The sea fisheries of England and Wales are of considerable and growing importance. The value of the fish landed at English and Welsh ports in 1910 was 8,194,277*l*.

The decline of the agricultural industry in England and Wales has, of course, coincided with a vast expansion of their manufacturing and extractive industries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century England was well on the way to become an

Gross Output of the Principal Industries of England and Wales which made Returns under the Census of Production Act, 1907

Industry	Gross Output	Number of Workers
	£	
Cotton factories	165,351,000	524,984
Mines	104,396,000	731,222
Iron and steel factories	85,951,000	209,720
Engineering	84,881,000	386,028
Building and contracting trades	75,424,000	434,154
Woollens and worsted	63,652,000	226,484
Brewing and malting	57,656,000	73,583
Clothing and millinery	53,968,000	354,218
Grain-milling factories	53,427,000	28,544
Gold and silver refining	51,178,000	2,188
Shipbuilding	32,320,000	142,045
Railway construction, etc.	30,084,000	205,887
Gas	27,887,000	72,040
Bread and biscuit factories	27,058,000	76,810
Chemicals	21,625,000	47,207
Boot and shoe factories	21,454,000	116,546
Printing and bookbinding	21,120,000	144,249
Local authorities	17,031,000	142,653
Copper and brass factories	16,527,000	19,598
Leather factories	15,530,000	24,452
Bleaching, dyeing, and printing	14,347,000	77,971
Galvanised-sheet factories	14,205,000	65,079
Cocoa, confectionery, and fruit preserving	13,912,000	52,285
Timber factories	11,863,000	57,967
Newspapers	11,229,000	37,478
Seed crushing	11,741,000	6,945
Cycle and motor factories	10,258,000	44,831
Soap and candles	10,688,000	16,504
Bottling factories	10,608,000	17,221
Furniture, etc.	10,260,000	62,980
Sugar and glucose	9,772,000	5,308
Water companies and undertakings	9,639,000	19,865
Paper-making	9,554,000	28,062
Tinplate factories	9,350,000	21,222
Indiarubber, etc.	8,908,000	24,040
Lace factories	8,955,000	30,279
Plate and jewellery	8,468,000	37,239
Railway carriage and wagon building	8,433,000	24,842
Lead, tin, and zinc	8,322,000	7,505
Laundry and cleaning	7,899,000	111,542
Electricity	7,883,000	19,702
Hosiery	7,733,000	41,349
Paint, colour, and varnish	7,568,000	12,289
China and earthenware	7,229,000	65,347
Brick and fireclay	6,726,000	55,856
Wire factories	6,162,000	16,576
Butter, cheese, and margarine	5,708,000	4,554
Brass factories	5,790,000	33,896
Bacon curing	5,716,000	4,196
Hat, bonnet, and cap factories	5,012,000	30,050
Oil factories	5,009,000	4,432
Silk factories	4,949,000	30,590
Bolt, rivet, and screw	4,934,000	25,852
Miscellaneous	169,686,000	696,602
Total	1,488,000,000	5,784,000

industrial instead of an agricultural country. The imports of Great Britain for 1800 were valued at 28,257,000*l*., and the exports at 34,381,000*l*. The national income of Great Britain at that time was estimated to amount to about 200,000,000*l*. per annum, and the national wealth did not exceed 2,800,000,000*l*. The space available will not admit of an elaborate survey of the growth of our manufacturing industries throughout the past 110 years, but it is instructive to note that the present value of the gross output of the cotton industry alone approaches the amount of the total national income of Great Britain in 1800. The relative and absolute magnitude of the manufacturing and extractive industries of England and Wales at the present time may be gathered from the table on page 415, which contains a summary of the preliminary returns received under the Census of Production Act, so far as they relate to the principal industries of England and Wales.

The total production of the industries of the United Kingdom during the year 1907 which made returns under the Census of Production Act of 1906 was as follows:

—	Gross Output. Selling Value of Work Done	Materials Used. Cost	Net Output	Average Number of Persons Employed
	Million £	Million £	Million £	
England and Wales .	1,483	880	603	5,764,000
Scotland	208	121	87	885,000
Ireland	66	44	22	287,000
Total . . .	1,757	1,045	712	6,936,000

In addition to the number of persons employed shown in the table, about 100,000 outworkers were returned as borne on the books of the employing firms. The average number of persons employed on the work covered by the census was, therefore, about 7,000,000, and the total output in the censal year represented an addition of about 712,000,000*l*. to the value of the materials purchased. It must be borne in mind, however, as the Director of the Census has taken care to point out in each of the reports, that the output of one trade or factory may constitute materials for other trades or factories, so that the figures relating to gross output and to materials involve a considerable amount of duplication. No duplication, however, is involved in the figures of net output.

The figures contained in the foregoing tables illustrate the relative and absolute importance of the manufacturing industries of England and Wales and their comparative importance in relation to the manufacturing industries of the United Kingdom. The

gross output of England and Wales was 1,488,000,000*l.*, or 84.5 per cent. of the total for the United Kingdom. The gross output of Scotland was 208,000,000*l.*, or 11.8 per cent. of the aggregate; and the gross output of Ireland was 66,000,000*l.*, or 3.7 per cent. of the total. Of course, in the case of Ireland it must be borne in mind that agriculture is her principal industry, and when the agricultural output is combined with the output of the manufacturing industries, Ireland's percentage of the total output of all industries of the United Kingdom will be much higher—the approximate figure is 6 per cent. The net output of English and Welsh manufacturing industries was 603,000,000*l.*, or 84.7 per cent. of the aggregate; that of Scotland was 12.2 per cent.; and that of Ireland only 3.1 per cent. Here, of course, as stated above, the Irish ratio will be largely augmented when the agricultural production is incorporated with the manufactures.

The railways of England have played an important and indispensable part in her commercial development, and despite all the criticism that has been directed against their present management, the most eminent authorities are agreed that our railways are among the best administered and most efficient in the world. At the end of 1910 the mileage of railways in England and Wales opened for traffic was 16,148. The paid-up capital, less nominal additions, was 939,913,000*l.*; and the average rate of dividend paid thereon was only 3.61 per cent. The gross receipts for 1910 amounted to 106,347,000*l.*, the working expenses to 66,448,000*l.* and the net revenue to 39,899,000*l.* The gross earnings of the railways of England and Wales represent about 85.8 per cent. of the aggregate for the United Kingdom. In the past fifteen years the gross receipts of the English and Welsh railways increased from 76,584,000*l.* to 106,347,000*l.*, an expansion of 29,763,000*l.*, or 38.8 per cent. During the same period the gross earnings of the Scottish railways increased to the extent of 3,049,000*l.*, or 30.3 per cent.; and those of Ireland to the extent of 996,000*l.*, or 28.6 per cent. It would appear, therefore, that the relative increase of gross earnings has been considerably greater in England and Wales than in either Scotland or Ireland.

The banks of England have not only contributed enormously to her commercial expansion, but they have at the same time helped to establish British credit on that firm foundation which has made London the citadel of the international monetary system. It is quite impossible to give, within the limits of this paper, an historical account of the growth of banking in England and Wales, and we must content ourselves with a summary of the present position. The deposits and current accounts of the banks of England and Wales, including the Post Office Savings Bank and the Trustee Savings Banks, amounted at the end of 1910

912,767,000l., or 81.4 per cent. of the total for the United [Kin]gdom. It must be borne in mind, however, that the deposits [of] the Colonial Joint Stock Banks with London offices amount to [...],000,000l., and the deposits of the Foreign Joint Stock Banks [w]ith London offices to 430,000,000l., and that a substantial pro[por]tion of the total of 745,000,000l. is held on account of English [de]positors. It may be said, therefore, that the relative position [of] England and Wales in the matter of the banking resources of [th]e United Kingdom is stronger even than stated above, and in [all] probability a proportion of 87 per cent. would be nearer [th]e actual amount. It is instructive to note the influences [th]at have contributed to the establishment of London as the [ce]ntre of the international financial system. They include, [in]ter alia, the income from our investments abroad (which the [wr]iter estimates to amount to at least 180,000,000l. per annum), [th]e magnitude of our shipping industry (which brings in at least [...]0,000,000l. per annum), the magnitude of our foreign trade [(w]hich last year amounted to over 1,237,000,000l.), the earnings [of] our banking and mercantile houses engaged in the conduct of [fo]reign trade (which amount to at least 57,000,000l. per annum), [th]e economy and soundness of our banking methods, the stability [of] our political institutions, and our reputation for fair dealing. [B]ut, above all, our credit has been established by, and is dependent [up]on, the unchallengeable supremacy of the British Navy, and [up]on confidence that our military strength can maintain order [w]ithin the Empire and resist attacks from without.

The commercial expansion of England has, of course, coincided [wi]th the development of her shipping industry. At the beginning [of] the nineteenth century the registered vessels belonging to the [Br]itish Dominions numbered 19,772, representing 2,037,000 tons. [At] the end of 1910 the gross tonnage of the mercantile marine of [th]e United Kingdom amounted to 18,468,000, of which aggregate [...],499,000 tons, or 73 per cent., were registered at English and [W]elsh ports. The tonnage of the mercantile vessels built at [po]rts of England and Wales in 1910, exclusive of vessels built [for] foreigners, was 334,735 tons, which compared with 183,459 [to]ns built in Scotland and 82,778 tons built in Ireland. From [th]e statement of the navigation and shipping of the United King[do]m for the year 1910, it appears that the tonnage of the vessels [en]gaged in the foreign trade which entered and cleared English [an]d Welsh ports during that year was 149,480,000, or 82.5 per [ce]nt. of the total for the United Kingdom. The tonnage of the [coa]stwise shipping which entered and cleared English and Welsh [por]ts during the same year was 90,085,000, or 78 per cent. of [the] total coastwise tonnage of the United Kingdom.

The foreign trade of England and Wales has, of course, expanded in proportion to the growth of their manufacturing and shipping industries and the development of their banking and mercantile resources. The value of the foreign trade of the United Kingdom for 1910 was 1,212,402,000*l.*, of which total the share of England and Wales was 1,107,709,000*l.*, or 91.4 per cent.; Scotland, 88,629,000*l.*, or 7.3 per cent.; and Ireland, 16,064,000*l.*, or 1.3 per cent. It must, however, be borne in mind that a very large proportion of the foreign trade of Scotland and Ireland is carried *viâ* English and Welsh ports, and therefore the percentage allocated to England and Wales is really too high. This conclusion is borne out by the figures relating to the shipping entered and cleared from the different divisions of the United Kingdom. The English and Welsh ports have a far higher proportion of the shipping engaged in the foreign trade than they possess of the shipping engaged in the coasting trade. The average percentages of the foreign and coastwise shipping combined work out as follows: England and Wales, 79 per cent.; Scotland, 12.3 per cent.; and Ireland, 8.7 per cent.

The earnings derived from our mercantile marine constitute one of the principal sources of national wealth. In 1882 the late Sir Robert Giffen estimated the earnings of the British shipping industry at 80,000,000*l.* per annum. Vast changes have occurred in the position of the industry since that date. Freights have been largely reduced, but, on the other hand, the tonnage of big steamships has been greatly enlarged, and the efficiency of the steam tonnage has been enormously increased both in the matter of carrying capacity and speed. The earnings of the industry fluctuate widely from year to year in accordance with the trade conditions prevailing throughout the world. The gross tonnage of the shipping owned by Great Britain is 16,767,000, and it would perhaps be a safe estimate to assume that the average earnings work out at about 6*l.* per ton. At the present time the earnings are probably largely in excess of this amount, but a fair average figure has been taken. The sailing vessels owned by the United Kingdom have a net tonnage of 749,000, and an average of 2*l.* per ton might perhaps be regarded as a fair estimate in respect of the earnings of these vessels. On these bases we arrive at a total gross income of 102,000,000*l.* The question of apportioning the disbursements between home and foreign ports is a matter of great complexity. Certain expenses, such as coal, victualling, repairs, insurance, Suez Canal dues, port and light dues, etc., must remain or ultimately be remitted abroad. Then, out of 276,000 persons employed in British vessels, 35,000 are foreigners and 44,000 are lascars, and, no doubt, the greater part of their wages must be remitted abroad. But it may be safely assumed that the bulk of

the gross receipts above referred to must ultimately reach this country in one form or another. If the earnings of underwriters and forwarding and shipping agents be included, it would probably be a moderate estimate to place our total income from shipping, underwriting, etc., at not less than 100,000,000*l.* per annum. Of this total the share accruing to England and Wales may, on the basis of the statistics relating to the ownership of tonnage, be estimated to amount to about 77,000,000*l.*, or 77 per cent.

The investment of capital abroad has exercised an enormous influence upon the economic life of Great Britain. These investments of course had their origin in our early control of the carrying trade of the world, and in the accumulation of capital and the opportunities for its profitable investment that were thus afforded. From time to time the writer has made careful estimates[3] with regard to the capital value of our foreign and Colonial investments, and he has arrived at the conclusion that the amount invested in British Dominions beyond the seas exceeds 1,900,000,000*l.*, and in foreign countries 1,850,000,000*l.*, a total of, say, 3,750,000,000*l.* One of the most interesting features revealed by the investigations has been the fact that there should be such a close approximation between the amounts invested in British Dominions beyond the seas and in foreign countries. The great bulk of our investments has been made in countries from which we draw our supplies of food and raw material; and, generally speaking, it will be found that comparatively little British capital is employed in financing our manufacturing or trading rivals. Another significant feature to which attention may be directed is the fact that the years in which we invest largely abroad are also years in which the exports of British manufactures and produce attain their largest dimensions. Thus it will be found that in the quinquennial period 1900-4, when the average annual amount of capital subscribed for investment abroad was 65,600,000*l.*, the average annual value of exports of British manufactures was 289,229,000*l.* But in the quinquennial period 1905-9, when the average annual amount of capital subscribed for investment abroad was 114,600,000*l.*, the average annual value of the exports of British manufactures rose to 377,342,000*l.* The figures relating to the investment of capital abroad and the exports of British manufactures during the past two years afford a still more striking testimony of the direct influence which the credit we are prepared to grant our Colonial and foreign customers exercises upon the volume of our export trade.

The average annual income derived from our foreign and Colonial investments is in the neighbourhood of 180,000,000*l.*, and if it be assumed that 10 per cent. of this aggregate belongs to Scottish and Irish investors, it will be found that the income which

[3] *Vide Quarterly Review*, July 1907, and *Quarterly Review*, July 1911.

accrues to the investors of England and Wales from this source is about 162,000,000*l.* per annum. Broadly speaking, it may be said that not more than one-half of the income from our investments abroad is brought home in the shape of raw materials and foodstuffs, the balance being re-invested in the countries in which it is earned, or elsewhere abroad. This sum, together with the portion of the earnings of our shipping industry and of our banking and mercantile houses, etc., which is not brought home, constitutes the bulk of the fund from which our new foreign and Colonial investments are made each year. In order to illustrate the influence which the investment of capital abroad exercises on the trade balance of the United Kingdom, the following approximate statement is submitted:

Approximate Statement of the Trade Balance of the United Kingdom for the Year 1911

Debit Items	£
Imports—	
Commodities	680,559,000
Bullion and specie	62,988,000
Invisible Imports—	
Amount of capital invested abroad	175,000,000
Interest payable on foreign and Colonial holdings of British securities and earnings of foreign and Colonial banks, insurance companies, etc., carrying on business within the United Kingdom	20,000,000
Total	£938,547,000

Credit Items	£
Exports—	
Commodities	454,282,000
Re-exports of Commodities	102,720,000
Bullion and specie	57,042,000
Invisible Exports—	
Interest on investments abroad	180,000,000
Gross earnings of the British mercantile marine	100,000,000
Gross earnings of British banking, mercantile, commission, and insurance houses carrying on business abroad	57,000,000
Total	£951,044,000

It is quite impracticable to hope to submit a statement which will show an exact balance, because there are so many items which enter into the adjustment of the trade balance for which no reliable data are available. The above table does not include the value of the fish landed at British ports during the year (in 1910 the total was 11,740,054*l.*), nor does it include the imports and exports of precious stones, the average value of the net imports of which cannot have been less than 4,000,000*l.* Again, it is impossible to frame an estimate of the amount annually expended abroad by British tourists, or the earnings of British subjects resident abroad which are annually remitted home. In this connexion it is interesting to note that the pensions payable in England by the Indian

Government alone exceed 2,000,000*l*. per annum. It is equally difficult to frame an estimate of the amount annually expended by Colonial and foreign tourists within the United Kingdom, or the amount of the earnings of Colonials and foreigners resident here which are remitted abroad annually. On the whole it would perhaps be fair to assume that these two groups of income and expenditure roughly balance.

It is desirable now to consider the question of the national income and wealth of England and Wales in relation to the rest of the United Kingdom. In 1798 Pitt, when bringing forward his proposal for an income tax, estimated the national income of Great Britain at 127,500,000*l*., and his calculations were based on the following estimates:

	£
Rent of land	25,000,000
Tenants' income	18,000,000
Tithes	5,000,000
Mines, canals, etc.	3,750,000
Rent of houses	6,250,000
Profits or professions	2,000,000
Scotland (one-eighth as much as England)	7,500,000
Income of residents derived from Colonies	5,000,000
Dividend from public funds	15,000,000
Profits of home and foreign trade	40,000,000
Total	£127,500,000

It was somewhat curious that Pitt should have included dividend from public funds as part of the national income. After deductions of percentages from the gross income to represent exemptions under 60*l*. and abatements up to 200*l*., Pitt stated that the various incomes on which a general income tax should be paid might be moderately estimated at 102,000,000*l*. Lord Auckland estimated that if the earnings of labourers and the incomes of small capitalists were included, the entire national income would amount to about 200,000,000*l*. The gross income of England and Wales for the year to the 31st of March 1910, reviewed by the several bodies of Income Tax Commissioners, was 877,888,487*l*., or 86.8 per cent. of the gross income of the United Kingdom. It is instructive to note that Scotland does not appear to be increasing her income at such a rapid rate as England and Ireland. For the year to the 31st of March 1910 there was a decrease of 3,184,024*l*. in the amount of the gross assessment for Scotland, which compared with an increase of 3,893,638*l*. in the case of England and an increase of 454,805*l*. in the case of Ireland. Moreover, during the ten years ended the 31st of March 1910 there was an increase for the United Kingdom of 92,415,000*l*. in the gross assessments to income derived from business concerns, professions and employments under Schedule D. This increase was distributed as follows:

—	Amount of Increase	Per cent.
	£	
England and Wales	21,802,000	20.2
Scotland	6,768,000	13.9
Ireland	3,345,081	30.4

These figures show pretty clearly that during the period named Ireland has progressed at a much more rapid rate than either of her partners.

The gross assessments to income tax do not, of course, include the entire income of the people. For example, they do not cover the earnings of people whose income is less than 160*l.* per annum; nor do they comprise the income of the small capitalists. In order to arrive at the entire national income of England and Wales, we must take into consideration not only the annual value of their manufacturing and agricultural industries, but also the income derived from investments abroad, from shipping, and from the services rendered by English banking and mercantile houses in the domain of international trade and finance. As stated above, the net output of the manufacturing and extractive industries of England and Wales which came within the scope of the Census of Production Act was 603,000,000*l.* It must be remembered, however, that these returns, so far as they related to England and Wales, only covered about 5,850,000 workers, whereas the total number of occupied persons in England and Wales is well over 15,000,000. At the Census of 1901, the total number of persons aged ten years and upwards who were engaged in occupations was 14,328,727. The agricultural industry occupies about 800,000 persons, and the annual output may be valued at about 106,000,000*l.* The remaining 8,350,000 occupied persons include Government employés, bankers, teachers, domestic servants, clerks, professional men, etc., and it would perhaps be a fair estimate to assume that their income works out at about 87*l.* per head, which gives an aggregate of nearly 730,000,000*l.*

Summarising the conclusions arrived at above, it may be said that the national income of England and Wales is about 1,740,000,000*l.* per annum, made up as follows:

	£
Net output in returns made under the Census of Production Act, 1906	603,000,000
Estimated value of agricultural production (including sea fisheries)	115,000,000
Estimated income of occupied persons not included in the two foregoing groups	730,000,000
Estimated income from shipping	77,000,000
Estimated income from investments abroad . . .	162,000,000
Estimated earnings of banking, mercantile, and insurance houses engaged in the conduct of international trade and finance	53,000,000
Total	£1,740,000,000

The above aggregate works out at an average of about 43*l.* per head of the entire population of England and Wales. It compares with an average income of 36*l.* per head in the case of Scotland and 19*l.* per head in the case of Ireland.

It is necessary now to frame an estimate of the national wealth of England and Wales, and for this purpose it will perhaps be best to adopt the method by which the late Sir Robert Giffen estimated the national wealth of the United Kingdom in 1885—namely, to take the gross income returned for assessment to the income tax, capitalise the different portions of the income derived from capital at so many years' purchase, and then make an estimate for other property which does not come within the sweep of the income-tax net. Applying this method to the income assessed to income tax in England and Wales for the year to the 31st of March 1910, as set out in the Fifty-fourth Report of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Inland Revenue, we arrive at the following result, viz.:

—	Income	Number of Years' Purchase	Capital
Under Schedule A—	£		£
Lands	36,367,000	25	909,175,000
Houses	193,223,000	15	2,898,345,000
Other profits	898,000	25	22,450,000
Schedule B—			
Farmers' profits	12,202,000	8	97,616,000
Schedule C—			
Public Funds, less *Home Funds* (80 per cent. of total for U.K.)	27,260,000	25	681,500,000
Schedule D—			
Quarries, mines, ironworks, etc.	19,822,000	4	79,288,000
Gasworks, waterworks, canals, docks, fishings, market tolls, etc.	16,659,000	20	333,180,000
Other public companies	170,162,000	15	2,552,430,000
Foreign and Colonial securities and coupons	32,889,000	20	657,780,000
Railways in the United Kingdom	34,884,000	25	872,100,000
Railways out of the United Kingdom	24,376,000	20	487,520,000
Interest paid out of rates	5,771,000	25	144,275,000
Other interest	3,547,000	20	70,940,000
Other profits	1,930 000	20	38,600,000
Trades and professions, one-fifth of total income of £176,552,000	35,310,000	15	539,650,000
Total under income tax	—	—	10,424,849,000
Trades and professions omitted, 20 per cent. of amount assessed, or £35,310,000, of which one-fifth is	7,062,000	15	105,930,000
Income of non-income tax paying classes derived from capital	95,000,000	5	475,000,000
Income from investments abroad or from shipping, banking, and mercantile services not included above or not brought home	74,000,000	15	1,110,000,000
Movable property not yielding income, *e.g.* furniture of houses, etc., works of art, etc.	—	—	1,000,000,000
Government and local property	—	—	600,000,000
Total	—	—	13,716,779,000

The national wealth of England and Wales may therefore be estimated at 13,716,779,000*l.*, or 380*l.* per head. This compares with an aggregate of 1,451,625,000*l.*, or 305*l.* per head, in the case of Scotland, and 700,000,000*l.*, or 160*l.* per head, in the case of Ireland. England and Wales may therefore be said to possess 86.4 per cent. of the national wealth of the United Kingdom, Scotland to possess 9.2 per cent., and Ireland 4.4 per cent. The net capital value of estates liable to estate duty affords another method of measuring the relative wealth of the three Kingdoms. In the year ended the 31st of March 1911 the net capital value of estates liable to estate duty of which the Inland Revenue Department had notice was 272,724,000*l.*, which was made up as follows—namely, England and Wales, 229,701,000*l.*; Scotland, 28,313,000*l.*; and Ireland, 14,710,000*l.* England's percentage of the total was 84.2, Scotland's percentage 10.4, and Ireland's percentage 5.4. England's percentage of the net capital liable to estate duties was considerably less than her ratio of the assessments to income tax, which, as stated above, was 86.4 per cent., and perhaps this discrepancy was partly due to the fact that many investments abroad did not come within the sweep of the estate-duty net.

The national wealth of the United Kingdom may be estimated to amount to approximately 15,869,000,000*l.*, of which aggregate no less than 3,800,000,000*l.* consists of the capital value of British investments abroad. It is a matter of profound political and economic importance that such a large and rapidly growing percentage of the national wealth should be located outside the limits of the United Kingdom. In recent years the growth of national wealth within the limits of the United Kingdom has been much less rapid than the growth of the value of our investments abroad, and there is every reason to believe that the dependence of this country upon its foreign and Colonial investments will increase at a still more rapid ratio in the future. The bearing of this income from foreign and Colonial investments, shipping, etc., upon the Tariff Reform question has not yet been even dimly appreciated.

It is desirable now to consider carefully the position which England and Wales occupy in the matter of Imperial revenue and expenditure and, in particular, their contribution to Imperial services. In order to arrive at a clear understanding of the matter it is necessary to review as briefly as possible the growth of Imperial expenditure during the past century.

After 1815 the Navy estimates fluctuated between six and eleven millions until the outbreak of the war with Russia in 1854. After the conclusion of peace the naval expenditure diminished until 1870, when it reached the low level of 10,000,000*l.* In the

succeeding twenty years it varied between ten and twelve millions, and in 1890 the total advanced to 14,500,000*l*. The alliance between France and Russia in 1895 necessitated a large policy of naval construction, and in 1897 our naval expenditure rose to 22,800,000*l*. In 1899 the South African War began to influence our naval policy, and in 1901 the total expenditure rose to 30,000,000*l*. Germany then began to give effect to her active policy of naval construction, and during the decade 1901-10 the naval estimates gradually rose from thirty-one to thirty-seven millions. The estimates for 1910-11 exceeded forty millions, and this total was in its turn exceeded by the estimates for 1911-12, which provide for an expenditure of 44,882,000*l*.

Between 1815 and the Crimean War the Army expenditure was generally less than 10,000,000*l*.; but for 1855 the estimates amounted to nearly 21,000,000*l*. Following the declaration of peace a strong movement was organised by Mr. Gladstone in the direction of a reduction of expenditure on armaments, and in 1857 the combined military and naval expenditure did not exceed 21,000,000*l*. A continuance of the policy of retrenchment was rendered impracticable owing to the China War and the Indian Mutiny, and Army expenditure again attained a high level. Between 1890 and 1898 the Army estimates moved between thirteen and eighteen millions, and in 1899 the South African War of course involved a vast increase of expenditure. After the conclusion of peace Army expenditure remained at a high level, and for 1903-4 the estimates provided for an expenditure of nearly 37,000,000*l*. Substantial reductions have since been effected, and the estimates for 1911-12 amount to 27,690,000*l*.

The vast growth of expenditure on armaments has been accompanied by a still greater increase of civil expenditure. Within the past fifteen years alone the civil expenditure of the United Kingdom has increased from 47,000,000*l*. to 77,000,000*l*., an expansion of 30,000,000*l*., or 64 per cent. Considerably more than one-half of this expansion was due to the charge for old-age pensions and the additional sums expended on education. In the same period the total expenditure of local authorities advanced from 89,451,000*l*. to 166,962,000*l*., an increase of 77,511,000*l*., or 86 per cent.; and the total outstanding debt of these bodies amounted at the end of 1909 to 598,268,000*l*.

For the year to the 31st of March 1900, Imperial expenditure amounted to 93,081,000*l*., made up as follows: Army 43,815,000*l*., Navy 26,000,000*l*., and National Debt charges 23,216,000*l*. The Army expenditure was of course greatly augmented during that year owing to the South African War. For the year to the 31st of March 1911, the Army expenditure was 27,664,000*l*., but naval expenditure advanced to 40,386,000*l*., and the National Debt

charge was 24,554,000*l*., making the total expenditure on Imperial service 98,604,000*l*., or practically the same amount at which it stood eleven years earlier. But within the same short period a vast increase of local expenditure by the Imperial Treasury took place, the total having advanced from 46,168,000*l*. in 1900 to 71,888,000*l*. in 1911. As stated above, the bulk of this increase was mainly due to old-age pensions and increased grants to public education, etc.

The following tables show the changes which occurred in the public revenue and expenditure of England and Wales between 1900 and 1911. It will be recalled that, owing to the delay in the passing of the Finance Act of 1910, the revenue returns for that year were abnormally reduced, while those of 1911 were abnormally swollen by the inclusion of the arrears of income tax which were collected in that year. In order, therefore, to arrive at a fair basis of comparison, the average figures of the different sources of revenue have been taken for the two years ended the 31st of March 1911 :

Revenue (England and Wales)

—	Average of two years ended March 31, 1911	Year ended March 31, 1900
	£	£
Direct Taxes—		
Income tax	32,552,000	16,025,000
Estate duties	20,283,000	15,906,000
Licences	4,430,000	3,511,000
Stamps	8,087,000	7,438,000
Indirect Taxes—		
Spirits	11,358,000	13,437,000
Beer	11,030,000	10,997,000
Tobacco	13,156,000	8,585,000
Tea	4,622,000	3,523,000
Foreign and Colonial spirits	3,086,000	4,028,000
Sugar	2,364,000	Nil
Wines	963,000	1,477,000
Services undertaken by the Crown—		
Post Office	20,312,000	14,082,000
Miscellaneous	5,870,750	4,746,000
Total	138,113,750	103,755,000

It will be observed that during the eleven years the revenue of England and Wales increased from 103,755,000*l*. to 138,113,750*l*., a growth of 34,358,000*l*., or 33.1 per cent. This amount was distributed as follows: Post Office, an increase of 6,230,000*l*., or 44.2 per cent.; direct taxes, an increase of 22,672,000*l*., or 52.8 per cent.; indirect taxes, an increase of 4,532,000*l*., or only 10.7 per cent. In this great and rapidly growing disproportion between the growth of direct and indirect taxation the Chancellor of the Exchequer will find one of the principal causes of the decline in the price of Consols which

has lately attracted public attention. Investors are being so heavily taxed by the estate duties, the income tax, and local authorities that they are compelled to seek securities which will return such a high rate of interest as will yield them a sufficient margin of income after meeting this excessive taxation. Before the advent of the present Administration the income tax was always looked upon as a reserve to be used mainly for war purposes, but in times of peace it has been advanced to higher figures than it reached during the South African War, and it is nearly up to the level attained during the Crimean War. The estate duties have also been forced up to a level which excites grave misgivings, and the realisations of securities for the purpose of meeting these great charges are a chronic source of weakness to the market for Government stocks.

The following table shows the growth of expenditure under the principal heads between 1900 and 1911, viz.:

Expenditure (England and Wales)

—	Year ended March 31, 1911	Year ended March 31, 1900
	£	£
Public education	14,166,500	8,734,000
Post Office services	15,798,500	9,874,000
Old-age pensions	6,325,000	Nil
Grants to local taxation accounts in relief of rates	7,199,500	8,496,000
Cost of collection of Customs, Excise, and Inland Revenue	3,157,000	2,175,000
Public works and buildings	956,000	655,000
Board of Agriculture and Fisheries	167,500	72,000
Universities	179,000	63,000
Rates on Government property	582,000	369,000
Miscellaneous	4,086,000	3,777,000
Total	52,617,000	34,215,000

In eleven years, therefore, the Governmental expenditure in England and Wales has increased to the extent of 18,402,000*l.*, or 53.7 per cent. Of this increase old-age pensions accounted for 6,325,000*l.*, and public education for 5,432,500*l.* Within the short period of seven years (namely, 1903 to 1909) the total expenditure of local authorities, defrayed otherwise than out of loans, increased from 92,882,000*l.* to 121,910,000*l.*, an expansion of 29,028,000*l.*, or 31.2 per cent., say at the rate of 4,000,000*l.* per annum.

Even the richest country in the world cannot stand this ratio of growth of expenditure. There are certain fundamental economic laws which cannot be overridden by the most powerful majority in the House of Commons. The equilibrium which Mr. Gladstone established between direct and indirect taxation has been rudely

disturbed, and practically the whole burden of the vast increase of national expenditure within the past decade has fallen upon the direct taxpayer. In his speech to the City Liberal Club on the 3rd of February, the Chancellor of the Exchequer claimed that during the six years' term of office of the present Administration they had effected a net reduction of 61,000,000*l*. in the amount of the National Debt. In making the above statement the Chancellor appears to have quite overlooked the fact that within the period referred to the permanent fixed charges of the State have been increased to the extent of 12,500,000*l*. per annum in respect of the old-age pensions, and to the extent of at least 6,000,000*l*. per annum in respect of the National Insurance Act. These two amounts capitalised on the basis of thirty-three years' purchase represent a capital sum of 610,500,000*l*. In other words, the annual interest charge at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum on a sum of 610,500,000*l*. would amount to approximately the aggregate expenditure to which this country has been committed in respect of the old-age pensions and National Insurance. The writer does not suggest that this great expenditure is unjustifiable or that it must be attributed to one political party alone, but it is of the utmost importance that taxpayers should realise the full extent of the additional liabilities which Parliament has imposed upon the nation within the past six years. The credit system of the United Kingdom is adjusting itself to the new conditions which have been created with such an apparent want of foresight, and it is difficult to see how there can be any permanent recovery in the price of Consols until there is a reversion to the old policy of retrenchment. In face of the present situation in Europe any reduction of expenditure on armaments is out of the question; and it may be hoped that the attention of the Government may be directed to the cutting down of Local Government expenditure, and to economies in the administration of the National Government in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

In addition to the growth of national expenditure there are many other influences which are depressing British credit. One of the most important of these is perhaps the position of our gold reserves. London is the citadel of the international financial system and is the world's free market for gold. London is yearly assuming greater current liabilities which are immediately payable in gold, and there is a vast and rapidly growing disproportion between our reserves of gold and our gold liabilities. From time to time the commercial community has made representations to the Government with regard to the dangerous position into which the British credit system is drifting, owing to the failure to provide adequate gold reserves. In times of peace our credit machinery may perhaps be relied upon to strengthen our gold reserves,

to drastic and costly measures to protect our reserves; but in time of war this neglect to provide a large stock of gold will have disastrous consequences for the entire commercial community.

The position of the State as banker is not one which the taxpayer can afford to view with any other feeling than one of dissatisfaction. The writer was astonished to read, in *The Times* report of the proceedings at the conversazione given by the City Corporation in the Guildhall, on the 3rd of November last, in celebration of the jubilee of the Post Office Savings Bank, that the Postmaster-General (Mr. Herbert Samuel) had stated in the course of his speech that 'one-fifth of the whole population were depositors, and the State stocking provided for the people now held 170 millions of sovereigns.' The writer asked the Postmaster-General whether he had been correctly reported in *The Times*, and received the following reply:

General Post Office, London, 13 November, 1911.

DEAR SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 10th instant, Mr. Herbert Samuel desires me to say that the report in *The Times* of his speech at the Guildhall which you quote is correct. Of course the phrase '170 millions of sovereigns' was not intended to mean that the whole of the deposits were kept in gold, but as merely an amplification of an illustration used in an earlier part of Mr. Samuel's speech, where he spoke of the State having provided fifty years ago an alternative to the practice of hoarding money in the form of a 'State Stocking.' The audience fully understood the meaning of the phrase.—Yours faithfully, H. F. STAMBROOK.

Anyone who had perused the balance sheet of the Post Office Savings Bank, which appears on page 71 of the Fifty-sixth Report of the Postmaster-General, would have found it difficult to imagine that 'the whole of the deposits were kept in gold.' The balance sheet referred to shows that the 'cash balance' held by the Bank at the 31st of December 1909 was 379,646*l*. 0*s*. 11*d*. Can this be looked upon as an adequate gold reserve to meet liabilities of 164,699,000*l*., practically the whole of which amount is stated to be liable to withdrawal on fifteen days' notice? The balance sheet referred to has been drawn up in such a manner as to dispense with a disclosure of the exact financial position of the Post Office Savings Bank. So far as the depositors are concerned this is immaterial, because their deposits are guaranteed by the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom; but taxpayers would have an unpleasant surprise if they knew the extent of the deficit which they have to make good.

Notwithstanding the—to put it mildly—'qualified success' of the State's banking enterprise, it has light-heartedly undertaken a still more costly and difficult business—namely, that of insurer. At the conversazione above referred to the Postmaster-General stated that 'every transaction in the Savings Bank cost 4¾*d*. If

a little boy put 1s. in the Bank, it cost the Post Office 4½d. to accept it, and if he took it out the week after, it cost the Post Office 4½d. to pay it back.' The significance of this statement need not be emphasised; and its gravity is not diminished when we reflect upon the probable cost of administration of the individual accounts of the 14 millions of persons who will ultimately come under the National Insurance Scheme.

We must consider now the position which England and Wales occupy in the matter of their contribution to Imperial services. In 1900 England and Wales provided the sum of 69,540,500*l.*, or 87.05 per cent. of the total; Scotland contributed 8,660,000*l.*, or 10.84 per cent. of the total; and Ireland 1,684,500*l.*, or 2.11 per cent. The average contribution of each kingdom for the two years ended the 31st of March 1911 to the same services was as follows: England and Wales, 87,237,250*l.*, or 90.33 per cent. of the total; Scotland, 9,334,750*l.*, or 9.67 per cent. Ireland had a deficit of 1,018,250*l.*, which, of course, had to be provided by her partners.

In order to determine whether England and Wales bear a fair share of the burden of Imperial taxation and Imperial services, it is necessary to consider their population, external trade, national wealth, and national income in relation to Scotland and Ireland, and to the United Kingdom as a whole. So far as the United Kingdom is concerned the comparative figures are furnished in the following table:

——	United Kingdom	England and Wales	England and Wales' Percentages of the U.K.
Population (Census of 1911)	45,216,665	36,075,269	79.8
Gross assessments to income tax (1909–10)	£1,011,100,345	£877,888,486	86.8
Net capital of estates liable to estate duty (1910–11)	£272,724,000	£229,701,000	84.2
Estimated national wealth	£15,869,000,000	£13,716,779,000	86.4
Estimated national income	£1,998,000,000	£1,740,000,000	87.1
Foreign trade (1910)	£1,212,402,000	£1,107,709,000	91.4
Tonnage of coastwise shipping entered and cleared	123,378,000	90,035,000	73

The average of the above percentages works out at 84.1 per cent. In a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society on the 19th of December 1911 the writer furnished data which showed that Scotland's taxable capacity might be estimated at 9.8 per cent. of the United Kingdom; and in this Review for October 1911, using practically identical data, the writer estimated that the taxable capacity of Ireland was 6.1 per cent. of the United Kingdom. Now for the two years ended the 31st of March 1911 the average

contribution of England and Wales to Imperial revenue was 138,118,750*l*., or 83.6 per cent. of the total; that of Scotland was 17,023,500*l*., or 10.3 per cent. of the aggregate, and Ireland 10,010,000*l*., or 6.1 per cent. It will be observed that the contribution of England and Wales was .5 per cent. less than the ratio of their taxable capacity; while that of Scotland was .5 per cent. higher than the ratio of her taxable capacity. Ireland's contribution was exactly in proportion to the amount of her taxable capacity. These figures show the remarkable approximation that exists between the amount of revenue raised in each Kingdom and their taxable capacities, and it may be safely affirmed that there is no form of Federal finance in the world which can show a more equitable incidence of taxation, so far as the individual States are concerned, than does the fiscal system of the United Kingdom.

But when we turn to expenditure we find a very different state of affairs. Expenditure must always be considered in strict relation to income, and in the following table a statement is submitted which shows the actual local expenditure in each division of the United Kingdom and the amount of expenditure which should have been incurred in relation to taxable capacity and contribution to Imperial revenue :

—	England and Wales		Scotland		Ireland	
	—	Per cent. of U.K.	—	Per cent. of U.K.	—	Per cent of U.K.
	£		£		£	
Expenditure (actual) for year, to March 31, 1911 . . .	52,617,000	73.19	7,927,000	11.03	11,334,500	15.78
Expenditure which should have been incurred on basis of taxable capacity .	60,458,228	84.1	7,045,073	9.8	4,385,198	6.1

The expenditure in England was therefore 7,841,228*l*. less than she was entitled to receive on the basis of her taxable capacity. The expenditure of Scotland was 881,927*l*. in excess of the amount to which she was entitled on the basis of her taxable capacity; but this was set off by the fact that her contribution to revenue was also slightly in excess of her taxable capacity. The expenditure in Ireland was 6,949,302*l*. more than the amount to which she was entitled on the basis of her taxable capacity and her contribution to the national revenue, and this is the real amount which Ireland is costing Great Britain annually. Even if Ireland's taxable capacity be estimated at only 5 per cent. of the United Kingdom, she is costing Great Britain at least 4,663,000*l*. per annum. This amount is arrived at by adding to the Irish deficit

the amount which she should have contributed to Imperial services, and which had to be provided by her partners.

The general tendency of Imperial finance within the past decade has been to place the burden of expenditure for Imperial services more and more upon the shoulders of the English and Welsh taxpayers. In 1900 England contributed 87.05 per cent. of the total Imperial expenditure; she now contributes 90.33 per cent. Scotland in 1900 contributed 10.84 per cent.; she now contributes only 9.67 per cent.; while Ireland's meagre contribution of 2.11 per cent. in 1900 has been transformed into a deficiency of 1.06 per cent. England and Wales are already contributing far more towards the cost of Imperial Services than they should be required to provide on the basis of taxable capacity, and any scheme of Federal Home Rule on the lines which have already been suggested for Scotland and Ireland would inevitably throw a still greater burden upon the English and Welsh taxpayers in respect of Imperial services, and at the same time raise difficult questions which would certainly lead to bitter controversy.

Clause 19 of the Government of Scotland Bill, which was brought in by Sir Henry Dalziel on the 16th of August last, provides that in every financial year a contribution shall be made by Scotland towards the maintenance of all Imperial establishments and the defraying of all Imperial charges. This contribution is in the first place to be the average, as near as may be, of the sums contributed by Scotland to the expenditure of the United Kingdom as a whole during the three financial years that immediately precede the coming into operation of the Act. On the basis of the past three financial years Scotland's contribution would work out at about 9,351,000*l*. per annum. But the Bill as drawn makes no provision for any immediate great increase of Imperial expenditure. If it became law, and the Imperial Parliament decided to undertake, say, a great shipbuilding programme, it must presumably go cap in hand to the Scots Parliament and say 'We know your quota towards Imperial services has been fixed at 9,300,000*l*. per annum, but we want you to increase it to 10,300,000*l*.' By what machinery is it suggested the Imperial Parliament could enforce such a claim if the Scots Parliament said 'No, we do not approve your scheme of naval expansion'? Federal Home Rule means the weakening of the authority of the central Government, and it would certainly involve the reconstruction of the whole fabric of national finance.

It may be seriously questioned whether the protagonists of Federal Home Rule have realised the far-reaching effect which the adoption of their proposals would have upon the national and local finances. Our present system may be open to objection; but, as stated above, it works out in practice with a marvellously

accurate and therefore fair incidence. The extravagance of the past decade is not the fault of the system; Parliament alone is responsible for that. The belief appears to be entertained that Federal Home Rule would prove a panacea for most of our difficulties of Government. Certain of the existing disadvantages might be overcome; but on the other hand we have only to look to the frequent and bitter disputes that have arisen between the Central Governments and the Federal States of Germany and Austria-Hungary as well as our Overseas Dominions to perceive that Federal Home Rule would create new difficulties of a most acute and disturbing character. The expenditure in the three divisions of the United Kingdom under the existing system is disproportionate to their contributions to Imperial Revenue, but that is not the fault of the system, and England is the sufferer: moreover, the existing inequalities can, if necessary, be remedied by further legislation without destroying the whole fabric. The most fair-minded Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Welshmen may *rest under the conviction that it would be almost impossible to* devise a fiscal system which would work more equitably, so far as the division of the burden of taxation between the three Kingdoms is concerned, than that at present in operation. They may feel equally certain that under the existing arrangements Ireland is being treated with a generosity which is unparalleled in the history of Federal finance throughout the world; and if, in the interest of the United Kingdom as a whole, the British people should now withhold from the majority of Irish people the measure of Home Rule which Mr. Churchill has outlined, they will have the satisfaction of knowing that in so doing they are making certain that the wonderful economic improvement of Ireland within the past ten years shall continue without running the risk of the disturbance—*if not disaster*—which Home Rule would entail.

EDGAR CRAMMOND.

THE NAVAL CASE FOR RATIFYING THE DECLARATION OF LONDON

If the bearing of certain Conventions agreed to at The Hague Conference and of the Declaration of London on the food-supply and trade of this country is to be viewed in proper perspective, the true nature of war at sea should be kept well in the foreground. In all wars, whether by land or sea, the armed forces are the chief, and most often the sole, factors in determining the ultimate result. At sea massed fleets meet in great battles which may decide the war, and isolated cruisers fight actions which may give temporary local control. The capture of belligerent merchant ships is secondary to, and cannot reverse, the decision by battle. By such captures each side seeks not only to press on his enemy by strangling his sea trade, but further to reduce his fighting power, since merchant ships can be used as instruments of war. Ultimately the results balance largely in favour of the victor in the decisive battle.

The capture of neutral merchant ships is an act of still less importance, since only such ships can be detained as attempt either to carry contraband to the enemy or to break blockade. Now neither the suppression of contraband trade nor blockade are feasible until one side has established some superiority over his opponent either by battle or otherwise; they are usually the means by which the victor brings pressure to bear on his adversary with a view to concluding the war, and for this their importance is very great. They cannot be used with any hope of success by a weak navy against a strong one properly directed and controlled.

The maintenance of sea trade by a belligerent depends upon his ability to reduce the risk of capture by the action of his navy in destroying the attacking force, and upon his success in spreading the losses which are due to capture over the general community by means of insurance and increased prices. Provided the losses are kept within bounds by the action of the navy, insurance becomes more effective as the mercantile marine and trade increase in size and value, since the losses will be spread over a larger area. Hence a numerous unarmed merchant fleet is not necessarily as vulnerable as it seems. The amount of trade which continues during war depends upon the result of the struggle between the armed forces, that is, on their relative strength and the use made of each.

The Prize Court Convention (No. XII. of The Hague Conference 1909) and the Declaration of London regulate the relations between belligerents and neutrals in the presence of naval war, and do not deal in any way with those between the belligerents themselves. Thus they treat only of a secondary feature of naval war, and we must be careful not to attach undue importance to them.

The Prize Court Convention grew out of the action taken by certain Russian cruisers during the Russo-Japanese war. British shipowners complained to the Foreign Office of the uncertainty in the law of contraband, and of some Russian Prize Court decisions from which no appeal was possible. To provide a remedy for this unsatisfactory state of things the British delegates to the second Hague Conference were entrusted with proposals to establish an International Prize Court, and thus when the German representative proposed such a Court he was supported by the representative of Great Britain. After much discussion the Convention was agreed to on the 18th of October 1907.

We have to note that Art. 7 of that Convention laid down that:

> If the question of law to be decided is covered by a treaty in force between the belligerent captor and a Power which is itself, or whose national is, a party to the proceedings, the Court is governed by the provisions of the said treaty. In the absence of such provisions, the Court shall apply the rules of International Law. If no generally recognised rule exists, the Court shall give judgment in accordance with the general principles of justice and equity.

The absence of any generally accepted rules of International Law made it impossible to allow the proposed International Prize Court to give judgment in accordance with the principles of justice and equity. The British Government, therefore, proposed a naval conference to determine the generally recognised principles of International Law and to formulate rules to be observed by the Court. This Conference met in London on the 4th of December 1908.

The questions laid before it included matters relating to:

(*a*) Contraband.
(*b*) Blockade.
(*c*) Continuous voyage.
(*d*) Destruction of neutral vessels.
(*e*) Un-neutral service.
(*f*) Conversion of merchant ships into warships.
(*g*) Transfer of merchant ships from belligerent to neutral flags.
(*h*) Character of enemy property.

The results of the Naval Conference were embodied in a protocol, which, by the signatory Powers, was declared to contain rules corresponding in substance with the generally recognised

principles of International Law. The protocol is commonly known as the Declaration of London, and was accompanied by a commentary or general report, which, although often spoken of as M. Renault's, is the report of the Conference itself, and is essential to its right understanding. Sir E. Grey announced at the Colonial Conference 1911 that the Declaration of London would not be ratified by this country, unless the other Powers accepted this general report as an authoritative interpretation of that instrument.

We have now to examine the military effect of the Declaration of London, as interpreted by the general report, on a future maritime war. And further, the conditions existing before the meeting of the Naval Conference must be compared with those which will arise (1) if the Declaration of London is ratified, (2) if it is not.

Blockade

Previously to the Naval Conference of London nations held two different views as to blockade. The one doctrine maintained that the blockading force should hold firmly a line drawn round the place blockaded, the other that it should control the surrounding area. The first contended that there could be no breach of blockade unless the ship had been already visited and notified of its existence, and that no ship could be seized until she actually attempted to cross the before-mentioned line. These conditions were seen to be so unsuited to modern war that their adoption would make blockade difficult, if not impossible. The second was preferred by the Conference, but the right of capture for breach of blockade was limited to the area of blockading operations (Art. 17), or to any place to which there has been continuous pursuit from any part of that area (Art. 20). Under the rules as drawn in Chapter I. of the Declaration it is believed that an effective blockade can be maintained. It is true that the right of capture for breach of blockade outside the area of operations, except in the case of continuous pursuit, has been abandoned, but that area can be made so wide and the difficulty of capture on the wide and trackless sea is so great that little practical value attaches to that right. The contention that the vessel can only be captured by one of the blockading squadron does not seem to be tenable. Art. 20 says that she is liable to capture so long as she is pursued by a ship of the blockading force, but does not mention that no other ship is to join in the pursuit.

It will be seen that before the meeting of the Naval Conference the difficulties of blockade were liable to be increased in some cases by the friction likely to arise with those Powers which held to the 'line' theory. If the Declaration is ratified and accepted by the Powers, that cause of friction will be removed, but even if it is

not, those Powers who yielded, possibly in the expectation of getting an International Court of Appeal, will no longer be in a position to remonstrate with the same force. As a military operation blockade certainly seems to have been placed on a firmer footing by the Declaration of London.

CONTRABAND

The chapter on contraband of war tends to reduce some uncertainties in the relations between belligerents and neutrals, *e.g.* the lists of articles included under the head of absolute [1] and conditional [2] contraband (Arts. 22 and 24), as also the so-called free [3] list (Art. 28) certainly do so. Formerly these lists were left to be declared by the belligerents on the outbreak of war, now they will be known beforehand, except so far as the belligerents may add to, or reduce, them within certain defined limits. The importance of these lists lies in the fact that they govern largely the amount of interference permissible with neutral ships, and with neutral goods captured under the enemy's flag. It is also to be noted that, as soon as the Declaration of London is ratified and accepted, those Powers who are now in favour of treating foodstuffs as absolute contraband, will be unable to do so without a breach of the agreement.

But the contraband character depends on the destination as as well as on the kind of goods. The Conference agreed to certain definite rules by which this further test shall be determined; these were embodied in the Declaration and commented on in the general report. Much controversy has since arisen as to the precise meaning of certain words and phrases used in the Article (more especially Art. 34), in which these rules are set forth. The words complained of are 'enemy,' 'base,' and 'fortified place.' In each case H.M. Government have defined the meaning, and have stated that they will neither ratify the Declaration, *nor issue* the order in council making the Naval Prize Bill operative, until and unless the signatory Powers accept the meaning attributed to those words by H.M. Government.[4]

[1] Articles used exclusively for war. (Art. 23.)

[2] Articles susceptible of use in war as well as for the purpose of peace. (Art. 25.)

[3] Articles not susceptible of use in war. (Art. 27.)

[4] At the Colonial Conference Sir E. Grey stated that the Government view was that the word 'enemy' meant 'enemy government' and not 'enemy people.'

Earl Beauchamp stated in the House of Lords on the 12th of December 1911 that according to the view of the Government, the phrase 'base of supply' used in Art. 34 means a place which serves as a base of supply for the armed forces when the business of supplying those forces with what they require is organised and located there, and the stores required are collected and supplied to the

What is the military meaning of the chapter on contraband? Under Art. 30 absolute contraband is liable to capture if it is shown to be destined to territory belonging to or occupied by the enemy, or to the armed forces of the enemy. It is immaterial whether the carriage of goods is direct or entails transhipment or a subsequent transport by land. In other words, the doctrine of continuous voyage applies. This means that belligerent and neutral merchant ships when carrying absolute contraband are equally liable to capture whether bound for a belligerent or neutral port if the goods are finally destined for the enemy. The belligerent runs the greater risk, since he will forfeit his ship if captured, whereas the neutral will not always do so (Art. 40), although he may sometimes be condemned to pay costs (Art. 41). The application of the doctrine of continuous voyage to absolute contraband gives a new military advantage to the belligerent. The extent of that advantage depends on the kind of war.

Under Art. 33, conditional contraband is liable to capture if it is shown to be destined for the use of the armed forces or of a Government Department of the enemy State, unless in this latter case the circumstances show that the goods cannot in fact be used for the purposes of the war in progress. Under Art. 34:

> The destination referred to in Art. 33 is presumed to exist if the goods are consigned to enemy authorities, or to a contractor (*commerçant*) established in the enemy country, who, as a matter of common knowledge, supplies articles of this kind to the enemy (Government). A similar presumption arises if the goods are consigned to a fortified place belonging to the enemy, or other place serving as a base for the armed forces of the enemy. . . .
>
> In cases where the above presumptions do not arise, the destination is presumed to be innocent.
>
> The presumption set up by this article may be rebutted.

We have to note that the definitions of 'fortified place' and 'base of supply' given by the Government eliminate belligerent mercantile ports. The effect of this last article is to transfer the onus of proof in certain cases to the neutral instead of leaving it to the captor as is usually the case.

Under Art. 35:

> Conditional contraband is not liable to capture, except when found on board a vessel bound for territory belonging to or occupied by the enemy, or for

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forces from that place. A place cannot be regarded as serving as a base of supply for the armed forces merely because it is connected by rail or other means of communication with those forces, and a source from which supplies might be obtained in case of need. Further, he stated that the phrase 'fortified place' in the same article was interpreted to mean a place surrounded by military works capable of withstanding a siege, and in which the military and civilian population are so intermingled that goods intended for the one could not be distinguished from goods intended for the other.

the armed forces of the enemy, and when it is not to be discharged in an intervening neutral port.

The doctrine of continuous voyage does not apply to conditional contraband, which cannot, therefore, be captured when it is to be discharged at a neutral port, except under the unusual conditions referred to in Art. 36. Whether this is an advantage or a disadvantage to a belligerent it is unavoidable, since articles, *e.g.* foodstuffs, susceptible of use for the purposes of peace as well as in war (Art. 24), cannot in practice be earmarked for the belligerent. The three articles mentioned tend to free neutral trade in conditional contraband with belligerent mercantile ports under Arts. 33 and 34, and with neutral ports under Art. 35. Such trade cannot be touched under the strict letter of the agreement, but adherence to this cannot be relied upon, even although appeal is open to an International Prize Court. Neutrals will seek to evade the law, and belligerents to strain it. Both will be held in check by the fear of damages, but the latter will be further restrained by the risk of the forcible interference of the former, who under the agreement do not abrogate their right to protest against, or even to resist, improper belligerent action.

After the stronger belligerent has established his superiority at sea, neutral trade with the mercantile ports of the weaker belligerent can be stopped by declaring a blockade, which will end all questions of contraband as far as the ports blockaded are concerned. Neutral trade will continue with the mercantile ports of the stronger belligerent subject to such interference as can be offered by the weaker, hampered as he will be by the fear of damages, of neutral interference and of the stronger hostile Navy. Neutral trade will continue with neutral ports, subject to such interference as may be offered by either belligerent hampered as above.

Take a concrete example. If Great Britain is at war, neutral trade with her own mercantile ports and with neutral ports cannot be materially interrupted so long as her own navy remains predominant and is properly used.

Finally we have to note that the importance of contraband, whether absolute or conditional, depends upon the kind of war; that the action taken by belligerents and neutrals will vary with the conditions at the moment; and that whatever that action may be the deciding factors are the belligerent navies and the uses made of them. So far as relates to the doctrine of contraband as embodied in Chapter II. of the Declaration, it is believed that all necessary and legitimate belligerent rights have been maintained, while the greater, although imperfect, certainty aimed at tends to the advantage both of belligerents and neutrals.

CONVERSION OF MERCHANT SHIPS INTO SHIPS OF WAR

At the second Peace Conference was signed, on the 18th of October 1907, a Convention—No. VII.—defining the conditions under which merchant ships may be converted into ships of war and incorporated in the fighting fleet. As is generally admitted, the rules therein laid down will prevent the revival of privateering under the guise of so-called volunteer fleets. But the same results will be legalised under another form. The armed merchant ship will still prey on the unarmed trader, but as a man-of-war and not as a privateer. Thus the evils which attended on the action of the latter may perhaps not recur. One important point was left undecided. The preamble to the Convention recites that, the contracting Powers having been unable to agree on the question whether the conversion of a merchant ship into a war ship may take place on the high seas, it is understood that the question of the place where such conversion is effected remains outside the scope of the agreement. At the Naval Conference in London, the subject was again examined, and the same difference of opinion was found to exist. The question was left unsolved, and was not mentioned in the Declaration of London. We are faced with the fact that in the event of war the belligerent navies will be reinforced, as has been usual in the past, by merchant ships converted into ships of war, and that probably some of them will be so converted on the high seas, which in a somewhat analogous way has been done in former wars by converting prizes. The difficulty of doing this without attracting previous attention, and of maintaining such ships, must not be overlooked. Most conversions will no doubt take place in the territorial waters of the belligerent, but as things are, nothing except force, or the fear of force, can prevent any Power adding to its fighting strength by conversion on the high seas, if that Power so chooses. A belligerent Power cannot do more than use its utmost force in the war, which it will do in any case. A neutral Power can remonstrate diplomatically, and may, under certain circumstances, exercise a deterring influence, especially if prepared to back remonstrance by armed force, but neutral intervention can be avoided if the belligerent gives orders not to molest neutrals to such of his cruisers as are converted on the high seas. The proposal to treat the officers and men of such ships as pirates is not to be thought of, seeing that the former will hold commissions from their Sovereign, and the latter will be part of the regular navy. A belligerent owner, whose vessel is seized by a ship converted on the high seas, cannot expect redress from any International Prize Court, since usually it will have no jurisdiction in such a case. His only safeguard resides in the provision and proper use by his

Government of sufficient armed ships to hunt down and destroy those of the enemy. In a similar case, a neutral owner cannot look for redress from the Prize Court of a belligerent who sanctions conversion on the high seas, but an International Prize Court, if established, might, or might not, give him some relief.

It will be seen that the absence from the Declaration of London of any provision prohibiting the conversion on the high seas of merchant ships into ships of war has altered nothing. It is true that the International Prize Court might eventually give a decision effecting the status of such ships. That decision might decrease their number, but is not likely to increase them, since, under existing conditions, a belligerent who determines to use them will naturally fit out as many as he can arrange for. To meet this form of attack it is still imperatively necessary for the Admiralty to arrange for the conversion of merchant ships into ships of war, and for their incorporation in the fighting fleet, also to make such dispositions of these ships and of the regular cruisers as will insure the hostile cruisers being brought to action. Convention No. VII. was ratified by the British Government on the 29th of November 1909. To refuse to ratify the Declaration of London, because the question of conversion on the high seas is omitted from it, would be to sacrifice a valuable set of rules, and to prolong the present unsatisfactory state of things without any counterbalancing advantage.

Destruction of Neutral Prizes

It may be well to premise that the destruction of enemy prizes is freely admitted to be permissible. Much of the opposition to Chapter IV., which deals with the destruction of neutral prizes, seems to have arisen from the British proposal submitted at The Hague in 1907 that 'the destruction of a neutral prize by the captor is prohibited. The captor ought to release every neutral ship which he cannot bring before a Prize Court.' This is beyond our own past practice and the rulings of our own Prize Court, which permit destruction under certain very exceptional circumstances but, to check the practice, award full compensation to the parties interested, whether innocent or guilty.

On the other hand, all foreign nations admitted that as a general rule neutral prizes ought to be brought into port to go before a Prize Court, and a majority held that they might be sunk under certain circumstances, but that compensation was only to be given to the parties interested when found by a belligerent Prize Court to be innocent. The difference between Great Britain and the majority of other nations was that the former checked firmly the sinking of neutral prizes, whereas the latter did not do so. In the Russo-Japanese war the check was limited to neutral diplomatic

remonstrance, which in that case was futile, and will usually be so unless the belligerent fears that remonstrance may be followed by reprisals of some kind.

Turning to the actual agreement, we find that Arts. 48 and 49 affirm the general principle that a neutral ship may not be destroyed unless she is liable to condemnation, that is to say, has been guilty of breach of blockade, unneutral service, or carrying a cargo of which more than half is contraband. This condition limits the number of ships liable to be destroyed. The belligerent captor is further restricted by the proviso that he may not destroy a ship unless taking her into port will 'involve danger (at the moment) to the safety of his own ship or to the success of the operations in which she is engaged.' Other articles provide that compensation must be paid in certain cases, *e.g.* if the captor fails to prove in the first place that he acted in the face of exceptional necessity, or if the capture is subsequently held to be invalid. This liability to pay compensation, if the captor fails in the first place to prove exceptional necessity, provides the check on the belligerent captor hitherto refused by Continental Prize Courts, but given by our own. The general effect of Chapter IV. of the Declaration is to limit foreign practice in sinking neutral ships. It is true that the limit depends upon the meaning attached to the above words of Art. 49—'danger to the safety of his own ship or to the success of the operations in which she is engaged at the time,' which are vague and indefinite. A belligerent may give to the words an interpretation unduly elastic, but judgment will rest first with the belligerent, and then with the International, Prize Court, if established. The fear of heavy damages will exercise a restraining influence, and besides there is nothing in the Declaration which invalidates, or destroys, the existing right of neutrals to protest against improper action on the part of a belligerent and to use diplomatic pressure, or even force, for its prevention. On the whole, Chapter IV. embodies generally British practice in the past and sacrifices no belligerent right, while neutral traders have a better chance of compensation.

The other important points which have provoked criticism, are the constitution of the International Prize Court and its competence to administer the law. These are not military but legal questions, and therefore are not within the competence of a naval officer to criticise, but it may be pointed out that they relate to the Prize Court Convention rather than to the Declaration of London. Finally is to be remembered the prominent part taken by this country in the preparation of these important conventions. Great Britain was one of the two Powers who initiated the International Prize Court; she has signed and ratified the Prize Court Convention; she convened, and presided over the Naval Conference; she took a prominent part in preparing the Declaration

of London, which she signed. *It is further to be remembered that,* in coming to an agreement on the many difficult and delicate questions dealt with by the Naval Conference, much give and take was necessary. The members must have had in mind the fact that an International Prize Court had been already agreed to. Having reached agreement on the Declaration of London, will it not be almost a breach of faith to hold back now on the Prize Court Convention? For it is to be noted that there can be no going back on the Declaration of London, which, whether ratified or not, will remain the most authoritative statement of International Law. As such it is a great boon to belligerents and neutrals alike. More especially is it so to the naval officers who will have to control and use the ships and fleets of this country.

REGINALD CUSTANCE.

CARDINAL NEWMAN AND THE CATHOLIC LAITY

Cardinal Newman died in 1890. For twenty-two years the world has been waiting for his biography, and now it is given us in Mr. Wilfrid Ward's two fascinating volumes. The delay was attributed, some time ago, in a journal of name, to 'the dislike of the Roman authorities that the real history of the illustrious but unhappy convert should be known.' As a matter of fact, 'the Roman authorities,' whoever they may be, had nothing to do with the delay. The real and only cause of it was the infirmity of purpose shown by the pious ecclesiastic whom Cardinal Newman had appointed to be his literary executor. The late Father William Neville, of the Birmingham Oratory, acted, for some years, as a kind of private secretary to the great man who was the Superior of that Congregation: a private secretary and something more: an utterly devoted and self-sacrificing factotum. When death removed Cardinal Newman his occupation was gone, and thenceforth his chief work in life was to collect, arrange, and transcribe—he wrote an admirably clear hand—the correspondence and other memorials of his deceased master and friend. But he never could make up his mind what to do with them. At last, the inevitable hour came to him, in his turn: and then the documents which he regarded as almost too precious to see the light passed into the hands of wiser persons, who determined to entrust them to Mr. Wilfrid Ward. A better choice could not have been made. Of Mr. Ward's literary skill the world has had abundant evidence. But for the work of biography, literary skill is not enough. Sympathy, warm but discriminating, is also necessary; and of this gift Mr. Ward has made full proof in the two volumes before me. His personal acquaintance with Newman began in 1885—five years before the Cardinal's death. During that interval he had the privilege of interviews, from time to time, with the illustrious octogenarian, to whom he was dear not only for his own sake, but also for the sake of his father, W. G. Ward—the 'ideal Ward' of the Tractarian days. He gained much information to aid him in his task from some of the Oratorian

Fathers. He gathered, from various quarters, documents to supplement those which Father Neville had amassed. The results of his six years' labours are these two volumes wherein he presents to us what my somewhat longer acquaintance with the Cardinal leads me to regard as an admirable study of a great soul, in all its strength and in all its weakness: a study in which, to quote the familiar words of Horace, 'the life of the venerable man is exhibited to us as in a votive picture.'

We will now proceed to glance at these two volumes. They extend to 1286 pages, and a brief account of them may be welcome to some who in 'these most brisk and giddy paced times' may not be able to read them *in extenso*. Mr. Wilfrid Ward has divided his work into thirty-five chapters, the first being of the nature of a general introduction explanatory of his method, while each of the others deals with some important period or episode in Newman's life. Of the Newman specially interesting to Anglicans, the leader of the Oxford Movement, Mr. Ward does not tell us much. There was no reason why he should. The *Apologia* and Miss Mozley's admirable volumes hardly want to be supplemented; and, indeed, the Cardinal himself seems to have expressed a wish that they should not be. I must not, however, omit to note that Mr. Ward discusses and disposes of the allegation that Newman was of Jewish descent. Dr. Barry, in his interesting monograph, apparently accepted it, chiefly because of the conformation of Newman's nose—I do not remember that any other evidence was forthcoming. Mr. Ward maintains that the nose was Roman rather than Hebrew, and although I have no pretension to be an authority on noses, I agree with him. But while Mr. Ward does not dwell in detail on the Oxford Movement, he traces, in vigorous and lucid outline, the rise and progress of Newman's influence at Oxford, and the gradual growth of his estrangement from the school of thought which he himself had founded. He quotes W. G. Ward's *Credo in Newmannum*, which expressed the feelings of not a few, and the dictum of Dean Lake: 'The influence of this singular combination of genius and devotion has had no parallel before or since.' Newman was looked up to with absolute confidence as a leader, but as time went on he felt less and less secure: his mind was clouded with gathering doubt. We all know from the *Apologia* how powerfully an article by Dr. Wiseman affected him. He spoke of it as 'the first real hit from Rome which has happened to me.' 'He never recovered from the blow which had thus been dealt him,' Mr. Ward truly observes. It made an end of the *Via Media*, in which he had fondly hoped that the path of safety might be found. Gradually, and almost in spite of himself, his feet were turned elsewhere: he was led by a

way that he knew not. He did not ask to see the distant scene: one step was enough for him. He followed the kindly light which led him on, amid the encircling gloom: and the distant scene, when he reached it, proved to be—the Church of Rome.

And now Newman, 'after toil and storm,' might have thought that he had reached 'a purer air,' that he had arrived at 'the blessed vision of peace' described by him in the concluding words of the *Development*—'one of those passages,' Mr. Hutton judged, 'by which he will be remembered as long as the English language endures.' But such anticipations were not to be fulfilled. It was not, he over and over again bore witness, that he ever regretted leaving the Church of England. 'No: never for a single moment,' he wrote in 1864: 'I have been in the fullest peace and enjoyment ever since I became a Catholic.'[1] But, as he tells us in the *Apologia*, in this second division of his life he had more to try and distress him than in his Anglican days. His early time as a convert in England, before he went to Italy, and his time there, were full of new-born fervour and of an excitement[2] which could not last. In January 1848 he returned to England, and in pursuance of Pius the Ninth's Apostolic Letter established the Oratory at Mary Vale, near Birmingham. Then followed twenty years of unremitting labour and of great trials—'without were fightings, within were fears.' He was ever burning to be of use to the Church, but one avenue after another seemed blocked. The Oratory was 'suspect' to some of the hereditary Catholics. A band of enthusiastic converts who had joined it, headed by Father Faber, differed considerably from Newman in temperament: nay, he thought them 'rash and imprudent in their enthusiasm.' Shortly, most of these migrated to London, and secured a building in King William Street,[3] whence, after some years, they removed to South Kensington, then called Brompton. It was in the church in King William Street that Newman delivered his *Lectures on Anglican Difficulties*, of which Mr. Hutton, who heard them—and who largely disagreed with their argument and their conclusions—observed, 'It was the first book of his read among Protestants in which the measure of his literary power could be adequately taken.' At this time Mr. Capes, an Oxford convert, founded the *Rambler*, which was in the event to become a stumbling stone and rock of offence to Newman. He greatly sympathised with its aim—

[1] Ward, vol. i. p. 654.

[2] I use the word 'excitement' advisedly. His letters of all that time are full of it.

[3] Mr. Wilfrid Ward tells us, in an amusing note, 'The building was afterwards Toole's Theatre, and W. G. Ward remarked, after going to a very good play there, "Two things came into my mind. The first was, last time I came here I heard Faber preach; the second was, how much more I am enjoying myself now than I did when I was last here."' Vol. i. p. 217.

the development of Catholic thought. He deprecated the licence of the criticism and the boldness of the speculations in which it indulged. Then in 1850 came the so-called Papal Aggression, followed by a storm of popular indignation, to which Lord Campbell contributed by declaring at a Mansion House Dinner—the time when such a declaration at that festivity was possible now seems very far off—

> Under our feet we'll stamp thy Cardinal's hat
> In spite of Pope and dignities of Church.

But Cardinal Wiseman's hat did not suffer that indignity, and the Cardinal himself, by a singularly powerful and impressive *Appeal to the English People*, wrought a great change in public feeling. Then came Newman's turn. He delivered in Birmingham those *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics*, as they are now called, which he considered the best-written of all his works. They were addressed *ad populum*, but they did not attain much popularity. 'In spite of their energy, grace, and wit,' writes Dr. Barry, 'not a single newspaper quoted or alluded to them: yet they will be the sole record possessing literary worth of an episode which rivalled the outburst on occasion of Tract XC.'[4] Next followed the Achilli trial, which, although its issue was unfavourable to Newman, curiously enough did him good (to use a phrase habitual with him) in the eyes of his countrymen generally, or, at the least, of the better educated and more cultivated of them. An ex-Dominican monk, of the most depraved character, when his sacerdotal occupation was gone, had betaken himself to the trade of anti-Catholic traducer. Newman, in one of his Lectures just spoken of, had described, in language of fierce indignation, the real man, who then, yielding to the pressure of his Protestant admirers, had laid against the lecturer a criminal information for libel. Lord Campbell, who presided at the trial, manifested throughout it, and especially in summing up the evidence, a strong animus against Newman.[5] The verdict went against him. He was condemned to pay a fine of 100*l.*, and was involved in legal expenses of some 12,000*l.* This sum was promptly subscribed by Catholics all over the world. It was, as Mr. Ward observes, 'a practical sympathy far beyond his expectations.' He was immensely touched, and so expressed himself in his letters to his helpers.

[4] *Newman*, p. 98.

[5] *The Times* did not hesitate to speak of the proceedings at this trial as indecorous in their nature and unsatisfactory in their result.' 'We consider,' it added, 'that a great blow has been given to the administration of justice in this country.'

Regarding the trial Newman wrote: 'I trust we have got a good deal by it, *i.e.* have proved our case to the satisfaction of the world.' No doubt that was so. And thus the *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics* resulted, indirectly, in doing the work for which Newman had designed them, of sapping to its foundations the anti-Catholic bigotry of the times. It is notable that while he was in the midst of the worry and anxiety of this Achilli business, he preached at the opening of the first Synod of Oscott his famous sermon, 'The Second Spring.' 'Firm, sensitive, and thrilling, with an emotion which runs alongside its harmonies, the composition is a poem, to be judged by its correspondence with a scene in history which could not be acted over again.'[6] Macaulay, who is said to have known it by heart, deemed it the high-water mark of Newman's genius.

Newman was now on the threshold of six memorable years of striving and failure. It was determined in Rome to set up a Catholic University in Dublin: why, I have never been able to make out. No one in Ireland appears to have wanted it: indeed, it would seem that there was positive hostility to the scheme on the part of most Irishmen, including many members of the Episcopate: and where hostility did not exist, there was, as a rule, complete indifference. Moreover, to quote Newman's own words: 'What with emigration, campaigning, ruin of families and the *μικροψυχία* (pusillanimity) induced by centuries of oppression, there seemed no class to afford members for a University.' 'Nowhere in Ireland are the youths to be found who are to fill it.' Moreover, the Academical ideal of Dr. Cullen, then the moving spirit among the Irish Bishops, and a person of great influence at Rome, was very different from Newman's, who found himself continually thwarted, contradicted, and set aside. Newman's desire was to form a Catholic laity 'gravely and solidly educated in Catholic knowledge, and alive to the arguments on its behalf, and aware both of its difficulties and of the way of treating them.'[7] Dr. Cullen would meet the whole modern and scientific spirit with mere repression. His conception of a University, as an influential layman put it, was 'a close borough of clergymen and a clerical village.'[8] And here I am led to quote a remark of Newman's, in a letter to Mr. Ornsby—a remark which throws a flood of light upon many incidents in his career: 'On both sides of the Channel the deep difficulty is the jealousy and fear which are entertained, in high quarters, of the laity. Nothing great or living can be done except when men are self-governed

[6] *Newman*, by William Barry, p. 100.
[7] Ward, vol. i. p. 315.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 367.

and independent: this is quite consistent with a full measure of ecclesiastical supremacy.' [9]

It is not necessary to dwell further upon this Irish University fiasco. Newman's connexion with it came virtually to an end in 1857.[10] But his sojourn among a strange people was not, indeed, altogether unfruitful. It produced his University Lectures—a splendid and lasting memorial of those years of exile. I cannot dwell upon them here. The reader who has not time to peruse them in their entirety will find a lucid account of them in Mr. Ward's thirteenth chapter. Let us follow Newman back to his home in the Birmingham Oratory, where new undertakings awaited him. He had meditated a work on the subject which supplies the theme of his *Oxford University Sermons*—the Relation between Faith and Reason—but a proposal which Cardinal Wiseman had made to him in August 1857, to edit a new English version of the Bible, had, he thought, a prior claim upon him. The old Douay translation was widely unacceptable, as I can well understand: for my own part I have never been able to use it: my teeth are set on edge, if I may so express myself, by its harshness. The Synod of Oscott had recommended a fresh rendering from the Vulgate: and Cardinal Wiseman, with the concurrence of the other Bishops, asked Newman to undertake the work. He accepted 'without hesitation or reluctance' a task of which he 'felt the arduousness to be as great as the honour.' But the affair came to nothing—why, has never been clearly explained. Cardinal Wiseman, ill, and preoccupied with other grave matters, showed no interest in it, nor apparently did any of the Bishops. Newman himself, in one of his letters, quotes a statement from the *Union Review* that the project 'was defeated by the remonstrances of a single bookseller, whose stock-in-trade of Douay Bibles proved to be a more valuable consideration than our intelligence.' It had, however, cost Newman money which he could ill spare, and had involved him in a great deal of troublesome correspondence. This new fiasco was the greater disappointment to him as he had hit upon, and, indeed, had begun to carry out, a plan for

[9] *Ibid.* p. 367. Mr. Ward does not give the date of this letter, but apparently it is 1855 or 1856. I should note here that Newman did full justice to Cardinal Cullen's merits. 'I ever had the greatest, the truest reverence for the good Cardinal Cullen,' he wrote in 1879. 'I used to say that his countenance had a light upon it, which made me feel as if, during his many years at Rome, all the Saints of the Holy City had been looking into it and he into theirs.' *Ibid.* p. 384. And Cardinal Cullen had a true appreciation of Newman. In 1867 Pius the Ninth, worried with detractory hints about Newman's orthodoxy, requested Cardinal Cullen, a profound theologian, to report on the matter. The report was entirely favourable to Newman, and was communicated to him by the Pope's express desire. Ward, vol. ii. p. 192.

[10] His formal resignation of his office as Rector took place in 1858.

combining with the new translation a work of Apologetics under the name of 'Prolegomena,' especially designed to counteract the influence of the current Agnosticism.[11]

And now Newman, in his abiding anxiety to serve his day and generation, turned to other undertakings and started the short-lived *Atlantis Magazine*, his most important contribution to which was a masterly article entitled 'The Benedictine Centuries,' republished in vol. i. of his *Historical Sketches*. He founded the Oratory School—still one of the chief places of education for Catholic boys of the upper and upper-middle classes, and so an abiding memorial of him. He interested himself in the *Rambler*, and endeavoured, with no great success, to moderate the rash and ill-considered utterances of Mr. Capes in that periodical. He contributed to it himself occasionally, and one of his articles had results little foreseen by him. 'His thoughts,' Mr. Ward observes, 'were dwelling at this time on the short-sightedness and unwisdom of ignoring the important functions often performed by the faithful laity in the history of the Church.' And so he was led to write his paper 'On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine.' There was in it an expression, 'a temporary cessation of the functions of the Ecclesia Docens,' which gave umbrage to certain divines, among them being Dr. Brown, Bishop of Newport and Menevia, who (as the phrase is) 'delated' the article to Rome. Newman defended himself to the satisfaction of the authorities there, and the matter dropped after a certain amount of theological dust had been raised. But the incident did him harm at Rome, and greatly discouraged him. He was overwhelmed with sadness when he thought how the years had passed with so little done, since he became a Catholic, while he was longing to devote the great powers and energies which he was conscious of possessing—how could he help such consciousness?—to the only cause which he deemed worth living for. To quote the sacred language which, as he has said, 'veils our feelings while it gives expression to them, restrains and purifies while it sanctions them,[12] he had 'become a stranger unto his brethren, even an alien unto his mother's children.' His fellow Catholics, indeed, were, for the most part, proud of him as a child of the Church, but few understood him, and fewer really sympathised

[11] It is notable that in 1860 W. G. Ward, as we read in Mr. Wilfrid Ward's pages, wrote to Newman: 'The whole philosophical fabric which occupies our colleges is rotten from the floor to the roof. . . . It *intellectually debauches* the students' minds. What new difficulties are open at every step! I suppose the Church will have to develop quite a supplemental corpus of theology in reference to such questions as those touched in *Essays and Reviews*.' Vol. i. p. 473.

[12] *Sermons on Subjects of the Day*, p. 408.

with him. His mission seemed at an end. His books had almost ceased to sell. There was a conspiracy of silence against him.[18] He was, as he expressed it, 'put on the shelf.' He might have taken up Milton's lament:

> When I consider how my light is spent
> Ere half my days, in this dark world and wide,
> And that one talent which is death to hide
> Lodged with me useless, though my soul more bent
> To serve therewith my Maker!

'When I consider!' He did consider through five sad years. But to him, as to the Puritan poet, the consolatory thought came:

> They also serve who only stand and wait.

At last the summons to action came, but not from Catholic authority. It came, appropriately enough, from a noted writer of fiction, Charles Kingsley, who was in the habit of applying the method followed in his novels to topics of history and theology. At Christmas 1863 he instructed the readers of *Macmillan's Magazine*: 'Truth, for its own sake, has never been a virtue with the Roman clergy: and Father Newman informs us that it need not be, and on the whole ought not to be.' Newman, doubtless, knew of the existence of *Macmillan's Magazine*, but assuredly was not in the habit of perusing it: nay, probably, had never seen it: and that these words came before him was due to an 'accident'—what we call 'accident': a friend, who had chanced to read them, brought them to his notice. He at once wrote to the publishers 'to draw their attention, as gentlemen, to a grave and gratuitous slander.' Kingsley himself replied to this letter, owning that he was the author of the article in which they occurred: explaining that he was led to think them true from many passages of Newman's writings, and especially from his sermon on 'Wisdom and Innocence,' and offering to retract publicly his accusation, if Newman would show that he had been wronged by it. This amalgam of disingenuousness and insolence did not content Newman. He insisted—and no one could gainsay him—that the words laid to his charge were not in the sermon on 'Wisdom and Innocence,' and demanded that Kingsley should either produce such words from his other writings, or that the charge should be withdrawn.

[18] Mr. G. Elliot Ranken, at that time the editor of the *Tablet*, told me that the *mot d'ordre* was: 'Mention him as little as possible; but when you do mention him, let it be with all respect.'

Kingsley was, of course, unable to produce them, but would not own it. He would do no more than express hearty regret at having been so seriously mistaken. This was the beginning of the famous controversy resulting in the *Apologia*, published, originally, in weekly numbers, which—it is not too much to say—took England by storm. English literature is a debtor to Kingsley for an unrivalled masterpiece. Newman was Kingsley's debtor for a sort of resurrection. It afforded him the opportunity of giving the true key to his whole life. To produce it was a task infinitely distasteful to his delicate and sensitive nature. He wrote to Keble: 'When you see part of my publication, you will wonder how I could ever get myself to write it. Well, I could not except under some great stimulus. I do not think I could write it if I delayed a month. And yet I have for years wished to write it as a duty.' And to Mr. Copeland: 'It is an egotistical matter from beginning to end. In writing I kept bursting into tears.' The *Apologia*, writes Father Ryder, 'was a great crisis in Father Newman's life. It won him the heart of the country, which he has never lost since.' That is true: but—and for this I think Newman cared even more—it specially won for him the heart of the Catholic clergy. The conspiracy of silence which had been formed against him was broken. Praise unstinted came from ecclesiastical authority—especially from his large-hearted and much-loved Bishop, Dr. Ullathorne. A tumult of acclaim arose from his brethren in the priesthood throughout the land. Gratitude and confidence took the place of suspicion in their ranks. I cannot find, I may note, that any word of sympathy reached him from Manning, who appears to have spoken slightingly of the matter as 'this Kingsley affair.'[14] As for Kingsley himself, Newman wrote in 1875: 'I never from the first have felt any anger towards him. He was accidentally the instrument, in the good providence of God, by whom I had an opportunity given me, which otherwise I should not have had, of vindicating my character and conduct in the *Apologia*. I have always hoped that by good luck I might meet him, feeling sure that there would be no embarrassment on my part: and I said Mass for his soul as soon as I heard of his death.'

With the Kingsley controversy, as Mr. Wilfrid Ward says, the loss of influence which had so deeply depressed Newman, the sense that he was speaking to deaf or inattentive ears, passed for ever. And this, as he states in his journal, 'put him in spirits to look out for fresh work. He had from the first thought that something should be done to raise the intellectual standard of the

[14] Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning*, vol. ii. p. 206.

English Catholic laity. So long ago as 1851, he had expressed this desire in words which are worth quoting:

> I want a laity not arrogant, not rash in speech, not disputatious, but men who know their religion, who enter into it, who know what they hold and what they do not, who know their creed so well that they can give an account of it, who know so much of history that they can defend it: I want an intelligent, well-instructed laity. In all times the laity has been the measure of the Catholic spirit.[15]

In 1864 he was led to look to Oxford as opening possibilities for work in this direction. The old religious restrictions—the tests by which Catholics had for long been excluded—were removed. And might not the anticipation expressed by Cardinal Wiseman, of their return thither to compete on equal terms with their fellow countrymen, now be realised? He consulted with Bishop Ullathorne about the matter. The Bishop offered the Birmingham Oratorians the Oxford Mission. For a few months, there seemed to be a prospect of the success of this plan. But silently a strong opposition was growing up against it. Manning, Ward and Vaughan[16] may be mentioned as leaders of that opposition in England. In Rome it was strenuously fostered by Mgr. Talbot, whose influence with Pius the Ninth was very great. 'What is the province of the laity?' that Prelate wrote to Archbishop Manning: 'To hunt, to shoot, to entertain: these matters they understand.' And to such matters Mgr. Talbot would have had them confine themselves. He did not desire for them intellectual culture, and pronounced 'Dr. Newman the most dangerous man in England.'[17] It was the battle of the laity that Newman was fighting in this Oxford Controversy, and the laity felt it. An attack upon him by a Mr. Martin—a newspaper correspondent—gave rise to a very remarkable Address signed by upwards of two hundred of the most prominent English Catholic gentlemen, which contains the emphatic words, 'We feel that every blow that touches you, inflicts a wound upon the Catholic Church in this country.'[18] Yes: the laity felt that in this Oxford question Dr. Newman was fighting their battle: and, in the event, the battle was won, although Newman did not live to see it. Manning—now Archbishop—did not enjoy this Address. He saw in it 'a revelation of the absence of Catholic instinct and the presence

[15] *The Present Position of the Catholics*, p. 392.

[16] They were taken at Rome to represent English Catholic opinion, without, as Newman thought, any just warrant, and so he was led to call them, jestingly, 'the three tailors of Tooley Street.'

[17] Ward, vol. ii. p. 146.

[18] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 143.

of a spirit dangerous in many.'[19] The opposition in Rome to the Oxford scheme grew stronger. On the 7th of May 1867 Newman wrote: 'It seems to me that our going to Oxford is quite at an end.' And so it was. 'I have no hesitation in saying as my complete conviction,' Bishop Ullathorne wrote to him in August 1867, 'that you have been shamefully misrepresented at Rome, and that by countrymen of our own.'[20]

And now further storms were at hand for Newman. The temporal power of the Papacy was tottering to its fall. Napoleon the Third, whose bayonets had for some years propped it up, was no longer to be relied on. Naturally, in this grave crisis, the zealous loyalty of Catholics to the Pope was quickened, and to some of them it appeared that a definition of Papal Infallibility would be 'an appropriate protest against an apostate world, as well as a crown of honour for the persecuted Pontiff.' In pursuance apparently of such sentiments a determination was arrived at to summon the Vatican Council—a project which, indeed, had been spoken of shortly after the appearance of the Syllabus of 1864. Newman had ever held, since he was Catholic, the need of an Infallible Chair—indeed, he had come to that conviction before he was a Catholic—but he was aghast, to use Mr. Wilfrid Ward's well-weighed words, at 'an attempt made by some to identify the Catholic Faith with views which ignored patent facts of history, including the human defects of Popes themselves, visible at times, even in their official pronouncements.' No one was more loyal to the Holy See than he. As he subsequently wrote in his *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, 'To believe in a Church is to believe in the Pope.' But he would not make his reason blind, or quail before 'an insolent and aggressive faction.' To the moderate and well-weighed definition of Papal Infallibility eventually adopted by the Vatican Council, he took no exception. It expressed what he had always held. But to the last he doubted its expediency.[21]

From this business of Papal Infallibility, Newman turned his thoughts to the work which he had long meditated on Faith and Reason. The decisive influence which led him to write it is stated in a letter to Mr. Aubrey de Vere dated August 1870: 'As to my Essay on Assent, it is a subject which has teased me for these twenty or thirty years. I felt I had something to say upon it, yet whenever I attempted the sight I saw vanished, plunged into a bucket, curled itself up like a hedgehog, or changed colours like a chameleon. I have a succession of commencements, perhaps

[19] Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning*, vol. ii. p. 316.

[20] Ward, vol. ii. p. 184.

[21] Not opportuneness. He drew a distinction between the two words.

a dozen, each different from the others, and in a different year, which came to nothing. At last, four years ago, when I was up at Glion over the Lake of Geneva, a thought came into my head as the clue, the "Open Sesame" of the whole subject, and I at once wrote it down, and I pursued it about the Lake of Lucerne. Then when I came home I began in earnest.'[22] To discuss here the *Grammar of Assent* would be impossible. But I am led to remark that I do not think it could ever have been written if Kant had not given to the world the Critical Philosophy. Newman told me he had never read a line of Kant, but Kantian ideas were in the air. He assuredly would not have been prepared directly to endorse Kant's absolute rejection of the old theistic proofs, although he personally was little touched by them,[23] as was W. G. Ward also.[24] But, as certainly, he was at one with Kant in recognising the certitude and sovereignty of the moral law, in turning to the categorical imperative of duty for the solution of 'the burden and the mystery of all this unintelligible world.' He wrote: 'Conscience, which is natural, and the voice of God, is a moral instinct and its own evidence. To recognise our nature is really to recognise God. The moral law is ultimately taught us from God himself, whose nature it is.'[25]

Of course, Newman's main object in writing the *Grammar of Assent* was religious, and at the end of the book he went on to apply his conclusions in vindication of Catholicism. This, together with other portions of his writings, led some loose thinkers to assert: 'His chief argument in favour of the Catholic religion is that it is the only logical alternative to atheism.' That was the error of the late Sir James Stephen, an excellent criminal lawyer, but a coarse and clumsy dialectician, who dabbled in religious controversy without so much as apprehending what religion really is, and in argument opposed a bludgeon to Newman's rapier. He expressed it crudely, on one occasion, in an article[26] in the *St. James's Gazette*, which led me to write to that

[22] Ward, vol. ii. p. 245.

[23] So he writes in the *Apologia*: 'Were it not for this Voice, speaking so clearly in my conscience, and my heart, I should have been an atheist, or a pantheist or a polytheist, when I looked into the world.'

[24] See a letter of W. G. Ward's in vol. i. p. 420. In a note at p. 169 of the same volume he observes: 'The greatest scholastics have fully recognised the difficulties attaching to the proof of theism.'

[25] Ward, vol. ii. p. 256. Elsewhere he writes concerning 'the one positive argument for the being of a God from conscience—the imperious voice,' 'the proof and knowledge is personal'—words which curiously resemble the doctrine of Kant, who, however, would not have used the word 'knowledge.'

[26] The article was unsigned, but the secret of the authorship leaked out, as such secrets have a way of doing, and was admitted by Sir James Stephen, who, indeed, was proud of his performance.

journal a letter too long to reproduce here. Dr. Newman did me the honour to adopt it, and to reprint it, as an Appendix, in the 8th edition of the *Grammar of Assent.* Writing to me about it he expressed himself as follows:

Feb. 17, 1881.

MY DEAR LILLY,—I thank you for your zealous consideration for me. The writer in the *St. James's Gazette* ought to have known better. He came here years ago to ferret out my answer to his objections. What he said to me I did not consider said to me strictly in confidence, but, as a matter of delicacy, I so kept it: he, on the contrary, went away and misrepresented (I don't say intentionally) what I said to him. After hearing his arguments, I had said to him, 'It is no good our disputing; it is like a battle between a dog and a fish—we are in different elements,' meaning what I have said at *Grammar of Assent*, p. 416. He went away and told his friends that I had acknowledged that I had been unable to answer what he had said. This great misinterpretation of my words he has since thrown into the formula, 'His only defence of Catholicity is that atheism is its alternative.' After this misstatement was brought home to me by the persons to whom he had made it, he proposed to come to me to have another conversation, and to ascertain whether I thought now 'what I thought ten years ago,' but I declined his proposal.

Yours most truly,
JOHN H. CARDINAL NEWMAN.

Newman was engaged for three years on the *Grammar of Assent*, correcting, re-writing, re-transcribing, with a diligence almost incredible to those not personally acquainted with him and his way of working. W. G. Ward, a profound metaphysician, greatly admired the book, and warmly congratulated the author upon it. He spoke of it as 'forming the basis of a new and important Catholic philosophy,'[27] while maintaining the consistency of its most characteristic positions with views held by the greater schoolmen of earlier and more recent times.

One of the most interesting chapters in Mr. Wilfrid Ward's book is that which deals with Newman's life at the Oratory. I cannot dwell upon it. I can only quote from it a sentence—the truth of which I often realised when on a visit there—'he loved its monotony and echoed the words of the *Imitation*, "Cella continuata dulcescit."' The memorials of his inner life which Mr. Ward has placed in this chapter seem almost too sacred for transcription. It was the evening of his day, and the thought of the appointed end, ever present to him, finds touching expression in his meditations. 'Oh, my God,' he writes, 'enter my heart, substantially and personally, and fill it with fervour by filling it with Thee. Mane nobiscum Domine, quoniam advesperascit. Remain till morning and then go not without giving me a blessing.

[27] Vol. ii. p. 273.

Remain with me till death in this dark valley when the darkness will end. Remain, Light of my soul, jam advesperascit.'[28] Such were the inmost thoughts of John Henry Newman.

Yet Newman felt that he had still work to do before the night should come in which no man can work. He had done so little to advance the cause with which he was identified! He writes of himself in 1874 as 'startled' that in the last fifteen years he had written only two books, the *Apologia* and the *Essay on Assent*, though he had, indeed, been actively engaged with the new and uniform edition of his writings. One reason for his infecundity was 'his habit, or even nature, of not writing or publishing without a call.' In 1874 the call came. Mr. Gladstone was the instrument of it. That statesman had quitted office, and, indeed, had retired from the leadership of his party, in 1874. He had been studying the Vatican Decrees; he had always had a taste for religious controversy—of a kind. He was indignant with Lord Ripon, a trusted friend and devoted follower, for submitting to the Catholic Church: he thought himself badly treated by the Irish Bishops. He wrote an article in, I think, the *Quarterly Review*, in which he alleged that 'no one can become the convert of Rome without renouncing his mental and moral freedom and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another.' This indictment he renewed and amplified in his 'Political Expostulation,' entitled *The Vatican Decrees in their bearing on Civil Allegiance*. Mr. Wilfrid Ward describes the pamphlet as 'virulent,' and I do not think the epithet too strong. Mr. Gladstone treated the Infallibility definition as identifying the Catholic Church for ever with the policy and spirit of Manning, W. G. Ward, and Louis Veuillot. Newman wrote to Lord Blachford: 'Gladstone's excuse is, I suppose, the extravagance of Archbishop Manning in his *Caesarism*,[29] and he will do us a service if he gives us an opportunity of speaking. We can speak against Gladstone, but it would not be decent to speak against Manning. The difficulty is, *who* ought to speak?' Few Catholics felt that difficulty. The most considerable of them, whether socially or intellectually, addressed themselves to Newman begging him to vindicate them against a charge which they felt keenly to be monstrously untrue. He consented with some reluctance and determined to put what he had to say into the form of a *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, who had earnestly urged him to write, finding, to quote his felicitous words, 'consolation for a very unpleasant task in being thus enabled to associate myself with one on many accounts so dear to me—the special representative and the fitting sample of a laity as zealous for the Catholic

[28] Vol. ii. p. 368.

[29] A lecture on *Caesarism and Ultramontanism* recently published by Manning.

religion as it is patriotic.' The success of this famous Letter was enormous. A few—very few—Catholic critics carped at passages which seemed directed against themselves. But it was received by intelligent men generally, whether Catholic or Protestant, with enthusiasm.

But a great trial was at hand which should darken all Newman's horizon. He himself had said, 'We must have some penance to balance this good fortune.' The penance came, a heavy one indeed. Father Ambrose St. John, the dearest friend of his later years, was to be taken from him. He gives a detailed and most affecting account of this tragic event in a long letter to Lord Blachford. Soon another deeply valued friend, and brother in religion, Father Caswall, died. The Oratorian Fathers who remember that time speak of the years between 1875 and 1879 as very sad ones for Newman. His silence and depression were very noticeable to those who lived with him. The Bishop of Birmingham wrote:

> He is very much aged, and softened with age and the trials he has had, especially by the loss of his two brethren, St. John and Caswall: he can never refer to those losses without weeping, and becoming speechless for the time.

The solemn conviction that he must think no more of an earthly future, but prepare to follow those dear to him who had gone beyond the veil, was never absent from his mind. The last entry in a diary, which he had kept for some years, deals with his past career as a Catholic, and the unfairness with which he had been treated. He speaks strongly, even bitterly,[30] of the injustice constantly done to him. And then his mood changes. He looks back over his diary, and writes:

> I am dissatisfied with the whole of this book. It is more or less a complaint from one end to the other. But it represents what has been the real state of my mind and what my Cross has been. O how light a Cross—think what the Crosses of others are! And think of the compensation in even this world. I have had, it is true, no recognition in high quarters, but what warm, kind letters in private have I had! and how many! and what public acknowledgments! How ungrateful I am, or should be, if such letters and such notices failed to content me!

It was in the autumn of 1876 that these words were written. In the next year a 'public acknowledgment' came to him which

[30] We must never forget in reading Mr. Wilfrid Ward's volumes Newman's almost morbid sensitiveness. A true *vates*, he displayed the irritability which is almost a note of poetic genius. And he was well aware of it, as his self-accusatory verses show:

> I'm ashamed of myself, of my tears and my tongue,
> So easily fretted, so often unstrung;
> Mad at trifles, to which a chance moment gives birth,
> Complaining of heaven, and complaining of earth.

be very much valued—not, indeed, from a Catholic quarter, but from his old College, Trinity, 'the place where he began the battle of life,' he calls it. He wrote to the Bishop of Birmingham that it was 'perhaps the greatest compliment he had ever received.' He was elected an Honorary Fellow of his beloved *domus*—the 'one and only seat of my affection at Oxford'—and at the invitation of the President and Fellows went to pay them a visit.

There was something tenderly pathetic [writes Mr. Bryce] to us younger people, in seeing the old man come again after so many eventful years, to the hall where he had been wont to sit as a youth, the voice so often heard in St. Mary's retaining, faint though it had grown, the sweet modulations Oxford knew so well, and the aged face worn deep with the lines of thought, struggle, and sorrow. The story of a momentous period in the history of the University and of religion in England seemed to be written there.[21]

In 1878 the stormy Pontificate of Pius the Ninth came to an end, and Leo the Thirteenth was elected to the Papal throne. The new Pope took occasion in the first year of his reign to send Newman a picture from his own Breviary, a token of goodwill which was warmly appreciated. Newman was in good health—'I am well,' he wrote to me, 'but I am not strong'—and in the revision of his works for the uniform edition, which had for some time been appearing, he had reached the final volume, *Athanasius*—a specially cherished writing of his, to go over which again was a labour of love to him. It was a labour destined to be interrupted. There was a widespread feeling in England—and it was not confined to Catholics—that the time had come when Newman should receive some signal mark of approbation from Rome. The Catholic laity naturally were foremost to move in this matter. Had he not been for years their courageous and consistent advocate, suffering rebuke for their sake? I remember long discussions on this subject at the Catholic Union, a society of Catholic gentlemen existing since 1872 for the promotion of Catholic interests, of which the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Ripon, and Lord Petre were leading members. What would more effectively promote those Catholic interests, it was asked, than to honour Newman? It was decided that an effort should be made to secure his elevation to the Sacred College: and Cardinal Manning was approached on the subject. He was silent for a short time, but then he rose to the occasion, and expressed his willingness to aid in the matter by submitting it to the Holy Father. Shortly afterwards the Duke of Norfolk had occasion to visit Rome, and determined to lay before the Pope some considerations in support of the request which he thought had been submitted by Cardinal Manning. But he found

[21] Ward, vol. ii. p. 430.

that it had not as yet been submitted. The burden of explaining it fell therefore on him, and in an extremely interesting letter, published by Mr. Wilfrid Ward, he gives an account of what he said to the Pontiff. Leo the Thirteenth listened with cordial attention to the Duke's representations, and acceded to his request. Of all this Newman knew nothing; but in due time, a letter from Cardinal Nina came, through Cardinal Manning, to the Bishop of Birmingham, expressing the wish of the Pontiff to confer the Hat upon him. He was—to use the words of the Bishop of Birmingham —'profoundly and tenderly impressed by the goodness of the Holy Father.' The difficulty was that Cardinals who are not Diocesan Bishops are expected to reside in Rome, a rule to which few exceptions had been made. Newman felt that at his age this would be impossible for him. But he felt, also, that he could not, so to speak, bargain or make terms with the Pope. So he wrote a very guarded letter simply putting before the Bishop his position. This letter the Bishop forwarded to Cardinal Manning with one of his own, explaining fully what Newman's mind was. Extraordinary as it must seem, Manning read Newman's gentle and modest letter, which might certainly have been construed as a declension, but paid no attention to Dr. Ullathorne's, which clearly, and indeed emphatically, explained that it was not.[32] On the 18th of February the following paragraph appeared in *The Times*:

> Pope Leo the Thirteenth has intimated his desire to raise Dr. Newman to the Cardinalate, but, with expressions of deep respect for the Holy See, Dr. Newman has excused himself from accepting the purple.

Newman was greatly pained by this paragraph, and wrote to the Duke of Norfolk, pointing out in singularly temperate and dignified language that, as this statement did not come from him, and could not have come from Rome, it must have come from someone who had not only read his letter, but, instead of leaving to the Pope to interpret it, took upon himself to interpret it, and published that interpretation to the world. The Duke immediately wrote to Cardinal Manning, who meanwhile had started for Rome, enclosing the letter which he had received from Newman, and making 'strong representations.'[33] On the 20th of February a general meeting of the Catholic Union was held, at which representatives of the leading Catholic families were present, and the four following resolutions were enthusiastically adopted on the

[32] This letter was dated the 3rd of February, 1879. But in order to make the matter absolutely clear, Dr. Ullathorne wrote on the next day another strong letter to the same effect.

[33] The phrase is Mr. Wilfrid Ward's: I did not see the letter.

motion of the President, the Duke of Norfolk, seconded by Lord Ripon:

I. 'That the Catholic Union of Great Britain has received, with profound gratification, intelligence of the desire of his Holiness Pope Leo the Thirteenth to confer upon the Very Reverend John Henry Newman the dignity of a Cardinal of Holy Church.'

II. 'That the Catholic Union desires to lay before the Apostolic Throne an expression of unfeigned gratitude for the honour thus shown to one whose name is especially dear and precious to the Catholics of the British Empire, and is also justly venerated and cherished by his countrymen generally for his high moral and intellectual endowments.'

III. 'That the Catholic Union begs permission to congratulate Dr. Newman, with the deepest reverence and regard, upon this marked recognition by the Holy See of his eminent services to the Catholic Church.'

IV. 'That copies of these resolutions be submitted to his Holiness the Pope and to the Very Rev. Dr. Newman.'

These resolutions were very acceptable to Newman, who expressed his gratitude to the Catholic Union for having done him 'so great a service.'[34] They were sent with a letter from the Duke of Norfolk to *The Times*, and they were telegraphed to Rome, where Cardinal Manning at once explained the whole situation to the Holy Father, who gladly acceded to Newman's wish that he might continue to live at the Oratory. Manning communicated this information, by telegram and letter, both to the Duke of Norfolk and to the Bishop of Birmingham. So ends this curious episode. On the 8th of March 1879 Manning wrote to Newman what purported to be an explanation, but it is what Swift calls 'an explanation where nothing is explained.' Newman, however, was far from cherishing rancour on account of this business. On the 12th of March he wrote to me:

> I wish to give a contradiction to any idea which may be afloat as to any dissatisfaction on my part with any steps taken by Cardinal Manning. He has been kind enough to go out of his way to write to me: and I wish every such report swept away for good and all.

There is one thing about which there should be no mistake. The great, the supreme value of the Cardinalate to Newman was that it set the seal of Papal authority upon his writings. So he wrote to Dean Church: 'All the stories which have gone about of my being a half-Catholic, a Liberal Catholic, under a cloud, not to be trusted, are now at an end.'[35]

[34] Ward, vol. ii. p. 581.
[35] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 452.

Eleven years of life remained to Cardinal Newman: years spent in peace, 'in nidulo meo,' as he affectionately called the Birmingham Oratory. He came to town in 1881, chiefly for the sake of sitting to Millais for the portrait in the possession of the Duke of Norfolk. Millais, whose habit it was to paint in silence, with his pipe in his mouth, desired that someone should accompany and talk to his illustrious sitter, whose face he desired to see animated; and at the Cardinal's request, I gladly consented to be of use in this way. Millais told me he had great difficulty in catching the likeness: 'there is so much in that face.' One morning he suddenly exclaimed in the middle of a sitting, 'I've got him!': and so he had. This portrait of Millais—he said it was the one which he wished to go down to posterity by—is certainly the best of those which exist of Cardinal Newman. It has been engraved; but, of course, in the engraving the colouring which gives it its splendour is lost.

At his home in Birmingham the Cardinal received many visitors. Distinguished people came from all quarters to see the 'old man of sweet aspéct,'[26] and departed feeling that it had been good for them to be there. As time went on he found it increasingly difficult, and at the last impossible, to write. But to the end his mental faculties were unclouded: a little lapse of memory, a slight deafness, were the chief drawbacks to his intercourse with his friends. So passed the days until the end came, and *he* passed —as the inscription which he caused to be put on his tomb witnesses—'ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem.'

Mr. Wilfrid Ward—I think wisely—has abstained from concluding his book with anything in the way of a general summing-up. His object was to delineate Newman and Newman's life-work, so sorely foiled for long years, so signally crowned at the last. A question, however, arises—it has, indeed, arisen—as to which I may perhaps be expected to say a few words: a very few will suffice. *Finis coronat opus*. But was the end, after all, a definite triumph for Cardinal Newman and for the cause which he represented? A very able writer in *The Times* Literary Supplement[27] observes:

> To many it has seemed that the seal set on Newman's work by Leo the Thirteenth has been roughly broken by the famous Encyclical *Pascendi*, directed in 1907 against the Modernists—not that Newman was a Modernist —by Pope Pius the Tenth.

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[26] They are words which he applies to St. Philip Neri in his beautiful poem, *St. Philip in Himself*.

[27] Of the 25th of January 1912.

Is this so? It appears to me that the person competent, beyond all others, to answer that question is Pope Pius the Tenth himself. And he has answered it in an autograph letter to the Bishop of Limerick, dated the 10th of March, 1908. The following is a translation[22] of the letter—the original is in Latin:

VENERABLE BROTHER, HEALTH AND APOSTOLIC BENEDICTION.—We would have you know that your pamphlet, in which you show that the writings of Cardinal Newman, so far from differing from Our Encyclical Letter *Pascendi*, are in closest harmony with it, has Our strongest approval. You could not, indeed, have done better service alike to the cause of truth, and to the eminent merit of the man. There appears to have been established amongst those whose errors We have condemned by that Letter, as it were a fixed rule that for the very things which they themselves have invented they seek the sanction of the name of a most illustrious man. Accordingly, they freely claim that they have drawn certain fundamental positions from that spring and source, and that, for this reason, We could not condemn the doctrines which are their very own, without at the same time, nay, in priority of order, condemning the teaching of so eminent and so great a man. If one did not know what a power the ferment of a puffed-up spirit has of overwhelming the mind, it would seem incredible that persons should be found who think and proclaim themselves Catholics, while in a matter lying at the very foundation of religious discipline they set the authority of a private teacher, even though an eminent one, above the magisterium of the Apostolic See. You expose not only their contumacy, but their artifice, as well. For if, in what he wrote before he professed the Catholic Faith, there may perchance be found something which bears a certain resemblance to some of the formulas of the Modernists, you justly deny that they are in any way supported thereby; both because the meaning underlying the words is very different, as is also the purpose of the writer; and, the author himself, on entering the Catholic Church, submitted all his writings to the authority of the Catholic Church herself, assuredly to be corrected, if it were necessary. As for the numerous and important books which he wrote as a Catholic, it is hardly necessary to defend them against the suggestion of kindred with heresy. For amongst the English public, as everybody knows, John Henry Newman, in his writings, unceasingly championed the cause of the Catholic Faith in such a way that his work was most salutary to his countrymen, and at the same time most highly esteemed by Our predecessors. Accordingly, he was found worthy to be made a Cardinal by Leo the Thirteenth, undoubtedly an acute judge of men and things; and to him thenceforward, throughout all his life, he was deservedly most dear. No doubt in so great an abundance of his works something may be found which may seem to be foreign to the traditional method of the theologians, but nothing which could arouse a suspicion of his faith. And you rightly state that it is not to be wondered at if at a time when no signs of the new heresy had shown themselves, his mode of expression in some places did not display a special caution, but that the Modernists act wrongly and deceitfully in twisting those words to their own meaning in opposition to the entire context. We, therefore,

[22] I do not know by whom this translation has been made, but I have compared it with the Latin and find it literally correct.

congratulate you on vindicating with eminent success, through your knowledge of all his writings, the memory of a most good and most wise man; and at the same time, as far as in you lay, on having secured that amongst your people, especially the English, those who have been accustomed to misuse that name already cease to deceive the unlearned. And would that they truly followed Newman as a teacher, not in the fashion of those who, given up to preconceived opinions, search his volumes, and with deliberate dishonesty extract from them something from which they contend that their views receive support, but that they might gather his principles pure and unimpaired, and his example and his lofty spirit. From so great a master they may learn many noble things; in the first place, to hold the magisterium of the Church sacred, to preserve inviolate the doctrine handed down by the Fathers, and, what is the chief thing for the preservation of Catholic truth, to honour and obey with the utmost fidelity the successor of the Blessed Peter.

This surely should be decisive of the point at issue. 'Petrus locutus est: causa finita est.'

W. S. Lilly.

LA CITTA ETERNA

A REMINISCENCE OF THE 'SEVENTIES

It was one evening at Copenhagen during the winter of 1861-2, when, talking to some diplomats of the posts they would prefer to go to, I exclaimed 'The ideal post would be Rome as an Embassy. I mean to go there!' Everybody laughed, for all thought that such a thing would be impossible. Since the days of James the Second no English Ambassador had been accredited to the Pope, and who could foresee in 1862 a combination of circumstances which would make Rome the Capital of United Italy!

This was the time of peace before the German-Danish war, which eventually led to the Austro-Prussian one, which in its turn caused the Franco-Prussian war by the transference of the centre of weight to Berlin. The Pope was well protected by Napoleon the Third, it seemed certain that his successor would continue the same policy, and the boldest imagination could not then forge a chain of events which would lead to Victor Emmanuel being proclaimed King of United Italy, in the space of less than nine years from the evening when I expressed my fantastic desire.

When on the early morning of Christmas Day, 1871, I saw the dome of St. Peter's float transparent and unreal in the icy crystalline air, as the train wound leisurely round the low green hills of the Campagna, I asked myself what would be our lives in this new Capital, where everything was still chaotic, and where there could be no precedents or traditions which would particularly affect us?

We had come straight from England, with only one day in frozen Paris, where the ghastly destruction of the Commune stared one in the face wherever one went. The winter was a particularly severe one, and as we drove from the station to our hotel, I noticed all the beautiful fountains, one of Rome's chief charms, were ice-bound and covered with long stalactites, a sight I only once saw repeated there, during our twelve years' residence.

The new state of things in Rome seemed to have attracted the whole world, and every hotel was full to overflowing. A great number of Royalties had congregated together. The Prince and Princess of Wales were to be seen every day in the churches and

galleries with the King and Queen of Denmark and all their fami and the Queen of Hanover with her children. Indeed, it w there that the marriage of Princess Thyra, the Princess of Wale youngest sister, to the Duke of Cumberland (the King of Hanov only son) was arranged.

I cannot now enumerate the many crowned heads that ca to Rome that winter, and all the interesting men and womer caught glimpses of, for, being in very deep mourning, we did go into society, and only met people casually on the Pincio, at some church festival, or in a gallery.

The chaos of a new Capital cannot be described. Nob seemed to know anything for certain, or where anybody liv Everybody was house-hunting, and nobody could find a shelt Prince Doria, whom I knew well from former visits to Ron offered us the beautiful little Palace in the Villa Pamphyli, there were no fireplaces, and none could be put in, on account the decorations, and at last we rented from him his Villa Albano, until we should find something suitable in Rome.

The Villa had lovely gardens, and was in an ideal situatic and among my most cherished memories are the drives along Via Appia Antica, on returning from Rome after a busy d when I watched the sun sinking into the Tyrrhenean sea, gilding with its last rays the long line of tombs which bor the ancient way, the most mysterious, solemn, silent and pathe companions, to those who understand.

King Victor Emmanuel, who disliked Rome even more th he did Florence, and was in the habit of saying that it wo prove fatal to him, only came from time to time when import business had to be transacted; but the Prince and Princess Piedmont lived in the Quirinal, and represented him social Masses of foreigners, especially English, wished to be present at Court. The Princess very graciously received the Engli ladies in audience, and one of her own ladies, half English birth, had undertaken to present her semi-countrywomen, w a good number of demands for presentations had accumulat I need not say that as under the circumstances there was nob to refer to, it was impossible to select, and the numbers gr every day.

Shortly after my arrival I wrote to ask when I might pay respects to Princess Margaret, at whose marriage I had assist and whom I had frequently seen in Florence. When I w at the appointed time, I was received by one of her ladies, w knew me quite well, but who, staring me in the face w frightened eyes, said 'Oh, but it is much too early. Duch X, who presents the English ladies, is not here, and the oth have not yet arrived.'

'*Chère Princesse*,' I responded, I am not an English tourist, but Lady Paget, and I have come to my private audience.' Recognition then dawned in her face, and I only give this little incident to show the state of bewilderment everybody was in. I should like to mention one curious remark made to me by Mr. Marsh, the learned and widely respected American Minister, after he had been in Rome a few years, which was to the effect that among all the Americans who had come there during that time, he had not been able to persuade more than two to go to Court. Considering that Rome is at present entirely under the American sway, and that numbers of great Roman families are composed almost entirely, as far as the ladies go, of Americans, this is remarkable, and shows how entirely social conditions have changed in the United States, as well as at Rome.

The Court of Turin had always been one where a severe and antiquated etiquette had obtained, and now this was all changed and upset by the advent of young and democratic Italy, with no traditions at all, and one had to be a genius of intuition and adaptiveness to steer one's way clear of all social reefs and shoals.

Everybody who remembers Rome in the Papal times would have been struck by the unique and picturesque solemnity of the social functions, the great bare, ill-lit, and unwarmed palatial rooms, the Cardinals in scarlet, the thrones in the princely houses, and the flock of retainers in gaudy, ill-fitting liveries. All this was suddenly swept away by a busy, clamouring, lively, dancing and dining crowd, by calorifères and gas; and all the hateful trash and frippery so dear to semi-artistic minds of the 'seventies adorned the walls. Poor Mr. Swinton, the once so sought-after painter of delicate portraits of the English beauties of the 'forties and 'fifties, but very feeble then, remarked to me after paying a visit to the high priestess of this new departure, that he had felt like standing on his head at a bric-à-brac, gone mad. The description was accurate.

The Roman aristocracy had for so long looked upon themselves as a kind of power to whom the Ambassadors were accredited, and the foreigners who came to Rome had to make all the advances to be admitted to their houses, that the sudden change of scenery caused numbers of difficulties. The diplomats took their cue from the Court only, and modelled themselves upon the rules laid down by it, and they caused a good deal of friction. Then there was the diplomatic corps accredited to the Pope, which was not supposed to '*frayer*' with us, but amongst them were often old friends, and then the rules were broken. The younger members of Papal Embassies, especially of the French one, were to be seen daily at our house, and even went so far as to come to some of our balls given in the spring

during race meetings, when the Italian Royalties were absen but I believe they were severely rebuked for these transgression Roman society was sharply divided between whites a blacks at first, but even during the twelve years that we were Rome most of the younger generation had gone over to the white not on account of any particular convictions, but simply becau it was more amusing, and there was more to do.

Looking back upon my life in Rome, it appears to me like brilliant kaleidoscope, without any very salient points.

After the tremendous events and changes induced by t Franco-Prussian war, France had, for the first time after ma years, ceased to be a menace to the peace of Europe, but t Emperor Napoleon was still living. On the 9th of January 18 we were dining at the Austrian Legation, together with seve members of the French Legation, when a telegram was brou to my husband, announcing the Emperor's death at Chislehur The French diplomats were absolutely indifferent, and I w particularly shocked by the frivolous remarks of one of the sec taries who had been an '*intime*' at the Tuileries, where he all the cotillons, and had been loaded with benefits by his Imper master.

As regards external affairs, the feeling of peace and relaxati in those days was very profound. Italy had, however, much occupy her concerning internal affairs, and was especially harri by the brigand question in Sicily, which was a continual so I remember two young Englishmen imploring me to interce with my husband to get them a permit 'to pick the brigands about Mount Etna, it would be such fun!'

Rome and the Campagna were also very unsafe. Minghet then Prime Minister, was knocked about and deprived of his wat and purse, one evening in the Foro Trajano, as he was leavi the Palazzo Roccagiovine. Duke Grazioli, riding in his own pa with his son and daughter, was attacked by brigands. I was nev allowed to go out riding during our stay at the Villa Doria Albano unless accompanied by a man with a revolver in the holst of his saddle.

Much to the discomfort of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, w hated captures of foreigners by brigands more than anything el I evolved the idea of driving from Albano to Siena *via* Capraruo the Ciminian forest, Viterbo, and the lake of Bolsena, the v worst district for 'malviventi.' My brother and Lord X were companions, and we had four fleet horses to our light carria Along the whole road were relays of Carabinieri, and in the m ill-famed parts two of them accompanied us on horseback. never saw a brigand, but our hotel bills were very much increas by these signs of our importance.

The diplomatic corps had been much modified since its departure from Florence. The Communard Comte de Choiseul, son of the famous Duc de Praslin who murdered his wife in Louis Philippe's day, had been replaced by M. Fournier, the friend of Renan. He was clever, doctrinaire, violent and *cassant*, very cultured and intimate with all scientific and literary people. He was short, thin, pale-faced, and sharp-featured, and always put me in mind of the Girondin Manuel. He ought to have been clad in a long brown coat and cape, and a low, wide-brimmed hat. His wife, an excellent, simple woman, who adored him, used to pray that he should break an arm, because her happiness was too great. My husband, who had known the Fourniers at other posts, asked why it was not her own arm she prayed for. She did not think that would affect her happiness sufficiently, was her answer. Such elements did not blend well with sarcastic people of the world; they were soon removed, and replaced by the Marquis and Marquise de Noailles. The Ambassador who, in spite of his aristocratic name, was supposed to have extreme revolutionary leanings, was gentleness itself, and allowed his wife, his son, his Embassy to do exactly as they liked, a *modus vivendi* not usually associated with the intolerant Republican. He was a man of great culture and literary talent, in conversation mildly sarcastic. He used to sit for hours inside my huge fireplace, smoking up the chimney, because he could not be one minute without a cigarette. The Marquise was a Pole, whose great beauty was now somewhat marred by too much embonpoint, but the sway she had for many years, during the time of her widowhood before her second marriage, exercised over many hearts, still prevailed to some degree. She was by no means *collet monté*, but when the great portals of the Palazzo Farnese, which the French Government with true Republican generosity had secured and partly furnished for the Embassy, were thrown open every Monday to crowds less remarkable for quality than quantity, she used to select a friend, and, taking him to the long gallery, she pointed with lovely hands to some very *risqué* subject in Giulio Romano's beautiful ceiling, and, with black lashes dropped over blue eyes, she sighed wistfully 'Et dire que tout cela a été fait à l'instar d'un prêtre!'

The dinners at the Farnese were unrivalled for gorgeousness, and all the official world was invited to them. They were sometimes enlivened by the son of the house, aged ten, careering round the table on his tricycle adorned only in his nightgown.

Mme. de Noailles, who was amiability itself to everybody, sometimes remonstrated with me for not being sufficiently catholic in my invitations. She used to point at me, saying 'Regardez cette Ambassadrice qui ne connaît pas les Ministres.' This was in a sense true, for after the Minghetti administration had been

replaced by one of a very different kind; the men who compo[...] it never went into society or made any attempt to make [...] acquaintance, and the principal one amongst them was th[...] coping with the difficulty of having three wives at the same tim[...] one of them being an Englishwoman. I therefore saw no pa[...]ticular reason to take steps to know them. Germany and Fran[...] were the rivals for popularity, but England could afford to sta[...] by and look on, for all Italians of that generation knew her [...] be their true friend, who had powerfully supported them in th[...] fight for unity.

Before leaving the French diplomats, I must mention Madai[...] de Corcelles, the wife of the Ambassador to the Pope. She [...] a delightful old lady, who often visited me in spite of prohibitio[...] 'Car,' she declared, 'je suis la petite fille de Lafayette, et je fa[...] ce qui me plaît.' She never addressed the Cardinals as Eminenc[...] but hailed them in cheery tones as her 'dear Cardinals.' Wh[...] one day she visited Pius IX., he asked her whether she had se[...] all the sights of Rome. 'Oui, Saint Père,' she responded, 'ma[...] ce que je désire le plus c'est de voir un Conclave.' That Po[...] had the saving grace of sense of humour, and he it was who to[...] the story.

Prussia never had had any Embassies anywhere, only Min[...]ters plenipotentiary, but Imperial Germany was the first [...] recognise Italy as a Great Power, and to accredit an ambassad[...] For this important post M. de Keudell was chosen and accord[...] a triumphant reception in Rome, both at Court and in societ[...] for by this time all sympathies had shifted from France to Ge[...]many. Southern imagination invested M. de Keudell w[...] Macchiavellian inventiveness and Talleyrand's astuteness. [...] was supposed to be Prince Bismarck's *alter ego*, whilst he w[...] not even his replica on blotting paper, and it was only the au[...] of the man of blood and iron which shone around him. In reali[...] M. de Keudell was the simplest, most naïve, straight, and u[...]sophisticated Prussian soldier, who had been translated into [...] ambassador's uniform. I, who when I was a girl at Court h[...] once sat behind his square white Cuirassier's back, as he w[...] huge hands called forth in the purest, most soothing and classi[...] way the melodies of Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven, soon discove[...] that the mystery of his appointment was to be looked for in [...] thrall which that divine music had exercised on the receptive mi[...] of the great Chancellor. Besides that, M. de Keudell was disc[...] line in person, and what more could be wanted? He was enormou[...] over six foot, and more than broad in proportion. Out of a ro[...] bullet head with white or flaxen hair—I never found out which [...] shone a pair of small but very honest brown eyes. He was utte[...] without guile, and, being the doyen of the Ambassadors, wo[...]

have had to cope with many difficulties of form and etiquette, had not his happy nature allowed him to float about in the situation in unconscious bliss, till his popularity landed him on some point of vantage. As Mme. de Keudell was always ill, her duties as doyenne of the Ambassadresses devolved upon me, and I had frequently to confer with her husband, so as to take united action. I need not say that with such a man everything was easy as soon as he was quite persuaded that the proposed course was absolutely right and straight.

There was in those days a very large English colony in Rome, and also an enormous influx of tourists, many of whom brought introductions from people we barely knew. There were also those who had printed letters from the Foreign Office recommending them to the Ambassador's good offices and protection. These all imagined they had a right to be invited to what they termed our 'public balls' and receptions. To satisfy them was not easy, and when I insisted that, when the King and Queen honoured our balls with their presence, the ladies should come in full dress, and not, as they frequently did, in walking frocks with striped Como blankets over their shoulders and mittens on their hands, there was an outcry; but I felt it my duty to be firm. Nobody who was not in Rome in those days can have a conception of the numbers of English who invaded it. A good number came to see the sights, others for the Church functions; some came for hunting, and some for riding only, and never went to see St. Peter's or the Coliseum. Many spent all their time in picking up coloured marbles and drinking tea together, but all of them wanted to be amused in the evening, and, as there were hardly any theatres, the Court and the Embassies were the only resource, for the Roman houses were not open to them.

From November to June it was a continuous string of new faces, and the dinners, luncheons, concerts, and balls we had to give seemed unending. Lent brought no relief, for Rome was fuller than ever at that time. On every fine afternoon when there was no hunting all the best lawn-tennis players among the young Romans assembled in our lovely gardens, and crowds of ladies came to watch this, till then, unknown game. The gardens, now alas! reduced to a third of their extent, covered the grounds of some ancient villa, and were bounded on the east by the Aurelian wall and on the south by the Castro Pretorio. Secular ilex avenues gave a grateful shade in spring and summer, and led to a grove which in June was paved with scarlet poppies, out of which, at one's approach, arose clouds of white doves. The place was so lonely during the first years of our tenancy that when I walked there by myself in the gloaming of a frosty winter evening I saw the foxes creep out of the copses, seeking for some prey.

All this has gone, and so have the Ludovisi gardens and many other haunts of the Oreads and Dryads. The Rome of to-day knows those mysteries no more. When first we lived in what was then the Villa Torlonia, but which now has been the English Embassy for forty years, it was surrounded by vineyards, out of which loomed ruins and ancient monuments. For a quarter of a mile there were no houses, and I was constantly warned by my Roman friends of the dangers I ran when returning late at night with my jewels on from some ball or party. The servants were terrified, and would not go messages after dark, for high walls, with here and there dark recesses, lined the road. The gentlemen of the Embassy, when returning in the evening on foot, took the precaution of walking in the middle of the road, and carried heavy sticks. I confess that these first years in sunny, peaceful, untouched, and mysterious Rome, had a great charm for me. It was romantic, and one might, with a little imagination, have invested it with a spice of danger.

Then there were the long rides over the undulating flower-enamelled Campagna, the spins of twenty or thirty miles through fields of asphodel, tinted rose-red by the setting sun, for we defied the ancient Roman superstition of coming in at sunset. The Embassy, which was close to the Porta Pia, soon became a meeting place for all our friends who liked riding, as the Campagna was an open book to us. My children brought their playfellows, and these little creatures, some of them on tiny ponies, tore across the smooth green grass, sometimes followed by a stream of huge white Maremma shepherd dogs, at a pace which often made me tremble. Mothers confided their daughters to me, and many a marriage was thus made in the saddle under my chaperonage.

We knew the Campagna better than anybody in Rome, yet in spite of this we sometimes got into difficulties owing to the frequent changes of boundaries. One day I was riding alone with Dr. Nevin. He was the well-known and energetic incumbent of the American Church in Rome, very popular, and quite a character in those days, before a long illness sapped his powers. He had been a soldier, and through the War of Secession. He was a friend of Dr. Doellinger, and yet was well noted at the Vatican. He seemed to know most people, although he was very poor and went little into society. A lady once sent him a cheque for ten pounds anonymously, because his clothes were so shabby. I doubt whether he bought new ones with the money. He was very enterprising, and reasonable people thought him a little — extraordinary; he rode a little skinny mare, whom he apostrophised as 'Baby,' and who got over or under most things. That afternoon we had lost our way in the long valleys which extend from the monastery of the Tre Fontane towards Albano, when we

suddenly came upon a great number of convicts digging up a large extent of soil, and, in answer to our questions, we were told that the monks were extending their eucalyptus plantations in that direction. These plantations have made this most insalubrious part of the Campagna quite healthy and very beautiful. In the distance we espied, near another gang of convicts, what appeared to be an Arab on horseback. Our curiosity being aroused, we put our horses into a canter, and soon came up with what we found to be a monk, a Trappist monk in a white cowl with a black stole over it. He was young and handsome, and as we approached he vainly tried to pull his narrow skirt down over his white cotton stockings. We asked permission to pass through the lands appertaining to the Abbey, and he courteously offered to show us the way. I made a remark to Dr. Nevin expressing my admiration of the monk's straight seat and manly looks, but my companion pointed to the purple tassels hanging from the hat, and said 'Take care, he will understand.' At this moment our cicerone, galloping on before us, took a wide ditch in splendid style, and, flinging open a heavy gate to let us pass, bowed a low and silent adieu. As he drew his hand back from the gate, the sun glinted upon a great jewel in a ring, which revealed him to be the mitred Abbot of Tre Fontane.

This apparition left a vivid impression upon both of us, and Dr. Nevin took some trouble to find out who the young Abbot was before he became a religious. He was told that he belonged to a great Piedmontese family and was a dashing cavalry officer, and that a tragic love affair drove him, like de Rancé, the founder of the order, to become a Trappist. These monks have strict *clôture*, and are hardly ever allowed to speak. The Abbot only may go abroad.

M. Minghetti, for whom riding was the one relaxation from his arduous work, was my constant and most staid companion, and used to exclaim, with his calm, seraphic smile, 'Ah, but this is not riding, it is steeplechasing.' 'Corrono corrono tutto il tempo come disperati' ('They race all the time like madmen'). Many were the interesting conversations I had with him during those rides. He had at one time, I think it was in 1849, been much in the intimacy of Pius IX; in fact, he held a position of great trust and responsibility. One evening he was alone with the Pontiff talking of the threatening aspect of the political horizon, when the Pope arose, and, drawing aside the curtain, pointed to a brilliant star, and exclaimed 'Look at that star! As long as it shines, none can hurt me.' Minghetti told me this to show how strong in those days still was the belief in stars. Napoleon III also had his star, and so had many others.

Pius IX and Victor Emmanuel both had superstitions, of which, however, their successors were entirely devoid.

Though the Pope had twice excommunicated the King, they really loved each other, for they were made of the same kind of stuff, and both belonged emphatically to the days that are past and gone. Impulsive in action, *primesautier* and generous in temperament, they allowed themselves the luxury of sometimes letting their feelings deviate from what others might consider the stern path of duty. When King Victor Emmanuel died, his chaplain, against all rules, gave him absolution for everything, though he was under the major excommunication. The Pope sent for the priest, inquired most feelingly about the King's last moments, and when the chaplain confessed, Pius IX, with tears in his eyes, cried 'Hai fatto bene! hai fatto bene!' ('You have done well! you have done well!') In another month the Pontiff followed the King.

The death of King Victor Emmanuel made a great sensation; it was so unexpected, for he had a strong constitution and was not past middle age. A shiver of apprehension had swept over the Court when, at the New Year's reception of 1878, the Princess of Piedmont and all her ladies appeared in deep black with long crêpe veils, because some time before the King of Saxony, grandfather of the Princess, had died. It was customary on these occasions to substitute white or grey for black. A few days later it was whispered that the King was ill, not dangerously, said the doctors, but it might become serious. Some said it was miliary, others talked of Roman fever, and the most anxious ones murmured something about perniciosa, that most dreaded of all fevers in Rome.

On the afternoon of January the 9th I was walking in the garden, and as I passed the iron gates a man galloped up and called out 'E morto il Re!' and then galloped on.

The effect of the King's death in Italy was a tremendous one. It was not only the personal glamour which surrounded him, but the feeling of security that his strong character gave to the still heterogeneous unity of the country, which was thereby abruptly shaken.

We went to see the King lie in State. He was so enormously swollen and disfigured by his illness that they had been obliged to raise the catafalque almost to the ceiling of the lofty hall, and had disposed his body so that it could hardly be seen, or the people, always suspicious, would certainly have said that he had been poisoned.

At the funeral the whole population stood for hours in the biting wind, silent and uncovered, in the streets through which the procession was to pass. One of the most touching features

in it was the King's old war-horse, which he had ridden in many battles, immediately following the hearse, trapped all in black.

Rome had been fatal to this first King of Italy, as he always said it would be. His fervent wish to rest with his ancestors on the wind-swept Superga, facing the majestic chain of the snow-capped Alps, could not be gratified. His body was laid in the Roman Pantheon, into which the Roman sun and the Roman moon shine through the open roof, and where the waves of the Roman Tiber sweep the marble floors when the waters are high. When Pope Pius IX died, just a month after the King, this event, which had been anticipated for so long, with so many hopes and fears, and so much curiosity, created very little excitement. The King's death had dwarfed it, and it was the cross of Piedmont on the cross of St. Peter's to the bitter end. When Pope Leo XIII was elected, whom St. Malachi in his prophecies had qualified as 'Lumen in Coelo,' it was found that the noble family of the Counts Pecci, to which he belonged, bore a comet in a blue sky in their arms. The Pope's arms play a great part, for they are put up in many places, and over all the Embassies accredited to the Holy See. St. Malachi's motto for the present Pope was 'Ignis ardens,' and it was found that he belonged to a religious community who had for their badge a vessel with flames coming out of it.

As these prophecies, which I believe were made in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and first printed in 1595, are very little known, I will give those which are more or less in the memory of man, and which one can verify. It will be observed that there are only eight more Popes to come, and, considering latter-day events, these ominous predictions give one matter for serious thought.

Pius VII.	Aquila Rapax	alludes to	Captivity with Napoleon
Leo XII.	Canis et Coluber	"	Arms.
Pius VIII.	Vir Religiosus	"	Character.
Gregory XVI.	De Balneis Etruriae	"	Place of birth.
Pius IX.	Crux de Cruce	"	Piedmontese invasion.
Leo XIII.	Lumen in Coelo	"	Arms.
Pius X.	Ignis Ardens	"	Religious arms.
* * *	Religio Depopulata.		
* * *	Fides Intrepida.		
* * *	Pastor Angelicus.		
* * *	Pastor et Nauta.		
* * *	Flos Florum.		
* * *	De Medietate Lumae.		
* * *	De Labore Solis.		
* * *	Gloria Olivae.		

In Persecuzione extrema sacrae Romanae ecclesiae sedebit Petrus Romanus, Qui pascet suis (? oues) in multis tribulationibus quibus trasactis civitas Septicollis diruetur et iudex tremendus iudicabit populum.

Taking the average of the Popes' reigns in modern days, the eight future Popes would come to an end about the middle of th first half of the twenty-first century, which would once more exemplify the fact that religious sovereignties are the most lastin of all.

The accession of King Humbert to the throne of Italy gave rise to no changes in the first instance. Though the young King had not the imposing physique of his father or the same vitality and energy, he had many qualities which endeared him to those who knew him well. At dinners and suppers or balls, where he never danced, not even as Crown Prince, I often had lon conversations with him, and the straightness and simplicity of his character inspired me with respect, whilst his affectionate nature won all my sympathies. Shy and distant in manner, his sterling qualities were not at once appreciated, and it was only later that his sense of duty, and almost too great conscientiousness, won for him a popularity which at first was all the Queen's. The King had the physical courage of the House of Savoy, and he was a faithful and generous friend. In religion tolerant, he was outwardly correct, though personally probably an agnostic. Eminently reasonable, and by nature unambitious he discharged his duties as a constitutional Sovereign withou taking much, or I might say, any, pleasure or pride in his kingly position. His longing for a quiet, unobtrusive life was pathetic and he often said to me: 'Je suis profondément triste,' and then added, half in fun, 'J'aurais été un excellent sergent de ville c'eût été ma vocation'!

He too, like his father, clung to Piedmontese traditions and surrounded himself with a Piedmontese Court. I remember his once asking one of Queen Margherita's Roman ladies, who was talking to some friends, 'What are you doing there?' and she answered 'Speaking Italian, Sir'; for the King and Queen always spoke in dialect to their immediate 'entourage.' Kin Humbert's charming consort was in many things her husband's opposite. She loved splendour and was born to be a Queen She liked it, and attracted about herself all the glamour whic ought to be a Queen's patrimony. Always gorgeously attired at all festivities, covered with precious laces and priceless jewels she used, on entering or leaving a room, to sweep a long and gracious curtsey in a semicircle, including everybody, such as we are told Marie Antoinette had the art of making. Indeed Queen Margaret was in many ways not unlike the martyred Queen of France, for from her Austrian ancestors she inherited the same full underlip, the bright blue eyes, the fair complexion and the wealth of shining blonde hair. She is a woman of many parts, speaks four or five languages in perfection, is very musical

highly cultured, and well read. Her charities are proverbial, and now, after bitter trials and living long in partial seclusion, she still holds the popular imagination, and the day her much-beloved figure and beneficent influence are seen and felt no more will be a sad one for Italy.

A few months after King Humbert's accession a man named Passanante made an attempt on his life at Naples. It was when he was driving through the streets with the Queen. When shortly afterwards the Royal couple made a solemn entry into Rome, the streets were packed, and they had a great ovation. They drove at a foot's pace almost, from the station to the Quirinal, they were in an open carriage with the little Prince and the mob swaying and screaming all around them, with no attempt to keep it in bounds. Only a number of police in plain clothes were hanging on to the carriage and were mistaken, by many, as part of the mob. The King held his hat, as was his habit when acknowledging a salute, almost at arm's length from his head, the Queen showed no symptoms of fear and bowed with gracious smile on every side, but I think the fact of her disguising her apprehensions, following upon the shock which the attempt must have given her, caused the nervous illness from which she suffered for several years, and from which it took her so long to recover.

The little Prince of Naples was a most engaging child. Intelligent and bright to a degree, he spoke English perfectly, and told me how, when he went to England, the thing that interested him most was his visit to Woolwich, about which he gave me details far beyond my comprehension. One day I happened to mention before him that a Miss Fox had come to see me. 'What,' he said, in his quick way, 'anything to do with the Prime Minister?' He was very quick and sharp at repartee, and when his English nurse complained that her colds were so terrible that she had to use towels instead of handkerchiefs, 'Why don't you say sheets at once, it would be nearer the truth?' mocked her royal charge of eight.

Even at that age his principles were clearly formulated and unbending, and it was only with the greatest trouble that he was persuaded to shake hands with one of the Ambassadors whose country was at war with another country for which he had conceived a sympathy.

He is now a most exemplary and conscientious Sovereign, but what scope is there for a constitutional King in a democratic country in which he and his Government have often to conciliate millions of utterly uneducated electors, who frequently decree their own misfortunes? Still the Italian has one great safeguard, and that is a pleasure and a pride in his own country. We see it

now in their present war. The menace of Socialism was imminent, but all quarrels and ill-will between the different parties and factions are sunk in the overwhelming feeling of patriotism. It is the same feeling which has made them pay their heavy taxes for so long without a *murmur*, which makes them bear the expenses of their army and navy cheerfully, and which, poor as the nation is, allows their King a Civil List far more generous than any of our Sovereigns ever had.

The other members of the Royal family hardly ever appeared in Rome. They were scattered about at Turin, Florence, and Naples. The Roman Court was an eminently young one. All the gentlemen and ladies in attendance on the Sovereigns were young, some of the women very beautiful. It was rather like a brilliant picture without a background; which was natural, as it was all the growth of a few years.

Roman society was like a tidal river flowing backwards and forwards, for every winter brought back well-known faces, and yet there were every day new additions, and this it was which gave it so much unrest and instability, for people were all the time on the alert as to 'Who is that?' and 'Who is coming?' and they had adopted the English fashion of continually moving about at parties and never sitting down.

The enormous influx of strangers from all countries increased from year to year, more and more engulphing the Roman element, and it was this ever-moving, ever-changing and elusive atmosphere which makes it so impossible to describe the Rome of that day. The society was composed of Romans proper, and, quite distinct from them, the other Italians, brought to the Capital by their avocations, such as the Government, the Senators and deputies, and the army; though the military element, except at balls, was conspicuous by its absence. Then there were the two sets of diplomats, artists, scientists, writers, and the masses of foreigners.

Owing probably to the very enthusiastic and also practical sympathy which England had ever shown to the cause of United Italy, our house was, in Rome as it had been in Florence, a gathering place for many of the men who had played a conspicuous part in the 'Risorgimento' of their country. They have all vanished except one or two. They were a short-lived generation. Cavour and the King were the first to go. Those we saw most of were Minghetti, Quintino Sella, la Marmora, Ubaldino Peruzzi, Ricasoli, Bonghi, Massari, Visconti Venosta, Count Corti, Guerrieri Gonzaga, Giovanni Baracco, Lacaita, and many others who had tasted the bitter bread of exile. I often wonder whether any of them foresaw the troubles which prosperity was to bring to the country they loved so well.

One of our intimates was Mario, thirty years before the idol of London. He was very poor, having dissipated the enormous sums which his and Grisi's divine voices had brought them. Mario was, on and off the stage, always the great gentleman. With snow-white hair and beard and the complexion of a girl of sixteen, he also retained the fire of his dark eyes. His dress was superlatively neat and fresh-looking, and even when he dined with us quite alone he wore white waistcoat and gloves, things unknown to his countrymen of that day. He was a hermit, and the only other house he visited was that of his kind and devoted friend Prince Ladis Odescalchi, who once persuaded the great singer to come to one of our balls, and it was delightful to see how his friends of ancient days crowded around him, and the greatest lady in the land called to him gaily with threatening finger 'Ah! I have *to* come to the English Embassy *to* find you!'

Giovanni Costa, so much admired in English art circles as the greatest Italian painter of that day, but in his native country only appreciated as a patriot, was another hermit who often darkened our doors, and I blush to say that he lost many hours, when not approving of something I had painted, rubbing it over with soft soap and holding it for half an hour under a tap until the texture which he so much liked was obtained. He used to treat his own pictures in that way, a fact which may interest those who possess some of his treasures. Lenbach, the great Bavarian painter, was also much in our house. He was very generous to me in giving away what he called his tricks in painting. He retained much of his peasant origin in his rough-and-ready speech. He told me how, when he was young, he used to wander about on foot and paint portraits for six or seven shillings. One day in his studio, in which were assembled the portraits of most of the famous men of that day, he pointed to that of Mr. Gladstone, a splendid likeness, saying 'Ist er nicht wie ein fanatischer Bauer?' This remark became very interesting to me when, many years later, I heard of the contention of Theosophists that Mr. Gladstone was a reincarnation of Jack Cade.

Mr. W. W. Story's studio was at the end of our garden, and I often sat with him whilst he was working. As a man he was even more interesting than as an artist, for he was full of information, fun, and original thought, with a very kindly disposition. He was a delightful and witty companion, and I often think of the summer evenings when he accompanied me to the Correa, the open-air theatre in the tumulus of Augustus, where, when the bells of the neighbouring churches began to ring, the actors had to leave off speaking; and when a summer shower came on, all

the audience, which sat on chairs on the gravel, rushed into semicircle of booths at the back, which did duty for boxes.

One hot afternoon in May I went with Mr. Story to the celebration of Metastasio's centenary in the gardens of the Arcadia. This is a literary society dating from the Renaissance which still exists. On a small stage in the open air men and women, boys and girls, recited poetry. Around them in a semicircle were seated many Cardinals and Roman Princes and great ladies of the Papal camp. A little further back were those that belonged to the Arcadia, with their friends and relations.

Above the trees of the garden rose the cupola of San Pietro in Montorio, the roofs of the Spanish Academy, and in the background the Acqua Paula. Below lay extended the whole of Rome, mellow, brown, and mysterious in the waning sunlight. Beyond, a strip of the Campagna vanishing in the vapour which bathed the base of the Sabine and Latin hills.

I had unusual opportunities of knowing many artists and scientists, as they did me the honour of electing me a member of the 'Insigne Accademia of San Luca,' the oldest academy in the world, I believe. Only one other lady belonged to it, the learned Countess Ersilia Lovatelli, daughter of the artistic and scientific blind Duke of Sermoneta, the cleverest and most cultured man in Roman society. The sittings of the Academy were most solemn and dignified, and it was difficult to remember that one was in the nineteenth century.

Another typical Roman scene lingers in my mind. One day my old and valued friend Princess Corsini Scott came to see me. I was her only link with the white society of Rome, for she was ultra-black, had frequent audiences with the Holy Father and received chiefly Cardinals. She came to ask me whether I would come to her 'matinée,' the first one she had given since her husband's death. 'Only,' she begged, 'could you come as your own private self and not as English Ambassadress and please bring your daughter.' I readily agreed, and on the appointed day, escorted by the Duke of Ripalda, also a most pronounced Papalino, and, as possessor of the Farnesina Palace, Princess Corsini's nearest neighbour, we mounted the wide stairs leading to the splendid apartment on the first floor of the palace.

On the first row of armchairs, disposed in a semicircle, sat the Cardinals, and behind them on chairs the black society of Rome. Against the wall stood a kind of altar raised upon a daïs, and upon it burned wax tapers in tall candlesticks, though it was the middle of the day. The Cardinals and the bright spring toilettes of the ladies made a rich harmony against the splendid gold and velvet hangings of the palatial room. We came purposely late, so as not to embarrass our kind hostess while she was receiving; but

if a bomb had burst in the middle of the room the consternation could hardly have been greater, for a good many of those who were present knew me by sight, and some of them to speak to. We sat down very quietly, and the Duke of Ripalda stood near us. The recitals began, all of them by pupils of Seminaries. They were eulogies of different Popes in verse. There was a good deal about heretics in them, but we did not take this to ourselves. One phrase, however, proved too much for my daughter's youthful gravity; it was piped out in a high treble by a little fellow nine years old:

Il nostro buon Papa, il sesto Alessandro,

and then followed a panegyric of the Borgias. The whole thing had a wonderful *cachet*; it was like one of the receptions the President de Brosses describes in his lively diaries. Then followed a collation set out as they were in the time of Louis the Fourteenth, but we went away, fearing that our remaining might make difficulties for the old Princess.

Soon after this we left Rome. It was a sad leave-taking, for the charm and glamour of the sunny skies, the atmosphere of art and intellect, had cast a powerful fascination over me. I thought that life in the North would appear grey and dull, and I remembered the words Lord Lytton had said to me many years ago: 'When you have once lived in Italy it takes the colour out of everything else.'

When I saw the crowd of friends who had come to see us off, words failed me, and it was with tears only that I could bid adieu to the 'Città Eterna.'

Walburga Paget.

A LITTLER ENGLAND?

Issues of an exceedingly grave character are raised for the United Kingdom by the coincidence of a rapidly falling birth-rate and a rapidly rising rate of emigration. I do not think it is generally realised that, at the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century, we are threatened with a decline in population. If it were realised, and the inevitable consequences of such a decline fully understood, the subject would engross public attention. In point of fact, it is to be feared that very few of our governing classes are alive either to the facts of the case or to their consequences. On the day of the great debate upon our relations with Germany, which took place on Monday, the 27th of November 1911, I put down a question on the subject for oral answer in the House of Commons by the President of the Local Government Board. The question was designed to contrast the excess of births over deaths with the loss by emigration, and to direct attention to the deplorably small balance between the two figures. In reply, Mr. John Burns stated that the excess of births over deaths in the United Kingdom for the first nine months of 1911 was 329,710, and that the Board of Trade return of passengers to and from places out of Europe for the same period showed a balance of outward movement of 237,067.

The last figure related to both British subjects and foreigners. If we correct it by taking the return of British subjects only, we get for the nine months a British emigration of 218,191. That is to say, the approximate increase of British population in the United Kingdom in the first three quarters of 1911 was 329,710 less 218,191, or only 111,519.

This remarkable information excited no interest in those who provide the public with information and ready-made opinions. Not even *The Times* thought it worth reporting. If I had asked whether General Caneva was boiling Arabs in oil at Tripoli, or if the Germans had yet decided to make a further increase in their Navy Law, the answer would have found place in many newspapers. Apparently it did not occur to any one that the answer to my question had a distinct bearing upon Britain's place

in the world, and consequently upon foreign affairs, and that Germany could by no conceivable means injure British interests as they are possibly being injured by forces operating from within the British Empire.

Let us examine carefully the facts of the case.

The emigration from the United Kingdom during the past year has been of unprecedented dimensions. In the times of bad trade which visited us a generation ago, a great flow of emigrants occurred which gathered strength and was not checked for many years. Even then, however, emigration did not exceed 246,000 in any year. This figure, which was reached in 1883, remained a record down to 1911, when it rose to 262,000. Scotland alone lost 61,358 of her people by emigration last year, as against 58,384 in 1910.

It is well to make clear what is the basis of these emigration statistics. We cannot, of course, know whether a passenger leaving a British port for Canada or Argentina is an emigrant or not. All we can do is to count passengers outward to places out of Europe, and to compare the result with a count of passengers inwards from places out of Europe. Thus, in 1911 we know that 454,576 British subjects left the United Kingdom for places out of Europe, and that 192,718 British subjects arrived in the United Kingdom from extra-European ports. We therefore deduce an emigration of 261,858 in the twelve months as a sufficiently approximate estimate of the facts. It is by this method that column 1 of Table A is arrived at.

It will be seen that the emigration from the United Kingdom has undergone extraordinary variations in the long period examined in the table, and it should be particularly observed that these variations appear to be largely independent of the condition of trade. Column 2 of the table shows the state of trade as measured by exports of British produce and manufactures, and column 3 gives the unemployment rate amongst trade unionists as returned to the Labour Department of the Board of Trade. It is reasonable to suppose that the bad times which followed the great trade boom of 1872-73, and which produced in 1879 an unemployment rate of nearly 11 per cent., were responsible for the great increase of emigration in the latter year, and the great exportation of people which continued, and, indeed, increased in the good years 1882-83 and in the good and bad years following. In the closing years of the nineteenth century emigration almost ceased. Trade and employment were exceedingly good in 1899, and emigration fell to 46,000. In the opening years of the present century emigration again increased, until in 1907, a year of excellent trade, it almost reached the record of 1883. In 1908 there was a great decline in both trade and emigration, following upon

the American collapse at the end of 1907. In 1909 and 1910, with reviving trade, emigration again increased, and in 1911, in spite of good trade, British emigration beat all previous records.

The record of German emigration, which we shall presently have occasion to consider, exhibits as to the last three decades of the nineteenth century features very similar to our own. In the ten years which ended in 1880, there was a large German emigration; in the ten years which ended in 1890 there was exceedingly large German emigration; in the last ten years of the nineteenth century German emigration fell just as ours fell. Then all resemblance in this respect between the two nations ceased. While British emigration, as we have seen, again swelled, reaching gigantic proportions in the year 1911, German emigration became an almost negligible quantity.

The explanation of these remarkable facts is easily to be found. In the present century our self-governing Colonies have set themselves to attract population to their shores from the heart of the Empire. Enormous sums have been spent by them to induce the people of the United Kingdom to transplant themselves across the seas. The Canadian official advertising for colonists has become as thorough as the efforts of the publicity departments of soap and pill manufacturers. Handsome emigration offices have been opened in the chief British thoroughfares, with shop windows making a wonderful display of pictures of jolly homesteads, of sheaves of yellow corn, of piles of incredibly red-cheeked apples. Who can wonder if the passer-by, an inhabitant of one of our dreary and dirty cities, has his imagination fired by prospects of plenty in a beautiful land? The newspapers have been diligently worked by the official emigration agents. In a popular newspaper one may see an expensive advertisement setting out the glories and advantages of Canadian life, accompanied, by arrangement and as part of the advertising contract, with a column editorial puff which outrivals the enthusiasm of the official advertisement. This is the kind of announcement which the Canadian Emigration Office puts before the British workman:

> *Canada offers you* 160 *Fat and Fertile Acres for Nothing in the Land of Glorious Sunshine and Opportunity.*
>
> *Wheat raising per acre costs* 30*s. (thirty shillings) and realises sixty shillings.*
>
> *Two years' rent of an English farm will purchase freehold improved land of equal area in Canada.*
>
> *Wanted at once, for permanent employment, on farms in Western Canada,* 5000 *experienced farm hands. Average yearly wages* 60*l. to* 70*l. and found.*
>
> 1000 *married couples wanted.*

A: BRITISH EMIGRATION, EXPORTS, AND UNEMPLOYMENT COMPARED

Year	1 Emigrants	2 Exports of British Goods	3 Trade Unionists Unemployed
		£	Per Cent.
1876	38,000	201,000,000	3·4
1877	31,000	199,000,000	4·4
1878	58,000	193,000,000	6·2
1879	126,000	192,000,000	10·7
1880	181,000	223,000,000	5·2
1881	190,000	234,000,000	3·5
1882	224,000	242,000,000	2·3
1883	246,000	240.000,000	2·6
1884	151,000	233,000,000	7·1
1885	123,000	213,000,000	8·5
1886	153,000	213,000,000	9·5
1887	196,000	222,000,000	7·1
1888	186,000	234,000,000	4·1
1889	151,000	249,000,000	2·0
1890	109,000	263,000,000	2·1
1891	116,000	247,000,000	3·4
1892	112,000	227,000,000	6·2
1893	107,000	218,000,000	7·7
1894	38,000	216,000,000	7·2
1895	76,000	226,000,000	6·0
1896	60,000	240,000,000	3·3
1897	51,000	234,000,000	3·4
1898	49,000	233,000,000	2·9
1899	46,000	264,000,000	2·0
1900	71,000	291,000,000	2·4
1901	72,000	280,000,000	3·8
1902	102,000	283,000,000	4·2
1903	147,000	291,000,000	5·0
1904	127,000	301,000,000	6·4
1905	139,000	330,000,000	5·2
1906	195,000	376,000,000	3·7
1907	235,000	426,000,000	3·9
1908	91,000	377,000,000	8·6
1909	140,000	378,000,000	7·8
1910	234,000	431,000,000	4·7
1911	about 262,000	454,000,000	3·0

Nor does this sort of thing exhaust the enterprise of Canadian emigration officers. They send to the rural districts handsome vans, which carry into remote villages exhibits of produce which speak of paths that drop fatness and of valleys standing thick with corn. Who can wonder if the agricultural labourer turns, from the British road which so often leads to the rural workhouse, to a land which promises so much and which can scarcely give him less than he has? Is it not rather surprising that more do not listen to the voice of the Canadian charmer?

In the last year or two Australia, which for so long foolishly practised a policy of exclusion, has realised that Australia can only be maintained a white country by encouraging immigration. Accordingly, she has followed the example of Canada in luring the inhabitants of the United Kingdom. All over the country at this moment there are exhibited posters of great artistic merit, in which the picture of a beautiful girl standing under a tree loaded with blossom draws the attention of the wayfarer to the fact that Australia exists, and invites him to make his home in a land of promise.

South Africa is now to join in the pursuit. On the 30th of December 1911 Colonel Leuchars, Minister of Commerce in the Union Government, announced that the Government would shortly introduce a large settlement scheme, which is to include the attraction of immigrants from oversea.

The practical success of this Colonial advertising for population may be measured by Table B, which shows the destination of British emigrants in recent years. It will be seen that the greatly increased emigration which we are now experiencing is mainly due to a movement of population within the British Empire. In 1911 the United States took but 50,000 out of a total emigration of 262,000, and all but 2000 of the remainder went to places within the Empire. Canada took 135,000; Australasia took 66,000; even South Africa took nearly 8000, or as many as Canada took as recently as 1900.

No other nation has to bear the brunt of an emigration of such character. No other nation has colonies of any consequence in this connexion. The forces which are at work drawing the life-blood from the heart of the British Empire to its extremities do not exist for Germany. There are no little German daughter-nations tempting German workmen to new lands where the German language is spoken and where German traditions obtain. And the existence of the United States is, for the purposes of British emigration, also a magnet of the most potent character. It possesses, in the greatest power supply of the world, the greatest attraction for population known to economics. The United States does not find it necessary to advertise for immigrants; coal draws

B: DESTINATIONS OF BRITISH EMIGRANTS

(In Thousands.)

Year	To Canada	To Australasia	To Other British Possessions	To U.S.A.	To Other Foreign Places	Total [1]
1898	8	4	8	30	—	49
1899	8	4	—5	39	—	46
1900	8	6	9	48	—	71
1901	7	7	12	46	1	72
1902	15	4	31	52	—	102
1903	46	4	31	65	1	147
1904	51	5	3	67	1	127
1905	63	7	7	61	1	139
1906	91	10	4	86	4	195
1907	118	14	—	100	4	235
1908	41	20	—3	31	1	91
1909	52	25	4	56	2	140
1910	116	33	10	74	1	234
1911	135	66	9	50	2	262

[1] Owing to the use of 'round' figures the totals do not precisely correspond with the detail columns.

C: POPULATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1911

	Whites (of all Races)	Others	Total
(*a*) United Kingdom:	45,000,000	—	45,000,000
(*b*) Self-governing Dominions:			
Canada	6,950,000	200,000	7,150,000
Newfoundland	250,000	—	250,000
Australia	4,400,000	100,000	4,500,000
New Zealand	950,000	50,000	1,000,000
South Africa	1,400,000	4,700,000	6,100,000
Total (*b*) . .	13,950,000	5,050,000	19,000,000
(*c*) Other British Possessions:			
India	300,000	314,700,000	315,000,000
Rest of the Empire . .	250,000	34,750,000	35,000,000
Total (*c*) . .	550,000	349,450,000	350,000,000
Grand Total . . .	59,500,000	354,500,000	414,000,000

them to her. Between the British self-governing Dominions and the United States of America, we have offered to the British emigrant a wide choice of new lands where the British language is spoken, and where he need not feel more a 'foreigner' than if he left one part of the United Kingdom for another.

Let us refresh our memories as to the present distribution of the white population of the British Empire. It is shown with sufficient accuracy in Table C, by which we are reminded that there are less than 15,000,000 white people in all the British Empire outside these islands. Of these 15,000,000, fully one-third are foreigners or of foreign descent. The entire British Empire, that is, contains not more than 55,000,000 whites of British descent. Thus we see the vast spaces of the British Dominions in urgent need of population; we cannot wonder at the extraordinary efforts which are being made by the Dominion Governments to obtain immigrants from the United Kingdom, and we must expect those efforts to be maintained or increased.

In view of this drain upon our vital resources, let us proceed to examine the feeding of the central reservoir of population, upon which the Colonies are making such an insistent call.

We saw at the beginning that in the first nine months of 1911 the natural increase of population in the United Kingdom—the excess of births over deaths—was 329,710. It is probable that the complete statistics of 1911 will show a natural increase of about 440,000. Emigration in 1911 being about 260,000, the increase of population was therefore about 180,000. Thus last year the population of the United Kingdom increased by a mere 0.4 per cent., and it is clear that it needs but a small and only too probable further fall in the rate of natural increase, combined with an only too probable further increase of emigration, to bring about an actual decline in our population in the near future. At this moment we cannot be sure that such a reduction will not take place in the present year.

The natural increase of the population, it cannot too clearly be borne in mind, is dependent not upon birth-rate alone, but upon the combined effects of birth-rate and death-rate. The birth-rate has a natural limit in point of increase, and an unnatural limit at zero; the death-rate cannot be reduced below a certain point, although we do not know definitely what that point is. With a stationary, or even with a falling birth-rate we may add to the rate of natural increase by reducing the death-rate, but only within limits. It is interesting to see what has taken place in this regard in the United Kingdom in the last twenty-five years. Here are the facts:

D: NATURAL INCREASE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM POPULATION

Year	Births		Deaths		Births less Deaths	
	Number	Rate per 1000	Number	Rate per 1000	Number	Rate per 1000
1885	1,136,331	31·3	688,065	18·9	448,266	12·4
1895	1,154,898	29·4	735,244	18·7	419,654	10·7
1900	1,159,922	28·2	757,732	18·4	402,190	9·8
1905	1,163,535	27·1	669,638	15·6	493,897	11·5
1910	1,123,010	25·0	630,620	14·0	492,390	11·0
1911 (Estimate)					440,000	9·7

In the twenty-five years the birth-rate has fallen 6.3 per 1000 of the population, while the death-rate has fallen 4.9. The fall in the birth-rate has been most rapid in the last five years; the fall in the death-rate has taken place almost entirely in the last ten years. In 1885 a population of something over 36,000,000 added 448,000 persons to itself by natural increase; in 1911 a population of nearly 45,000,000 made a natural increase of only about 440,000. It is true that the death-rate will undoubtedly be further reduced. The possibilities in this direction may be gauged when it is pointed out that New Zealand has a death-rate of little more than 9 per 1000, and that the realisation of such a rate in the United Kingdom in 1910 would have added 225,000 to the natural increase of population. But it is to be feared that many years must elapse before the British death-rate is as low as 9, and there is every prospect of the birth-rate falling considerably. Even if in the next ten years we reduce the death-rate by 4, to 10 per 1000, we may in the same period find the birth-rate reduced by about 5 to a rate almost as low as that of France.

To bring our figures quite up to date, I may add, although I do not desire to exaggerate the case by dwelling unduly upon them, the remarkable figures of the third quarter of 1911. In that quarter, the United Kingdom birth-rate fell to 24.8, and the death-rate rose to 15.2. The natural increase of population in the three months was 277,655 births minus 173,105 deaths, or only 104,550. In England and Wales the birth-rate fell to 24.4, being 2.9 below the mean birth-rate of the previous ten third quarters. It was the lowest birth-rate recorded in any third quarter since civil registration of births first began. The natural increase of population in England and Wales in the quarter was only 81,645, against 123,800, 124,054, and 123,022 in the third quarters of 1908, 1909, and 1910 respectively. These

serious facts were contributed to by an increased infant mortality caused chiefly by the unusually hot weather, but the fall in the birth-rate cannot thus be explained away. It points to a rapid acceleration of the rate of fall shown in the above table.

Serious as these considerations would be if there were no drain by emigration, how intensely serious they become when we find ourselves regarded by the self-governing Dominions as an unlimited store of potential colonists. The coincidence of falling death-rate and falling birth-rate means a higher average age for the population as a whole, and a consequent intensification of British social problems. The emigration in a year of nearly 300,000 of our most vigorous stock leaves us with a larger proportion of the old and the feeble. If the process went much further, and an actual decline of population occurred, we should have not merely a smaller nation, but a smaller nation whose average individual efficiency had been reduced. Every social problem would be aggravated, even while a smaller aggregate population would be left to furnish the means of amelioration. The charge for Old Age Pensions would sensibly rise, even while a smaller number of taxpayers could be called upon to meet the charge. Sickness being a problem of age, the sickness charges to be borne under the National Insurance Act of 1911 would rise, even while the number of young contributors to the fund would diminish. The material output of the nation would fall, not alone because there would be fewer workers, but because the average age of those fewer workers would be higher.

Nor would the political consequences be less serious.

It is true that the emigrants we are parting with are, for the most part, going abroad to build up the Britains over the seas, and that British emigration may therefore be truly described as very largely a British re-settlement. It is very questionable, however, whether the transfer of population from the British Isles to the self-governing colonies, when carried to such a degree as now obtains, is consistent with the maintenance of the integrity of the Empire. The eyes of the Canadian are not turned to Europe, but to the South, and to the East. And the eyes of the Australian are not upon the German Empire, but upon Japan. Those who have talked with Australasian statesmen know that the plans for Antipodean Navies are prompted not so much by anxiety concerning the relative strength of the fleet of the United Kingdom, as by the desire to be able to cope with exigencies which may arise in the Pacific. The maintenance of the British Empire is involved in the proper increase of the population of the United Kingdom. To send out a proportion of our natural increase is to strengthen the Empire, but to send out the whole of our natural increase, or more than our natural

increase, is to strengthen the Britains over the seas at the cost of breaking up the Empire and degrading the United Kingdom in the category of the nations. It is difficult enough as things are for the taxpayers of the United Kingdom to furnish the means of maintaining that naval supremacy upon which not merely the integrity of the Empire, but the secure livelihood of the inhabitants of the British Isles depends, but how could the position be maintained by a falling population possessing a falling average efficiency? The yield of existing taxes would fall with the population, and it is interesting to observe that the new land taxes would become null and void, for there would be no increment to tax, through a fall in land values, and no undeveloped land duty to levy, because the development of building land would cease.

While the population of the United Kingdom is threatened with decline, that of the German Empire is still rapidly increasing. It is true that the German birth-rate has fallen, but it is still higher than ours, and Germany, instead of losing population by migration, is actually gaining immigrants on balance. I have spoken already of the fall in German emigration. Table E is an examination of migration in respect of the United Kingdom, the German Empire, and France, based upon the exceedingly useful table published by the Board of Trade in the Blue-book on British and Foreign Trade and Industry (Cd. 4954 of 1909). It will be seen that Germany is beginning to take the place which used to be occupied by France in gaining people by migration. The figures in this table are arrived at by comparing the actual increases of population revealed by censuses with the excess of births over deaths. It is a more accurate method than that employed in Table A, and can, of course, only be used for inter-censal periods. From Table F we may arrive at the average annual loss or gain by migration in the three countries.

Germany is thus gaining by migration even while we have reached the point of losing 300,000 people a year. As to natural increase, this is nearly 900,000 a year in Germany, in spite of the fall in her birth-rate. It is hardly likely that the German population will increase by less than 8,000,000 in the next ten years, and in 1921, therefore, the German population may be 74,000,000. If the British population makes no more increase per annum than it did in 1911, the British Isles in 1921 will have about 47,000,000 inhabitants. By 1921, therefore, the German Empire's population is likely to be within about 10,000,000 of the aggregate population of the United Kingdom and France, for France has now about 39,600,000 people, and her population is falling. The comparative position of the United Kingdom, it will be gathered, may easily be worse than this, for

E: UNITED KINGDOM, GERMANY, AND FRANCE MIGRATION DEDUCED FROM CENSUS AND VITAL STATISTICS

(+=Gain by migration; −=Loss by migration).

Period (varies with Census Dates, but generally comparable)	United Kingdom	German Empire	France
U.K.: Ten years, 1861–1871 .	−1,138,000	—	—
Germany: Figures not available .	—	No record	—
France: Figures not available .	—	—	No record
U.K.: Ten years, 1871–1881 .	−918,000	—	—
Germany: Nine years, 1871–1880	—	−701,000	—
France: 9½ years, 1872–1881 .	—	—	+461,000
U.K.: Ten years, 1881–1891 .	−1,556,000	—	—
Germany: Ten years, 1880–1890	—	−1,810,000	—
France: Ten years, 1881–1891 .	—	—	+133,000
U.K.: Ten years, 1891–1901 .	−576,000	—	—
Germany: Ten years, 1890–1900	—	−354,000	—
France: Ten years, 1891–1901 .	—	—	+357,000
U.K.: No later record by this method	No record	—	—
Germany: Five years, 1900–1905	—	+52,000	—
France: Five years, 1901–1906 .	—	—	−35,000

F: AVERAGE ANNUAL LOSS OR GAIN BY MIGRATION IN THE PERIODS NAMED

Period	By United Kingdom	By German Empire	By France
Nineteenth Century:			
In the Sixties . .	−114,000	No record	No record
In the Seventies . .	− 92,000	− 78,000	+46,000
In the Eighties . .	−156,000	−181,000	+13,000
In the Nineties .	− 58,000	− 35,000	+36,000
Twentieth Century:			
First five years . .	No record yet by this method, but about −100,000	+ 10,000	− 7,000

there is unfortunately no certainty that even our slight rate of gain of population in 1911 will be maintained during the next ten years.

Is there any good reason why the British population should either be stationary or falling? Is the nation economically overcrowded?

The answer to these questions is a very plain one. The United Kingdom possesses, in one of the richest coal areas of the world, one of the greatest magnets for population known to economic science. By virtue of her coal supply, which still ranks next to that of the United States in magnitude and cheapness of production, the United Kingdom can easily sustain a population very much greater than she now possesses. Practical proof of this is afforded by the fact that Belgium, another country which bases industry upon coal, has a population of 590 to the square mile, at which rate the United Kingdom would have about 71,000,000 people instead of the 45,000,000 she now possesses. With the possession of one of the three greatest coal supplies in the world, and with her coal placed near to tide-water, so that materials can be imported to be economically worked upon at points most conveniently situated for trade with the world's markets, there is no good reason why the United Kingdom should not sustain two or three times as many people as she now finds work for. "Over-crowding" is not in question. Populated at the Belgian rate, the United Kingdom would contain fourteen million families, and to house fourteen million families at the Garden City rate of six families to the acre, would absorb but about two and a-quarter million acres of the seventy-seven million acres of United Kingdom area. The prime factor in the case is not area, but the possession of coal, and it is for the nation very seriously to ask itself why it cannot hold its natural increase of population in spite of its good gift of coal.

The colonies are advertising for our people, and getting them. What are we doing to advertise the natural advantages of the United Kingdom to those who inhabit it?

It is to be feared that the great bulk of our working population is quite unconscious that the United Kingdom possesses economic advantages superior to those of the prairie of the great North-West. What do they know of the England that might be who only know the England that is? England began to work her coal on a large scale when she was cursed with the dogma of the right of every man to do what he liked with his own. Our industrial centres broke out like sores upon the green garden that was England, and still to-day the British manufacturing town remains a place from which every element of beauty is banished, and which a man who gets knowledge must needs desire to leave.

I confess that again and again as I visit our industrial districts I find it hard to believe that people can be content to live in them. Can we wonder if, when the imagination of the inhabitants of places like Hull, or Glasgow, or Manchester, or Cardiff, or Accrington, is touched by the promise of life in such forms as is pictured by Colonial emigration agencies, there is bred in many a fierce desire for change? Can we marvel at wholesale emigration when we reflect that the sordid life of our mean streets is embittered by unemployment and by a growing class consciousness? It is surely not of much use to demonstrate to a half-employed labourer that he is a proud citizen of a country which possesses in almost unique measure the greatest spring of modern industrial wealth, while experience teaches him that he is a mere 'hand,' valued at a poor wage when his work is wanted, and to be thrown on the social scrap-heap as soon as he is not wanted. I can well believe that such a man, gazing at an Australian official advertisement, must feel it better to face the unknown than longer to endure the ills that he has.

And how does the manner of use we have made of our natural advantages appear to the educated mind? When our transport system is compared with that of Germany, one wonders how we could ever have been called a nation of shopkeepers. Germany, land-locked in Europe, has, by building up a national transport system based on economic railways and canals, not only obliterated her comparative geographical disadvantage, but placed her manufacturers and traders on a better footing than their British rivals. We have permitted our trade to be injured at every point, whether in the conveyance of imported materials or of native coal, or in the conveyance of foodstuffs, or in the conveyance for home use or export of manufactured articles, by the exactions of private railway companies who, through the indifference and lack of foresight of a long line of Parliaments, have been permitted to pile up a largely fictitious capitalisation of 1,300,000,000*l*., and who therefore find an extortionate monopoly profit of about 50,000,000*l*. a year inadequate to give satisfaction to their shareholders, or to attract fresh capital to the railway business. In the last five years the British railway system, expressed in miles of single track, has grown by only 900 miles, while that of the German national railways has grown by nearly 6000 miles. And now the Germans are proceeding through railway nationalisation to the national production and control of electrical power, which will lead, in the course of not many years, to such a re-creation of German industry and German social life as will make it possible for the German area economically to maintain at a much higher standard of life than at present a vastly increased population. Here *laissez faire* still rules in these and

any other things, and there seems to be no possibility of inducing
e British governing classes to comprehend the nature of the
forts which are needed to maintain Britain in her rank among
e nations. Even a national insurance system, proposed thirty
ears after Germany started hers, is bitterly opposed by the
educated ' classes, including two hundred Fellows of the Royal
ociety!

When population is talked of in this country it is usually in
onnexion with the conception that the point can be largely
ffected by efforts in connexion with agricultural operations and
nall holdings. The idea that the United Kingdom can retain its
opulation by what is sometimes called 'home colonisation' is a
undamental error. Even the creation of a hundred thousand new
nall holdings a year, for as many years as that was possible in
small country, would not seriously affect the problem we are
iscussing. Agriculture, it cannot too clearly be borne in mind,
ffers with the progress of science and engineering an ever-decreas-
ig field of employment. Those who disquiet themselves on that
ore disquiet themselves in vain. Everything possible should be
one to improve the status of agricultural work; but little can be
one in this connexion which would provide maintenance for the
atural increase of the people of the United Kingdom. That
roblem must be solved mainly through increased manufacturing
idustry, and fortunately we possess the means with proper
ganisation of expanding our manufacturing industry far beyond
present dimensions. The problem is one of a fuller economic
se of our natural advantages, combined with a livelier regard for
ie creation of healthy and beautiful urban and suburban dwelling-
aces for those occupied in industrial operations. It is largely
delusion that 'new' countries are better than old ones, and we
n easily make it more profitable for a man to remain near a
eat source of industrial power in the United Kingdom than to
ke up 160 desolate acres on the Western prairie. We have no
ht to stay a man from going to a land of opportunity or promise
ien we deny him opportunity here, but it is within our power
give opportunity in Britain as large as may honestly be offered
the greater part of the world.

L. G. Chiozza Money.

THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES

The parable of the Ten Talents is more than ever to the fore as a guiding principle in the ethics of modern Christendom. The great nations of the world—and with the exception of Japan all the great nations are Christian in religion—are scrutinising closely the title-deeds of weak or inefficient States both in regard to the right of these States to govern themselves without interference, and still more the claim of such States to exercise sway over undeveloped areas of the earth's surface. The parable of the Ten Talents is, in fact, one of the truest and most vital of pronouncements. It is the voice of Nature herself, and was in force as a principle before man himself came into existence. It is another statement of the Law of Evolution, the survival and endowment of the fittest. The larger-brained, more finely-developed lion and tiger took the place of the worn-out, unadaptable sabre-toothed machairodonts, the Taurine ox has replaced the bison, the white man of Caucasian type has exterminated the man of Neanderthal and other and later races of less perfect type. Repeatedly Europe has been regenerated by the Germanic peoples. A Gothic King of Leon, with the help of a Burgundian prince and a number of French adventurers, created the Portuguese nation out of an amalgam of degenerated Romanised Iberians and Goths, and exhausted Moors. Although other principles of Christianity counteract the too-ruthless application of the parable of the Ten Talents and bring about a desire (especially amongst the peoples of composite type known as Anglo-Saxons) to see fair play and to give every man and every nation a chance to do better after a lapse into doing very badly, still, now and again in each century, there is a period in which progressive nationalities take a survey of the world and see where they may extend their influence and commerce at the expense of some weaker and perhaps decaying Power. However we may stop to regret the application of these principles of evolution in regard to individuals, tribes or nations despoiled of their livelihood or possessions by the trend of circumstances, we cannot but admit that this perpetual 'taking stock' of the world's affairs, this impingement of one people on another, this spirit of unceasing rivalry does tend to improve mankind as a whole. It prevents

the isolation and stagnation of peoples, and effects more and more the unification of the human species.

Portugal now lies on the surgeon's table of the European Areopagus. She is being examined very minutely—more especially in regard to her outlying members—to see whether she possesses the necessary vitality to survive the present crisis in her affairs as a valid people really fitted to administer colonial possessions. Should the decision of one at least amongst the members of the council of great nations be adverse to the Portuguese appeal for a fresh chance, for another long period of patience during which the westernmost country of Europe may attempt—without money of her own and with a population not larger than that of London and its suburbs—to administer some 803,000 square miles of territory in Africa and Asia, then, whether the result is pleasing or displeasing to Great Britain and her allies, we shall see some inevitable change occur in the flag flying over Portuguese Africa, Malaysia, and India; or those regions, though still administered by Portugal, will be placed under radically different conditions in regard to their local self-government, their fiscal freedom from the metropolis, and tariff treatment of foreign commerce.

This being the case, it is highly necessary that the British public should thoroughly understand the position of Portugal in regard to her colonies at the present day, and on that understanding frame, or at any rate consent to the framing of, a logical foreign policy in regard to them.

In the somewhat careless language of the Press, and even of diplomacy, amongst the Portuguese colonies are included islands at no very great distance from Portugal which are really regarded by the Portuguese as integral parts of the mother State. Of such are the Azores Archipelago, at an average distance of a thousand miles due west of the Portuguese coast, a third of the way across the Atlantic towards America. At a little less distance from Portugal to the south-west lies the beautiful island of Madeira, with some adjacent islets of no great importance. Much farther away, within the Tropics and also in the Atlantic Ocean, is the Cape Verde Archipelago, at an average distance of about three hundred miles from the African continent. The Azores have a population of about 257,000, descended from a mixture of Portuguese and Flemish settlers, the Portuguese element predominating, with, however, a slight intermixture of other stocks—Anglo-Saxon, Negroid and Norman French. These beautiful Azores Islands are volcanic, very fertile (for the most part), and produce some of the best oranges in the world. Strategically, of course, they occupy a most important position in regard to any naval war in the Atlantic. Their inhabitants are as much Portuguese as the natives of Portugal herself, are quite content to

remain under the Portuguese flag, and their transference to that of any other Power would excite a world-war which would involve the United States as well as the Western Powers of Europe. Madeira is also emphatically Portuguese in regard to race and language. It is an earthly paradise, with scarcely a drawback, except that its coasts do not offer any one very good harbour. It is not, for example, nearly as capable of furnishing a good coaling-station as are the Canary Islands, farther to the south. If only the island were made independent, fiscally, of the metropolis—that is to say, allowed to have its own budget and its own scale of Customs duties and in return expect no subsidy from the mother country—it would be one of the most prosperous islands in the world, and the chosen resort during the winter months of a very large population of tourists and health-seekers on account of the extraordinary beauty of its scenery, its delicious climate, and its capability of growing almost all tropical products, though it lies ten degrees to the north of the actual Tropic. Its progress in many directions has been arrested for centuries by the fatuous behaviour of the Portuguese metropolitan Government, which has always carried out at Madeira a dog-in-the-manger policy. Sooner than see other European nations benefit by the development of Madeira it has always striven to alienate foreign settlement and foreign commerce as much as possible by its fiscal regulations. Of course, in pursuing this policy the Portuguese have had the excuse that they were a very weak nation, and that if Maderia had home rule and became more intimate with other nations than with Portugal itself, such a valuable possession might pass altogether out of the Portuguese dominions.

With regard to the Cape Verde Archipelago, it is chiefly known to British travellers because it contains the small island of St. Vincent, where there is a British cable-station, and where ships bound for South America frequently call. The town of St. Vincent, indeed, strikes the passing traveller as being more English than Portuguese. Several of the Cape Verde Islands are of fair size, such as St. Antão (Antonio), and are capable of producing a good many things of value to commerce. Others are sterile. Yet on account of the fish that swarm about their shores, and from the fact that the whole archipelago is peopled by an industrious Negroid race,[1] they are a valuable possession, to say nothing of the strategical position they occupy in the eastern Atlantic. But so far as common fairness is concerned, there would be no more right in detaching this archipelago from the

[1] 128,000; of whom only 4000 are white. The coloured people of the Cape Verdes (who, of course, are Christians) are civilised, speak nothing but Portuguese or English, and are in increasing request as sober, hard-working employés in West Africa.

rule of Portugal than in severing the Channel Islands from Great Britain. It is far better that such a group should remain under the flag of a Power doomed by her very weakness to be neutral.

When we come to Portuguese Guinea the case is different. This is a territory about 14,000 square miles in extent, which is a large enclave in French Senegambia. It originated with the first starting of the slave trade by Portugal at the close of the fifteenth century. From this period onwards Portuguese—mostly men of bad character exiled from their own land—settled on the rivers between the Gambia and Sierra Leone, intermarried with the natives and traded with slaves. But whatever the Portuguese did in the way of establishment of direct sovereignty on the Gold Coast, at Hwida, on the Congo, and in Angola, they never seem to have founded any form of government in Portuguese Guinea—nothing, in fact, more than trading stations. Nevertheless, in 1870, when Great Britain was seeking to unite by a protectorate her colonies of the Gambia and Sierra Leone, the Portuguese put in a claim to Bolama, a minute island between the Bissagos Archipelago and the mainland. Bolama was first made famous by the attempt of British philanthropists in the latter part of the eighteenth century to found a kind of Liberia in this direction, a settlement for the establishment of freed slaves. Owing to the attacks of the interior natives and to the unhealthy climate this settlement was abandoned, but not apparently on account of any protests from the Portuguese Government. However, the case was submitted to arbitration, and was lost by Great Britain, and after the middle of the 'seventies of the last century the Portuguese definitely established themselves at Bolama, and had introduced a considerable amount of law and order on the island when I visited the place in 1883. Later on, by arrangement with France, Portuguese Guinea was mapped out as a territory of considerable size. There still, however, remained much that was almost unknown to the cartographer and naturalist, though it has just been fully explored by Captain Powell Cotton. Owing to lack of funds and distractions elsewhere the Portuguese have not pursued actively that development which struck me as very noteworthy in 1883. The natives of the region are truculent, and frequently oppose the Portuguese in arms; though some of them—freely or as deported malefactors—are employed as labourers for the São Thomé plantations. From time to time, through native turbulence, there arise frontier troubles with the French. As far as one can venture to be wise in other people's business, it would really seem as though the Portuguese Government would do well to consider any offer which might be made by the French Republic to purchase Portuguese Guinea.

Portugal gave up her shadowy protectorate over Dahomé

(S. João d'Ajudá) during the time of the great settlement of African affairs between 1884 and 1889; and her place there was taken by France. Consequently, after leaving Portuguese Guinea one has to steam eastwards a week or more before next encountering the Portuguese flag. This is hoisted over two small islands of the Gulf of Guinea—Principe and São Thomé—at no very great distance from the mainland of the Cameroons. Principe is the smaller of the two—about 42 square miles in area. It has an extremely rich soil, but unhealthy conditions of life, recently made worse by the introduction of sleeping sickness. Its fantastic sugar-loaf mountains, rising to something between two and three thousand feet, are clothed to their summits with dense forests. A visit to this lovely but unhealthy island steeps one in melancholy. In the days of the slave trade, and in the times when cane-sugar was of great value, it was extremely prosperous. The Portuguese raised handsome buildings of stone—churches, palaces, barracks—which are now in ruins and half concealed in some of the most extravagant tropical jungle one can behold, for in Principe and São Thomé the traveller may see in splendour of vegetation the culmination of Equatorial Africa. Much of the ill-health of the island is due to lack of drainage, and to this excessive growth of vegetation, which harbours disease-carrying myriads of mosquitoes and tsetse flies. The last-named have recently inoculated the negroes of Principe with the dreaded sleeping sickness. The restoration of Principe to a new prosperity and to fairly healthful conditions is mainly a matter of money, including a war of extermination against *Glossina palpalis*, the local tsetse, which does not penetrate far into the interior. The rich volcanic soil of Principe would seem to be singularly well adapted to the growth of the finest kind of cacao. The cultivation of cacao (the bean from which chocolate and cocoa are made) has made the recent fame of São Thomé. São Thomé is an earthly paradise, for whites as well as for blacks, though the regions along the seashore (partly owing to defective sanitation) are not healthy for Europeans. It is an island of about four hundred square miles in area, very mountainous, rising in places to over 7000 feet. About 2000 feet above sea-level and upwards begin the plantations of cacao, cinchona, coffee, and other products, which have been established by the Portuguese since the middle of the nineteenth century,[3] and which as regards an incentive to commerce have taken the place of the slave trade, from which São Thomé derived its former prosperity. A visit to some of these Portuguese plantations is one of the most complete surprises and delightful episodes which can occur in a West-African tour. On the back of a horse or a mule (the island is free

[3] Cacao was first introduced from Brazil in 1822.

from the tsetse fly), or even by carriage along well-made roads (to say nothing of the new railway), the traveller ascends through forest of equatorial splendour till he reaches the region of tree-ferns, and here is that crisp feeling in the air at nights, that welcome tang of cold, which gives back the sleep and delight in a warm bed to the body jaded with unrefreshing nights of dank heat —for São Thomé, though under the Equator, is no warmer than Madeira. Here he will see Portuguese ladies with fresh complexions, and it may even be (if they have come from the north of Portugal) golden hair and blue eyes. Their husbands are equally creditable specimens—physically speaking—of the mixed Lusitanian types. Their comfortable, well-furnished houses may quite possibly contain fireplaces, in which in the evening burns a welcome log-fire. The plantations for the most part are superbly kept, and the whole island bears the unmistakable impress of prosperity and the civilised amenities which come with commercial success. But, of course, there rests on this development the slur, the drawback, that it has been achieved largely by methods of which the European conscience cannot approve.

Principe wholly and São Thomé partially became ruined, first, by the suppression of the slave trade, and secondly, by the abolition in 1878 of slavery within the Portuguese dominions. There was a brief pause in which the bankrupt merchants and settlers who remained in these regions and did not emigrate to Brazil, looked about in vain for cheap unskilled labour to cultivate their sugar, cacao, coffee, and pineapples. It is true that both islands—and especially São Thomé—contained a fairly large negro population, descended from slaves imported during three centuries, or from the negro crews of slave-ships shipwrecked on the coasts. But in São Thomé more especially the greater part of this population had quitted the vicinity of the Portuguese settlements to resume a semi-savage existence in the forests and on such of the island-coasts as were far away from safe landing-places, and thus out of reach of ships. Such, for example, are—or were—the Angolares of São Thomé, a warlike negro race descended from 200 natives of Angola who reached the island in a wrecked ship 368 years ago. These people have become, like the Bush negroes in former times of Dutch Guiana and the Maroon negroes of the British West Indies, an independent race with a strong dislike and distrust of the white man.[3] The Portuguese found it impossible to coerce the runaway negroes of São Thomé and Principe into work of any kind, the difficulty being not merely one of

[3] The Angolares occupied the southern part of the island, and though frequently announced as 'conquered,' remained independent till a few years ago, when a remarkable Portuguese doctor, Matheus de Sampaio, settled among them and won them over by kindness of treatment.

physical courage (which might have been counteracted by the European's superior weapons), but the impenetrability of the dense forests and jungles in which the black people lived; and where they made such plantations as were necessary to supply their requirements in vegetable-food, living otherwise on sea fish, wild birds, and on the goats, fowls, and pigs which had somehow been snatched from the Portuguese settlements and afterwards bred freely in the negro villages. Probably this difficulty might have been overcome if there had existed in these islands, before the advent of such men as Matheus de Sampaio, a Portuguese planter, merchant or official with strength of character and a rigid belief in honesty of principles. But such negroes as ventured to accept the lure of well-paid employment offered to them found themselves either enslaved anew or cheated out of their wages.

Not many years elapsed, however, before the Portuguese Government discovered a way out of the difficulty here, as in East Africa. Slavery and the slave trade could not be re-instituted under the watchful eye of the British Government so far as actual names went, but a very good imitation of it (as had already been discovered by British-Australian planters in the Pacific Islands and Queensland) could be made by a system of forced apprenticeship. In 1882, when travelling with the Earl of Mayo through the southern parts of Angola, I found myself a witness unconsciously to the way in which the labour difficulties of São Thomé were being met. Portuguese traders were reviving or creating a brisk trade in slaves with the powerful chiefs of that region. The slaves, however, were 'redeemed,' not purchased, and having been redeemed they were apprenticed for long terms to the agents of the São Thomé planters. This system proving a success, as the Portuguese power in Angola increased after the middle 'eighties, large numbers of natives were captured in wars which were undertaken to subdue or chastise rebellious chiefs, and these captives likewise were apprenticed with forms and ceremonies exhaling (in words) an intelligent philanthropy that was theoretically most admirable. Thus São Thomé received the labour it required at relatively cheap rates. But the apprentices seldom or never returned to their native land, seldom or never received any emolument for their services. Otherwise, they were admirably treated. Highly qualified doctors were attached to each large plantation or group of plantations, the houses or barracks in which the apprentices were lodged were comfortable and clean, the men were encouraged to marry and the women to bear children, and the food given to them was of excellent quality. They had no excessive hours of work, and the Sunday was a great holiday. Some attempt was made to Christianise and educate them, and everything was done to create merriment and light-heartedness, save the precious gift

of freedom. Lord Mayo, on his return from his tour through Southern Angola and Northern Ovampoland, was one of the first unofficial persons to call attention to these proceedings, though the British Consuls on the coast had not failed to do so earlier still. Probably their reports were published in Blue-books, but if so they attracted little attention. But at last the matter was taken up, more especially by Quaker merchants engaged in the cacao trade. The evils of the apprenticeship system, moreover, were also strenuously attacked by the British Baptist missionaries in Western Congoland, and by several German explorers who were witnesses of slave raids instigated or undertaken by the Portuguese in the borderlands of Angola and the Belgian Congo.[4]

To some extent since the establishment of the Portuguese Republic, steps have been taken to put a stop to a practice which has desolated so much of Southern Angola to the profit of the São Thomé planters. The deplorable thing about the whole business is, that if Angola had been rightly governed during the past three centuries there would be no difficulty in obtaining labour thence or from the Lower Congo for the development of the magnificent resources in climate and soil of São Thomé, and in bringing health and prosperity to Principe. Likewise, if the Portuguese Government had been other than it was for three centuries, such an island as São Thomé should have been colonised not by negroes but by white Portuguese, by peasants of the same type as that which has provided the population of Madeira and the Azores, the bulk of the Brazilians, and the hard-working, prosperous Portuguese agriculturists in British Guiana, the Windward Islands, the Bermudas, and Hawaii. And if only really able officials, and not mere political place-holders, could be sent out to administer Portuguese Congo and Angola, and their administration could instil real confidence into the large negro populations of those districts, São Thomé and Principe would get all the free labour they wanted if the planters offered good wages and reasonably short contracts—three years at most. The negroes of South-West Africa are by no means lacking in enterprise. Congo natives in search of lucrative employment now find their way as far afield as Liberia. The celebrated Kru boys of Liberia, implicitly trusting to the good faith of British, German, and Dutch merchants or officials, go by sea as much as two thousand miles away from

[4] Full treatment of this subject is given in my book *George Grenfell and the Congo.* And as regards the problem of São Thomé, two weeks which have recently appeared deserve to be read: *Labour in Portuguese West Africa*, by Mr. W. A. Cadbury, and *A Mão d'obra em São Thomé e Principe* (*Labour in São Thomé and Principe*), by Senhor Francisco Mantero (Lisbon, 1910). Mr. Cadbury's book, though it emphasises the English point of view, is very fair. Senhor Mantero's well-illustrated work presents the Portuguese point of view from too partial a standpoint, but is full of information.

their homes, certain of getting their wages and being repatriated punctually at the date agreed upon.

There is one persistent delusion concerning the large Portuguese colonies in East and West Africa and in Asia, which requires to be dispelled, not only from the minds of European geographers and politicians, but still more from amongst the Portuguese themselves: and that is, that these colonies have not only been as widely extended in former times as they are now, but were even anciently far more extensive, till they were reduced by the rapacity of England. This is an altogether incorrect assumption. As regards Great Britain, she may be said—more unconsciously than consciously—to have done much during the last sixty years to create a Portuguese empire beyond the seas. She has never robbed Portugal (as far as I can ascertain) of one square mile of land over which the Portuguese Government ever exercised any sway. It is Holland that from 1598 onwards has been the continual attacker of the Portuguese dominions. This attitude of the Dutch was begun at a time when the Crown of Portugal was merged in the Crown of Spain, and as part of their general campaign against the tyranny of that sovereignty the Dutch did their best to oust the Portuguese from Brazil, just as they took the Guianas from Spain. They forced the Portuguese to evacuate the Congo in the seventeenth century, and endeavoured to take their place there, being defeated, however, by the warlike attitude of the natives in that region. At one time they had conquered nearly the whole of Northern Angola, which was only won back from them by the dogged bravery of the Portuguese. Similarly, they attempted to take Delagoa Bay and Mozambique away from Portuguese occupation. Most of all, they abstracted from Portugal the Island of Ceylon and the Settlement of Malacca, they drove the Portuguese out of Java and Sumatra, and all the Malay Islands except Flores and Timor. In 1859 they compelled the Portuguese to give up their claims to settlement on the Island of Flores, and they have since done their best to cut down as much as possible the Portuguese claims to the northern two-thirds of the Island of Timor. I am not blaming the Dutch, who acted on the general principle that they were stronger than the Portuguese, and that they came, in some sense, as the avenger of wrongs inflicted on the natives by the Portuguese. But the fact remains that the medieval Empire of Portugal was disintegrated by Holland and not by Britain. But for the rise of the British power in India and its frequent alliance with the Crown of Portugal, the Dutch in course of time would have driven the Portuguese out of India as completely as they have expelled them—as a governing-power—from Malaysia.

At the beginning of the 'seventies of the last century the

interior frontiers of the Portuguese possessions in East and West Africa were undefined and unoccupied. Portugal had long since abandoned her sixteenth-century sovereignty over the Kingdom of Kongo, and only claimed the coast of Angola from Ambriz to Cape Frio, which point is now in German South-West Africa.[4] Nevertheless it was frequently assumed (on the strength of a few explorations in former times) that the Portuguese power stretched right across the continent to Mozambique. As regards actual facts, however, it only exercised a control over the coast of Angola from Ambriz in the north to the Kwanza River in the south, and beyond the Kwanza River the Portuguese held a few isolated posts, notably Benguela and Mossamedes. The remainder of the country was independent and under powerful native chiefs, who intermittently allowed Portuguese half-caste traders to proceed inland to the Kwango River. In East Africa the Portuguese occupancy of a post on the northern shore of Delagoa Bay, which had occurred at intervals for about 150 years, had been abandoned. There were perhaps small forts and trading stations occupied at Inhambane and Sofala, but south of the Zambezi Portuguese power was scarcely visible as a ruling force, the land being really controlled by Zulu and bastard Zulu tribes, and, to a slight extent, by slave-trading Swahili Arabs. Thanks to the impetus given by Dr. Livingstone, Portugal had strengthened her occupancy of Tete and Sena on the Zambezi, but owing to native rebellions had been unable to occupy the old Jesuit mission post of Zumbo. When Livingstone and Kirk came on the scene it was at least thirty years since even a Portuguese trader in slaves or ivory had seen the shores of Lake Nyasa. There was a strong Portuguese station at Quelimane on the northern extremity of the Zambezi delta, but no sign of Portuguese power in the warlike Angoshe country farther north; nor until the Island of Mozambique was reached. In the 'seventies of the nineteenth century the Portuguese held Mozambique, as they had done (with intervals of Dutch occupation) since the beginning of the sixteenth century, but although they occupied the tiny island they exercised no power whatever over the adjoining mainland, being repelled perpetually by the warlike Muhammadan Makua tribes. North of Mozambique there was practically no government station to be seen till the traveller reached the island of Ibo. In short, forty years ago the Portuguese hold over East Africa was limited to the occupancy of forts at Inhambane, Sofala, Sena, Tete, Quelimane, Mozambique, and Ibo, and between these posts it was actually less safe for a

[4] All Portuguese rights to the coast south of the Kunene River, *i.e.* about Cape Frio, were forcibly disregarded by the Germans in 1885, just as Germany took from Portugal in 1891 Tungi Bay in East Africa.

Portuguese merchant or explorer to travel than it was for an Englishman or a German; so that the entire exploration of these regions from 1815 onwards was being done by Germans and Englishmen.

The same might be said, with some exceptions after 1877, of the southern half of Angola, adding to the Germans and the English one or two Brazilians and the noteworthy American and French missionaries.

Under the impetus given by England to geographical exploration, the Portuguese awoke to the need for knowing more about their territories in the southern half of Africa, and the expeditions under Serpa Pinto, Capello, and Ivens certainly did much to increase our knowledge of these regions and to revive Portuguese political claims. But the great impetus to the development of Southern Angola came from an invasion of that region by the 'trek' Boers in 1878-80. A large body of feckless, ignorant, irresponsible, brave, hard-working Boers reached the confines of Angola after years of wandering over the Kalahari Desert and Ovampoland. They established themselves on the cool highlands of Wila with their wives and children, their cattle, their waggons, horses, and farming implements. If the Portuguese were not to see this region pass from under their rule they were obliged to meet these 'trek' Boers half-way. From this arise a remarkable opening up of the Hinterland of Mossamedes. In the same way, the interest aroused by the British in the exploration of the Congo led to the acquisition by Portugal (through the good offices of a European Conference) of the Western Congo, while a little later on the definition of the British missionary-trading-and-political settlements in South-Central Africa led to the assignment to Portugal of a vast dominion represented to-day by the territories of Nyasa, Mozambique, Zambezia, and that region south of the Zambezi which is divided into the districts of Lourenço Marquez and Inhambane, and the Mozambique Company's concession.[1]

In India, so far from Great Britain having ousted the Portuguese, she has in the course of the last 150 years enabled Portugal to define and secure a much larger amount of land round about Goa than she previously owned, and has preserved for Portugal the island of Diu and the fort of Damão, which would otherwise have been retaken by the Mahrattas; while the good offices of Britain have been once or twice quietly employed to restrain the too-eager Hollanders from pushing Portugal altogether out of Timor, or the Chinese from capturing Macao.

What is to be the future of the Portuguese colonies, consis-

[1] When the Chartered Company to administer South-East Africa was brought into existence in 1894, it received the very silly name of 'Moçambique,' being in reality situated some 500 miles south of the region known as Mozambique, and separated from it by the Zambezi.

tent with the conscientious treatment of Portugal by the Great European Powers? The alienation from the Portuguese State of the Azores, Madeira, and the Cape Verde Islands would be—if enforced by Europe—an act of unwarrantable brutality, and one which is wholly unnecessary in the general interests of the world. But in regard to Portuguese Guinea it is of very little use to the country which claims it, but which has done nothing whatever to develop it except for the establishment of a town and Customs station at Bolama. The Portuguese Republic would be wise if it pocketed feelings of silly pride and sold this territory to France. In regard to the islands of Principe and São Thomé there would be no justification in compelling Portugal to part with these, but she must be constrained to adopt measures which shall no longer employ slave labour in disguise to develop their resources. As to Angola, which has about it the makings of a smaller Brazil, what this region wants is a reasonable measure of self-government—a self-government in which the more prominent native chiefs shall be directly interested, and which shall abolish any differential tariff. The local government of Angola should be permitted (as all British colonies are, more or less) to frame its own Customs tariff to suit its own interests, under the one stipulation that no differential or specially favourable treatment shall be accorded to any importer, whether he be Portuguese or the native of any other State. The same regimen should be imposed on those portions of Portuguese East Africa which are to be directly governed by Portugal. But in these last-named regions we find ourselves brought into conflict with many difficult questions.

It is doubtful whether Portugal possesses the necessary resources in men and capital ever to make any great national use of South-East Africa. In Lourenço Marquez (Delagoa Bay) and Inhambane Portugal is simply holding the natural ports of the Transvaal, and however ably she may govern these she will be just as frequent a source of friction and hindrance here as Italy would be to Austria if she were allowed to occupy Trieste and Istria. Here, again, one would seem to see a direction in which without any real injury to national interest Portugal might conclude a lucrative bargain with United South Africa. North of Inhambane comes the large region which is the coast-belt of Southern Rhodesia, and which has been financed, developed, and to a great extent administered by a chartered company—the Mozambique Company — during the last sixteen or seventeen years. Here we have the spectacle of English, French, and Belgian money being used (and subjects being employed) to develop a region which, so far as geography goes, was practically unmapped and unknown by the Portuguese, if we except the journeys of their first explorers in the sixteenth century. By the arrangements of

the charter all the money and much of the intelligence needed to develop this region come from the countries of North-Western Europe, but the executive and judicial officials are Portuguese, the first of whom are paid by the Chartered Company and the second by Portugal herself. The result of this arrangement is friction between these two sets of Portuguese officials; for those who are paid by the Company receive their (high) salaries with unfailing regularity, and are treated as scrupulously as they would be if they were British or French officials; while those who depend on the mother country for their emoluments not only receive small pay, but occasionally fail to get this with punctuality. Consequently there arise jealousy and conflicting policies between executive and judiciary, and the resultant block to administration reduces the other white men working in the country to a mental condition in which anger alternates with despair. Moreover—unhappily—Portugal, as a colonising Power, has until recently been without a conscience. Though the Portuguese are kindly by nature and are often popular with the backward peoples, they never for a moment consider the interests of the races they govern. In past times they carried on an unblushing slave trade; and in the present day, provided their traders and officials can make a little profit, they willingly allow whole native tribes to become degraded and decimated by alcohol. A good deal of the coast territories under the Mozambique Company are injured by the disgraceful abuse on the part of certain Portuguese concessionnaires of the right to distil and retail rum made from the sugar-cane, which grows so freely here. All the time that Dutch and English United South Africa is steadily pushing ahead with its anti-alcohol propaganda and endeavouring to keep distilled spirits from the millions of Bantu people under its control, these Portuguese concessionnaires in Gorongoza and elsewhere are flooding South-East Africa with a particularly bad form of rum. This is smuggled into Southern Rhodesia and the Transvaal, and is doing a great deal of harm amongst the natives. Similarly, the American and French missionaries complain of the distillation of spirits from sugar in Angola, and the devastating effects of bad alcohol in that region. The northern part of Portuguese East Africa north of the Zambezi is only saved from a similar evil by the majority of the inhabitants belonging to the Muhammadan faith, a religion which, with all its drawbacks, is praiseworthy for its thirteen hundred years' fight against alcohol.

There are questions connected with the native tribes which I have not space to detail, but which would make it very desirable in the interests of such tribes, as well as of European commerce, that Portuguese Nyasaland and the Ibo province should be sold by Portugal to the German Empire, to form part henceforth of

German East Africa. Portugal might retain, for her own exploitation on right lines, the large remaining province of Mozambique proper from the Lucio as far south as Quelimane, disposing by sale to the British Empire of inner Zambezia and South-East Africa. The alternative to such proceedings, and the course which should be adopted *in any case* in the Portuguese as well as the French colonies (if an important German grievance is to be removed), would be *the abolition of all differential* duties in the Customs tariff. Such differential duties exist nowhere in the German colonies, in the Indian Empire, or the Crown Colonies of Great Britain, and the present writer is certainly not one who favours their continuance even in the tariffs of the Daughter Nations.

We hear a great deal of Portuguese pride forbidding Portugal to do this and that, under a republic as under a monarchy. But this pride is based on that ignorance that still keeps the Portuguese nation under its cruel yoke, a nation of which some 70 per cent. amongst its people are unable to read and write. There is no reason whatever why Portugal should withdraw from her Asiatic possessions, which are quite manageable with her existing means, especially with the British Empire as her friend and ally. But a portion of the Portuguese dominions in Africa should be sold or leased at a fair valuation, and the proceeds be most carefully employed by the Portuguese Government in developing the resources of Portugal itself, a land, with its annectant islands, of 35,500 square miles, extraordinarily blessed by Nature and yet possessing a population which scarcely reaches the total of London and its suburbs. Even if the Portuguese sold Guinea to the French; the Congo province and North Mozambique (Ibo) to the Germans; Zambezia, Beira and Delagoa Bay to the British, they would still remain the recognised and effective rulers of an empire of 500,000 square miles, a much larger area than they actually possessed in 1870; while, in addition, they should have acquired a fund which would suffice to build a network of light railways over Portugal itself and enable that land to become the greatest fruit-producing region of Europe.

H. H. Johnston.

INHERITANCE OF ACQUIRED CHARACTERS

THEORETICAL DIFFICULTIES

I

THE facility with which animals and plants vary under the direct action of altered surroundings, both in their specific and secondary features, has been proved lately by a vast amount of observations and experiments. The forms of animals, their colour, their skin, their skeletons, all their organs, and their habits are easily modified as soon as the animal's food and the general conditions of its existence and its biological surroundings are altered. The same is true of plants, even to a still greater extent. So many striking facts have been accumulated lately in this direction that the chief interest of such researches is now to study the inner physiological and anatomical modifications which take place in the tissues under the influence of changing surroundings. The reason why the modifications so well answer in most cases the new requirements as to represent adaptations is what now chiefly interests the biologist. The study of variation and evolution is thus tending more and more to become a physiological problem. These were the points I dealt with in my previous articles on 'The Direct Action of Surroundings upon Plants and Animals.' [1]

An important question arises, however, in connexion with all similar researches. Are the modifications of the individuals transmitted, entirely or partially, to their offspring? Even if we see that a modification produced in some individuals reappears in their descendants, are we sure that it is not produced anew in each generation? And, supposing it is inherited, will it continue to appear for some time, even though the offspring be taken back to the old surroundings?

Let us take, for instance, the modifications which Viré obtained in some crustaceans after he had transferred them from open rivers and ponds to a laboratory established in the darkness of the Paris catacombs.[2] After a few months' stay in the darkness the eyes of

[1] *Nineteenth Century and After*, July, November and December 1910.
[2] See *Nineteenth Century and After*, November 1910, p. 861.

these little animals, being used no more, were atrophied, while their organs of touch and smell, chiefly used in the dark surroundings, took a rapid development. An important adaptation to new conditions of life, formerly explained by natural selection acting upon accidental congenital variations, was thus accomplished by the surroundings themselves within the individual's life. However, before we recognise in the direct action of environment a powerful factor of the evolution of new species, it must be known whether the adaptations just mentioned, or at least an increasing disposition for acquiring them, are transmitted to the next generation of crustaceans born in the catacombs? And this is what we have not yet learned *from direct experiments*.

The same question must be asked concerning plants taken from the plains of Middle Europe to Alpine, maritime, or desert surroundings. They rapidly acquire in their new environment the anatomical structure and the forms characteristic for Alpine, maritime, or desert plants.[3] But are these new forms and structure inherited? And, if so, how long will the newly acquired characters last after the plant has been taken back to its old environment?

Unfortunately, the replies to these questions obtained till now by experiments are not quite clear. And yet the questions are most important. For, if characters acquired by individuals under the influence of a new environment and new habits are inheritable, then the whole problem of evolution is immensely simplified. Variation becomes the beginning of evolution, and the function of natural selection is quite comprehensible. Selection has not to *increase*, or to *accentuate* a variation; it has only to weed out those individuals which are not capable of varying rapidly enough in accordance with the new requirements. Those crustaceans whose organs of smell and touch do not develop rapidly enough in an underground river, those plants the tissues of which do not rapidly increase their powers of assimilation in an Alpine climate perish, while those which vary in the proper direction with a sufficient rapidity survive. Nothing is thus expected from natural selection which it could not accomplish.

Darwin and his contemporaries—Herbert Spencer, Haeckel, Moritz Wagner, Huxley, and a host of practical biologists—did not doubt of the inheritance of acquired characters whenever they substantially affect the inner structure of a plant or an animal.[4] It was only after Darwin's death, in the years 1883-1887, that doubts were raised upon this point, especially by the Freiburg professor of entomology, A. Weismann.

[3] See *Nineteenth Century and After*, July 1910.

[4] See, for instance, the quotations in point given by Herbert Spencer from Darwin's works, in *Nature*, li. 414.

A naturalist accustomed to rely upon the experimental method would be disposed to think that some decisive experiments proving the non-transmission of acquired characters were made about that time. But there was nothing of the sort, and up till now we are waiting in vain for such experiments.[5] True, that Weismann announced in 1888 that he had clipped the tails of some twelve to fifteen white mice for five generations, but had obtained no tailless mice; nor had he noticed any tendency towards a shortening of the tails.[6] Later on he extended his experiment to twenty-two generations, and came to the same negative result.[7] Cope and Rosenthal experimenting on mice, and Ritzema on mice and rats, came to the same conclusion.[8] We may thus take as granted that a superficial mutilation, such as the clipping of the tails of mice (which were left to breed a few weeks after their birth), is not inherited.

But this was known long since. Darwin, who had studied with his usual carefulness the experience of the breeders concerning the cutting of the tails in certain breeds of sheep, and of ears in dogs, came long ago to the conclusion that 'a part of an organ may be removed during several successive generations, and if the operation be not followed by disease, the lost part reappears in the offspring.'[9] But, of course, he did not consider the non-inheritance of superficial mutilations as an argument against the hereditary transmission of acquired characters. In fact, there are many reasons why the *absence* of a tail or a digit has little chance of being transmitted: one of them being, as suggested by Professor Nussbaum, that 'the young embryo would promptly regenerate its missing portion.'[10]

On the other side, in conformity with the just-mentioned views of Darwin, when Professor Brown-Séquard studied the physio-

[5] 'The obligation to give the proof lies with the Lamarckians, who believe in the transmission,'—we are told sometimes by English anti-Lamarckians. But this attitude, not unfrequent in law courts, is certainly not that of men of science. If Darwin were still among us he surely would have begun long ago a series of well-planned experiments to test a statement so fundamental for the theory of evolution.

[6] 'The Supposed Transmission of Mutilations,' in *Essays upon Heredity and Kindred Biological Problems* (Oxford, 1891, 2nd edition), i. 444-445.

[7] *Vorträge übér die Descendenztheorie* (2nd edition: Jena, 1904), ii. 56.

[8] For an examination of all the cases in point, see Prof. J. Arthur Thomson's capital work, *Heredity* (London, 1898), pp. 224-225. Contradictory experiments were once mentioned in an American report, but nothing more was heard of them.

[9] *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication* (2nd edition, 1899), ii. 391.

[10] *Die Vererbung erworbener Eigenschaften*, 1903, quoted by Prof. Th. H. Morgan in his capital work, *Experimental Zoology* (New York: 1907), p. 57. The long-continued inheritance of a part which has been removed during many generations is even not an argument against the Pangenesis hypothesis, 'for gemmules formerly derived from the part are multiplied and transmitted from generation to generation.' (Darwin's *Variation*, ii. 392.)

logical effects of more serious lesions, he found that these effects were transmitted; and his experiments were confirmed later on by Romanes. With guinea-pigs, an injury made to the spinal cord or to the sciatic nerve provoked epilepsy, or at least a disposition for it; and in a number of cases this disposition was transmitted to the offspring. Otherwise epilepsy never appeared among the guinea-pigs bred in very large numbers by Brown-Séquard—not even among the individuals he had operated upon, but in a different way. The possibility of explaining an inherited disposition for epilepsy as a bacterial infection, which took place during the operation, is thus excluded. Several other results, due to other lesions, were also inherited. Altogether, these experiments were conducted so carefully, during a long succession of years, that the opinion which has prevailed among specialists is, that they really prove the hereditary transmission of certain abnormal states of different organs, provoked by certain lesions.[11]

II

If Weismann's experimental contribution to the question of inheritance of acquired characters was worthless, his critical revision of the whole subject was, on the contrary, very valuable.[12] Besides, Weismann gave a new interest to the whole matter under discussion by bringing forward an ingenious hypothesis of heredity, in defence of which he wrote quite a number of essays and books, always in a form both attractive and accessible to a large circle of readers.

It is evident that a discussion about the part played by environment in the evolution of organic beings ought never to have been made to depend upon our preferences for this or that hypothesis of heredity. It is the hypothesis of heredity which must be built up so as to explain the facts established by our knowledge of evolution; and this is what Darwin did when he worked out his Pangenesis hypothesis. But if we had a hypothesis of heredity,

[11] Prof. T. H. Morgan, who in his earlier work, *Evolution and Adaptation* (1903), had made restrictions, concerning the value of these experiments, wrote as follows in his later work, *Experimental Zoology* (New York, 1907), p. 54: 'I have given somewhat fully these remarkable results of Brown-Séquard because the experiments appear to have been carried out with such a care, and the results are given in such detail, that it seems that they must be accepted as establishing the inheritance of acquired characters.'—Weismann's reply (*Vorträge über die Descendenztheorie*, 2nd edition, ii. 57, 58) consists in repeating that, 'probably' a microbe infection took place. He says moreover that once *the lesion itself* was not inherited, the experiments are no proof of an inheritance of an 'acquired character.' But why the inheritance of an anatomical modification of portions of operated nerves, resulting in the offspring in the same morbid phenomena as those that were provoked in the parents, should not be considered as the transmission of an acquired character, remains unexplained.

[12] An excellent review of Weismann's *critical* contribution in this field will be found in J. Arthur Thomson's *Heredity*.

which would so well explain all the facts of inheritance as to permit us to foretell them, it would have some weight as an argument in the discussion, because evolution and heredity are undoubtedly two portions of the same process. However, that much cannot be said of the series of hypotheses worked out by Weismann to meet the objections of his critics; but as they enjoy a certain favour with a number of biologists, we are bound to examine them, and to see what bearing they may have upon our opinions about the inheritance of acquired characters.

All we can expect now from a hypothesis of heredity is that it should give us some plausible physiological explanation of two sets of facts: the reproduction in the offspring of the characters belonging to the *species*—that is, the maintenance of the ancestral type—and the appearance of *new* features, without which there would have been no evolution. All the hypotheses which were brought out during the last fifty years had in view this double purpose; but there are only two of them—Darwin's Pangenesis and Weismann's Germ-plasm—among which the suffrages of biologists are divided by this time.

Everyone knows more or less the Pangenesis hypothesis. Following Spencer's idea of 'physiological units,' Darwin suggested that all the cells of the body of a plant or an animal throw off during their life extremely minute living particles which are capable, like cells or spores, of multiplying by subdivision, and thus reproducing their mother-cells. Darwin described them as *gemmules*. Being extremely small, the gemmules wander through the body, passing through the membranes of the cells, and finally they collect in the reproductive cells of the individual, which thus contain representatives of all the cells and all the groups of cells of the whole organism. Every organ, every tissue, every bone, muscle, nerve, blood-vessel, and so on, has its representative gemmules in the reproductive cells. And when the time comes for these cells to reproduce a new being, they transmit to it the gemmules capable of reproducing all the features of the race, as also, to some extent, the modifications which the parents may have gone through during their own lifetime.

The germ cells of—let us say—a cart-horse would thus contain gemmules capable of reproducing all the typical organs and features of a cart-horse of a given race; and they would also bear traces of the changes which the individual horse had undergone during its life in consequence of a good or a bad food, over-exertion, and so on.

The inheritance of both the racial and the individually 'acquired' characters is thus rendered more or less comprehensible. But with our present ignorance of the inner life of organic tissues, the difficulty is to conceive how the gemmules are carried

from the spot where they originate to the reproductive cells. How can they reach them in due proportions, and why, later on, when the germ begins to develop into an embryo, do they enter into action in due succession—each group at the proper moment? These difficulties certainly are great; and yet, with all that, the Pangenesis hypothesis so well explains various aspects of heredity that Professor Delage, the author of an elaborate work on the subject, is quite right in saying that all the subsequent hypotheses which retained the idea of 'representative units' added nothing substantial to the explanation proposed by Darwin.[13] Still, the fact is, that the Pangenesis hypothesis, including Brooks's attempt to improve it, has not yet met with much support, and, for some time at least, the hypothesis of Weismann—before he was compelled to introduce into it the hypothesis of germinal selection—rallied the majority of suffrages.[14]

III

Weismann started from the idea that the inheritance of characters acquired by individuals under the direct action of surroundings is not needed for explaining evolution. Variation is not something coming from without: it comes from within—from the organisms themselves, and it is regulated by natural selection, which, given the spontaneous variations of the germ-plasm, is sufficient to explain all the adaptations of the organisms to the conditions of their existence. However, this hypothesis so much runs against all the tendencies of modern empiric science, that I referred to the earlier writings of the Freiburg professor to find in them some indications as to its origin. If I am not wrong, an essay written by him in 1876, with the idea of reconciling Darwin's teachings with a teleological conception of evolution, contains such an indication.[15]

Karl von Baer, in his criticism of Darwin's hypothesis of natural selection, had made the remark that the followers of this

[13] Yves Delage and M. Goldsmith, *Les théories de l'hérédité* (Paris, 1909), pp. 113-115. The main work of Delage is *L'hérédité et les grands problèmes de la biologie générale* (2nd edition: Paris, 1903).

[14] Besides Spencer and Darwin, the same idea of self-multiplying representative particles was developed also by Francis Galton, the botanists Nägeli and De Vries, the anatomist Kölliker, and Oscar Hertwig. But I am compelled to pass over these extremely interesting hypotheses. The general reader will find them analysed in Prof. J. Arthur Thomson's *Heredity* (London, 1908), and Delage and Goldsmith's *Théories de l'évolution* (Paris, 1909). For excellent critical analyses of Weismannism, see S. R. Romanes's *An Examination of Weismannism* (London, 1893), H. W. Conn's *The Method of Evolution* (New York, 1900), and Dr. Plate's *Selectionsprinzip und Probleme der Artbildung* (Leipzig, 1908).

[15] A. Weismann, 'Ueber die letzten Ursachen der Transmutationen,' second essay in *Studien zur Descendenztheorie* (Leipzig, 1876), chapter 'Mechanismus und Teleologie,' pp. 314 *seq.*

hypothesis being brought more and more to deny 'all purpose' in evolution—scientific recognition could be granted to the hypothesis only if it recognised a universal tendency towards reaching a certain purpose.[16] To which Weismann, after having quoted these words with approval, as also those of Hartmann, who considered Darwinian evolution as a 'mad chaos of stupid and capricious forces,' added that it was necessary, indeed, '*to combine* in a theory of evolution the teleological principle with a mechanical conception.' Formerly, he thought it impossible. Now, he was going to prove that it was *unavoidable*.

Baer (he wrote) is right, for 'the phenomena of organic and inorganic nature cannot possibly be imagined as a work of accident. They can be conceived only as a process directed in accordance with a certain great plan' (p. 315). And he came to this conclusion: 'We must not hesitate to recognise the existence of a force acting with a purpose (*einer zweckthätigen Kraft*); only we must not represent it as directly interfering in the mechanism of the universe: we must conceive it rather *behind* the mechanism, as a final cause.'[17]

Causality and purpose—he wrote further on—by no means exclude one another: we see them combined by a watchmaker in a watch; and they are likewise combined in the universe by 'the Mechanic of the universe.' 'The apparent contradiction between teleology and mechanism can be conciliated,' and he concluded with these significative words which contain the key to his subsequent conceptions of heredity: 'Why should we not return to the idea of "matter endowed with a soul?"'[18]

This matter endowed with an immortal soul—this conciliation of determinism with teleology—found, I am inclined to think, its expression in Weismann's 'immortal' germ-plasm. This was evidently the 'teleological mechanism' through which the Baconian and Darwinian 'mad chaos of capricious forces' was avoided in the universe.

To avoid Hartmann's reproach Weismann eliminated from his hypothesis of heredity the very possibility of Buffon's and Lamarck's factor of evolution—the direct action of the *monde ambiant*, and the effects of use and disuse. To deny these effects upon the *individuals* was impossible, they are evident; but their hereditary transmission, he maintained, was *inconceivable*, *impossible*. Upon this postulate, borrowed from his conception of evolution, he built up his hypothesis of heredity.

[16] 'Soll der Darwin'schen Hypothese wissenschaftliche Berechtigung zuerkannt werden, so wird sie sich dieser allgemeinen Zielstrebigkeit fügen lassen. Kann sie das nicht, so wird man ihr die Geltung zu versagen haben' (p. 315).

[17] P. 324.

[18] P. 327.

The germ-cells which serve to reproduce the individual are not derived, he maintains, like Darwin's gemmules, from the individual's body-cells and tissues. They represent a speck of 'immortal' matter, transmitted to the now living beings—unchanged in the main features of its chemical and molecular structure—from their remotest unicellular ancestors. Each individual receives it from its parents, and keeps it quite apart from its own organs, tissues, and body-cells (the 'somatic' cells), so as to transmit it, unaltered, to its offspring. These were, at least, Weismann's ideas when he brought out his hypothesis in 1883-1885.[19]

As to the structure of the germ-plasm, Weismann's hypothesis also differs from Darwin's Pangenesis in an essential point. The plasm of the germs is not composed of gemmules capable of reproducing by subdivision the cells from which they originate. They only contain *Anlagen*, *i.e.* 'predispositions,' 'tendencies' of a molecular or chemical nature) to produce such and such cells, tissues, and organs. When the germ begins to develop into an embryo, its physiological units only *determine* the production of cells, tissues, and organs of a definite character; this is why Weismann gave them the name of *determinants*. There is a group of determinants for each new line of growth in the embryo originated by each new subdivision of its cells: for the outer skin and the inner membranes—for each portion of the body, including such tiny local peculiarities as, for instance, a tuft of grey hair inherited in a family. Besides, there is a strong hierarchy among Weismann's determinants. There are determinants of each arm which govern the development of the arm in the embryo, and there are subordinate determinants for marshalling the development of each finger, each nail, each muscle, etc., of the arm and the hand. The development of the embryo thus

[19] 'The whole foundation' of the Pangenesis hypothesis must be abandoned: 'it is impossible for the germ-cell to be, as it were, an extract of the whole body.' (*Essays on Heredity*, 2nd edition, 1891, i. 169.) Heredity is due to the transference from one generation to the next of part of its germ-plasm, containing the very same 'formative predispositions' as were contained in the germ-plasm of the parents. 'The germ-cells may be contrasted with the rest of the body; . . . as their development shows, *a marked antithesis exists between the substance of the undying reproductive cells and that of the perishable body cells.*' (*Essays*, i. 73-74.) There are 'no conceivable means' by which modifications produced in the body-cells by external agencies, or by use and disuse, could be conveyed to the cells of the germ-plasm (i. 172). Weismann did not assert that the germ-plasm is totally uninfluenced by forces residing in the organism. . . . 'The nutrition and growth of the individual must exercise some influence upon its germ-cells'; but he was disposed to think 'that the influence of nutrition upon the germ-cells must be very slight, and that *it may possibly* leave the molecular structure of the germ-plasm *absolutely untouched*.' 'In fact,' he added, 'up to the present time, it has *never been proved that any changes in general nutrition can modify the molecular structure of the germ-plasm*.' (*Essays*, i. 172-173.)

reminds one of the mobilisation of an army, of which the determinants are the officers and sub-officers organising its different parts.

IV

Most of the processes of heredity lie unfortunately in a domain which still remains invisible for our best microscopes. We are reduced, therefore, to build up purely hypothetical, more or less probable, mental representations of these processes, and in the impossibility of verifying which of our mental images is nearest to reality, it would not have been worth while discussing them for years. However, even such representations may have a scientific value. It matters little whether we represent to ourselves heredity as a transmission of self-multiplying 'gemmules,' or of 'predispositions' and 'determinants.' But if it were proved, or only rendered very probable, that the germ-cells *cannot* receive from the body-cells impressions which affect them in the same sense as the body-cells are affected by environment, then an important argument would have been furnished against the hereditary transmission of acquired characters. This is the *raison d'être* of the interest taken by our best biologists in the hypothesis of heredity advocated by Weismann. The question at the bottom of this interest is the desire to know: Was modern physiology right when it maintained (to use Cuvier's words) that 'all the organs of an animal represent a unified system, of which all parts act and react upon each other, so that no modification can take place in one of them without producing *analogous* modifications in all others?' Or, as Houssay puts it in *La forme et la vie*: Were Darwin and Lamarck right when they conceived that an individual's inheritance is a resultant from *all* the external forces that had acted upon its ancestors—of all the variations, ancient and modern, they underwent? In a subsequent essay we shall see what data the direct experiments made during the last five-and-twenty years have given us to solve the problem. Now let us see first how the question stands from the theoretical point of view: what our present knowledge of the processes of heredity—so far as it goes—has to say about this question? Let us, then, cast a glance upon the main points won during the discussions upon the complicated framework of Weismann's hypotheses.

To begin with, it was proved that it was wrong to oppose the *body-cells* to the *germ-cells*, or reproductive cells.[20] Germ-plasm is not limited to the germ-cells only. On the contrary, it is contained, in a more or less advanced state of specialisation, in the nuclei of all the cells. Consequently, the idea of a sort of

[20] Weismann had to recognise it in 1885. (*Essays*, i. 209-211.)

sanctuary occupied by the germ-cells, and inaccessible to the influences which modify the body-cells, appeared highly improbable.

Another step in the same direction was made when Maupas, Oscar Hertwig, and Max Verworn demonstrated how intimately are connected in every reproductive cell the protoplasm of its nucleus (the nucleo-plasm), and the protoplasm which surrounds it (the cell-plasm, or cytoplasm). Far from giving support to the idea that the transmission of material influences from the cell-plasm to the nucleus should be impossible, the observations of these leading microscopists proved—as Hertwig expresses it—that the cell-plasm takes a prominent part in the whole process of fecundating evolution, at all its stages.

Altogether, the better we know the processes following fertilisation, the more we are convinced of the intimate connection that exists between the nucleo-plasm and the surrounding cell-plasm. We learn also that the membrane which surrounds the nucleus is no obstacle for the intercourse, and that a constant exchange of substances elaborated in both plasms is going on in both directions during the process of development of the embryo.[21] More than that. Every cell being quite a world, composed of a variety of separate physiological units,[22] all the component parts of the cell are required—we are told—in an equal degree.[23]

Besides, Maupas proved that in unicellular organisms (which may be considered analogous to the germ-cells of the multi-cellular beings) modifications in the cell-plasm, due to external influences, are continually inherited; this proves that they are transmitted to the nucleo-plasm—very probably through the intermediary of the extremely minute constituents of the cell passing through the membrane which encloses the nucleus. All taken, far from yielding support to the idea of its being 'inconceivable' that the germ-plasm should reflect the changes going on in the body-cells, it is the reverse that is rendered more and more probable by modern research.

V

Twenty-five years ago, when our knowledge of heredity was in its infancy, it was possible to concentrate our attention upon

[21] For the ideas of O. Hertwig, Max Verworn, C. Rabl and Fick upon this point, see the quotations given by O. Hertwig, *Der Kampf um Kernfragen der Entwicklungs und Vererbungslehre* (Jena, 1909), pp. 44-45 and 107-108.

[22] Some information about this last subject will be found in one of my 'Recent Science' articles (*Nineteenth Century*, May 1892, pp. 756 *seq.*).

[23] See Rabl's suggestive work, *Ueber Organ-bildende Substanzen und ihre Bedeutung für die Vererbung* (Leipzig, 1906). See also E. Godlewski, jun., in *Archiv für Entwicklungsmechanik*, xxviii. 278-378.

the wonderful processes that are going on in a fertilised ovule (the 'Karyokinesis' processes), then recently revealed by the microscope. But now a broader view of the matter must be taken. Here is a mighty oak bearing hundreds of thousands of acorns, and each of these acorns contains a speck of the germ-plasm which is capable of reproducing, not only some sort of oak, but that special sort of oak which has been evolved since the Post-Glacial period in a given geographical region, in certain definite topographical conditions. Or, here is a pine-tree which sheds at a certain part of the year a real rain of pollen, each minutest grain of which is also a bearer of germ-plasm capable of transmitting to the offspring the aspects and properties of a given local variety of a pine-tree. More than that, each of the buds of the oak, each few inches of the cambial tissue of a willow-tree, each leaf of a *begonia*, are capable of reproducing both the species and the variety from which they originate. The same is equally true of the animal, for the miscroscopical particle of germ-plasm inherited from the parents, when the moment comes for sexual awakening, multiplies to such an enormous extent that it produces millions of similar particles, before one of them becomes the beginning of a new living being. One has only to think of the prodigious mass of food that is supplied every year to the germ-plasm for rendering possible such a prolification; one must realise that its structural materials are collected from the whole of the oak, the pine, the animal, that they are elaborated in all its parts, and then it becomes evident how untenable it is for a naturalist to maintain that the changes that are going on every year in the life of the body-cells have no effect upon the germ-plasm originating in such enormous quantities from these same cells.

More than that. As Professor Houssay points out in his elaborate and interesting work, *La forme et la vie*, the communication of living physiological units, at least one way—from the germ-cells to the body-cells—is already an established fact: the suppression of the reproductive glands produces a series of well-known effects in the structure of the body, and these effects find some explanation in what we know about the thyroid glands and the suprarenal capsulæ. Although these glands and capsulæ have no excretory channels, the substances resulting from their cellular activity spread, nevertheless, through all the cells of the organism, either through osmosis or in any other way yet unknown. They are even so important for the organism's life that a complete amputation of one of these two organs in a dog produces a general impoverishment of its health, and its death, while recovery follows an injection of the products of their activity taken from another dog. As to the reverse action, in certain cases, of the body-cells upon the reproductive cells, if not yet *proved*,

it is rendered very probable by a number of modern researches.[24] And we shall certainly learn more upon this subject, now that variation begins to be studied under its *physiological* and *biochemical* aspects. Viewed under these two aspects—the only true ones—all discussions about the 'impossibility' for internal variation to reach the material bearers of heredity in the reproductive cells appear utterly unreal.

We know already that in plants there exists an intercourse between the protoplasm of all their cells. The membranes of the cells are not impermeable, and threads of extremely fine particles of protoplasm are flowing through the cell-membranes from cell to cell. They have been well seen and described by many microscopists.[25] Besides, botanists know that a plant—including the germ-plasm of its reproductive cells—can be reproduced by a bud, a tuber, a piece of its underground stem, a piece of its cambial tissue, or even by a leaf (in *begonia* and several other plants). Consequently, in plants, germ-plasm, *capable of reproducing a complete individual* (not only the corresponding portion of it) is contained *in the body-cells* of the stem, the branches, the leaves. And, to say that it leads there a sleeping-beauty existence, free from the influences acting upon the body-cells amongst which and upon which it lives, feeds, grows, and multiplies, appeared so extravagant an assertion to most botanists (Nägeli, de Vries, Vines, and so on), that they repudiated it at once. In plants, at least, the tiny speck of matter which is the bearer of heredity cannot be anything but what Darwin conceived it to be : the result of all the influences which had acted formerly to produce the family, the genus, the species, and now have been acting to produce the individual with its own distinctive features.

It could be said, of course, that if the inalterability of the germ-plasm is highly improbable in plants, it may be a fact in animals. Here the reproductive cells *may* have their inaccessible sanctuary. However, modern research into the processes of *regeneration* in animals has induced many zoologists also to recognise the impossibility of such an isolation of the reproductive plasm.[26]

[24] A few of them are mentioned by Houssay, *La forme et la vie* (Paris, 1900), pp. 834 *seq.*

[25] See O. Hertwig, *Die Zelle und die Gewebe*, which appeared in its second, entirely re-written edition under the title of *Allgemeine Biologie* (Jena, 1906). About the continual exchange of living matter between the different portions of plants, see Prof. Jumelle, in *Revue générale de botanique*, 1891, xiii. 332. W. Pfeffer's *Physiology of Plants* (English translation by A. J. Ewart, Oxford, 1903) also contains most useful information in that direction. It was these cell-bridges which gave to Nägeli the idea of his hypothesis of *micelli* wandering all over the body of the plant, and finally gathering in its reproductive cells.

[26] The researches into regeneration promise to give us a real insight into the processes of heredity. But they are already so numerous that all I can do here is to mention only one or two points having a direct bearing upon the question

It was just mentioned that in plants extremely fine threads of protoplasm are seen to connect the cells. But the same connections were proved to exist, by Siegfried Garten's experiments upon his own arm, between the epithelial cells of man; and the existence of intercellular bridges between the epithelial cells and various others cells of the muscles and the connective tissue was proved by Hedenhain and Schuberg.[27] It may be possible, of course, that these 'intercellular bridges' are only the means of transmission of nerve-currents, but it seems far more probable that minute particles of living matter travel along them, as they do in plants.[28] Of course, we know yet very little about the intercellular communications in animals, but the little we know shows at any rate how cautious one must be in his assertions about the 'impossibility' of communication between the body-cells and the germ-cells.

That a communication *exists* between them may be taken now as highly probable. As to what sort of effects a modification produced in the body-cells may have upon the germ-plasm of the reproduction cells, we shall see presently, after we have cast a glance upon the facts we have learned from another vast series of investigations into regeneration, about the germ-plasm scattered all over the body.

VI

The main point established by these investigations is that while both in plants and animals there is germ-plasm scattered all over the body, this germ-plasm is capable of reproducing not only those cells in which it is lodged, but also the cells of quite different parts of the organism. The extraordinary powers of regenerating, not only parts of tissues and amputated members, but even, in some divisions of the animal kingdom, the whole animal out of a small piece of it, alter many of our previous conceptions about heredity. It is well known that a piece, a few square millimetres in size, will do to regenerate a whole Hydra. And when a Planaria was cut crossways into nine pieces, seven of them regenerated the whole animal.[29] A worm, the *Lumbriculus*,

of inherited modifications, and to refer to such works as Prof. Th. H. Morgan's *Regeneration*, 1907 (completed and rewritten in collaboration with the German translator, Max Moszkowski, 2nd edition, Leipzig, 1908), and to the original memoirs appearing in great numbers in Roux's *Archiv*, the *Zoologischer Anzeiger*, in the publications of different zoological laboratories, and so on.

[27] S. Garten, in *Archiv für Anatomie und Physiologie* (1895), pp. 407-409; Heidenhain, in *Anatomischer Anzeiger*, viii. (1893), 404-410; Schuberg, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Würzburg Physico-Medical Society; all quoted in Eugenio Rignano, *La transmissibilité des caractères acquis* (Paris, 1908, pp. 34-41.

[28] The transmission of irritations along these 'bridges'—O. Hertwig remarks—is slower than that of a nerve-current.

[29] See for a rich array of facts Th. H. Morgan's *Regeneration*

which lives in the mud of small lakes and ponds, having been cut into twenty-seven pieces, each of only two millimetres in length, every piece reproduced the whole creature. Even the much higher organised Tritons have an astounding power of regeneration: thus it is known long since that Spallanzani saw one of them regenerating an amputated leg six times in succession.

The most striking fact with regeneration, recently discovered, is that an organ may be regenerated by tissues quite different from those from which it originates in the embryo.[30] Besides, in most cases the regenerating power does not come from the surface of amputation: it comes from cells lying far from it, much deeper in the body, and of a quite different character. We see it very well in the Planaria, which regenerates its head, with all its organs, after the whole of the anterior part of the body has been cut off.

Only two possible explanations of these facts can be given: either the whole of the germ-plasm scattered in the body-cells is capable of supplying the elements necessary for the regeneration of all parts of the body, as we have it in plants; or particles of germ-plasm, capable of regenerating such an important part as the head, with its brain, its eyes, its mouth, etc., are scattered in certain parts of the body, far away from the germ-cells, and they wander to the necessary spot whenever their constructive powers are required. In both cases it follows that germ-plasm, capable of reproducing other parts than those it is lodged in, stands in continual intercourse with whatever is going on in the body; and whatever hypothesis of heredity we adopt—a hypothesis of representative elementary units (Darwin's 'gemmules,' Galton's 'stirp,' Nägeli's 'micelli,' De Vries's 'pangenes,' Weismann's 'determinants'), or some hypothesis of a central ruling body (the 'epigenetic' hypotheses of Hertwig, Delage, and several others), it must account for the just-mentioned facts.

In this respect the recent researches of Jósef Nusbaum and Mieczyslaw Oxner on regeneration in Nemertinae offer a special interest, as they seem to open a new field of research. The experiments were made on the small Nemertina, *Lineus ruber*, which was cut into two parts at different distances from its front end, and the regeneration process was studied under the microscope on

[30] Thus O. Hertwig, in the Introduction to his *Handbuch der Vergleichenden und Experimentalen Entwicklungslehre der Wirbelthiere*, Bd. i. (1906), speaks of the astonishment produced in anatomical circles by the discovery made by Colucci and Wolff, confirmed by Erik Müller and others, that in the eye of a Triton, after a complete extraction of the lens, a quite normal new lens was re-developed—not from the original mother-cells, but from the epithelium of the upper rim of the iris, which stands in no connexion with the lens at the time of its embryonal development.

living specimens. When the animal was cut into two parts just behind the cerebral ganglion and above the beginning of the digestive tube, so as not to leave the slightest part of this last organ in the front piece, the hind part was nevertheless regenerated in full, including the whole of the digestive tube. The regeneration in full of such an important organ was thus accomplished by another organ, from which the former is quite independent, both anatomically and genetically. The new organ was grown 'in consequence of a re-differentiation of the elements of a neighbouring, quite different organ.'[31]

Another fact, still more interesting for all theories of heredity, was established by the same experiments. It was the important part taken in regeneration by the so-called 'wandering cells.' As soon as the regeneration process had begun, these cells became active, and they acted as phagocytes; they absorbed particles of reserve materials lodged in the tissues, as also the grains of pigment, and then themselves were eaten up by the cells of the regenerated parts, and thus aided the growth of the latter.

From the few facts just mentioned it is already obvious that the researches on regeneration do not yield support to those hypotheses of heredity which make no allowance for the inheritance of modifications acquired by the body-cells. In fact, when Weismann framed his hypothesis in the years 1883-1885, he paid little attention to regeneration. But after the work of Götte and Fraisse he had to take it into account, and so he did in his *Germ-Plasm*, published in 1892. It was shown by Götte that when the amputated leg of a Triton is regenerated, all the parts of the leg—its bones, its muscles, the connective tissue, the mucous glands, the nerves, and the blood-vessels—are regenerated in full. And the question arose: Wherefrom come the determinants which 'marshal' the regeneration?

Weismann answered this question by adding a new hypothesis to his previous ones. The cells which are capable of producing regeneration—he wrote in *Germ-Plasm*—must contain, besides the principal idioplasm (*Haupt-Idioplasm*), additional idioplasm (*Neben-Idioplasm*), which consists of the determinants of those parts which it may have to regenerate. 'Thus all the cells of the bone of the [amputated] front leg must contain, beside the determinant No. 2, also the determinants 3 to 35 of the additional idioplasm, as they have to reconstitute all the succession of bones

[31] Józef Nusbaum und Mieczyslaw Oxner, 'Studien über die Regeneration der Nemertinen,' i., in Roux's *Archiv für Entwicklungsmechanik der Organismen*, Bd. xxx. (Festband), Th. I., 1910, p. 115. These researches—the authors remark—are a further development of the observations made in 1909 by Prof. Davydoff, and a similar process was also described by MM. Salensky and Lebedinsky in 1897.

in the front leg.'[32] Besides, there is a sufficient number of 'lieutenant' or 'reserve-determinants' (*Ersatz-Determinanten*) lodged along special 'germ-tracks' running from the reproductive cells to different parts of the body. There are even two different reserve-determinants in the middle portions of the *Lumbriculus*: one for regenerating, in case of need, the front part of the animal, and another for regenerating its hind part.[33]

One may be tempted to treat all these suggestions as a mere work of imagination; but, let us not forget what Tyndall said in one of his brilliant lectures about the part of imagination as a scout in scientific research. Let us suppose that the imagined picture corresponds to some extent to reality. What would be the result? It would be that the 'impossibility' for the germ-plasm to be influenced in the proper way by modifications in the body-cells—the 'inconceivability' of the process would be irretrievably gone!

Once more we are thus compelled to recognise the existence of a close intercourse between the germ-cells and the body-cells. The fact is more and more firmly established. There remains only to see what sort of intercourse that may be. Are not the germ-cells influenced by the changes going on in the body-cells in the same sense as the latter, so as to be capable of reproducing the changes in the offspring?

VII

One of thechief results of the discussion which took place in the years 1880-1893, and in which Herbert Spencer took a prominent part,[34] was to define more accurately the proper *rôle* of natural selection in the evolution of new species. It was shown that natural selection cannot be the *origin* of the so-called 'determinate' or 'cumulative' variation, unless there is at work some cause affecting many individuals at the same time, in the same direction, and for a succession of generations. A great number of biologists sought, therefore, the origin of variation—as Darwin had done—in the direct action of the surroundings; while those for whom the main thing was to repudiate the hateful 'Lamarckian factor' followed their spokesman, Weismann, who

[32] *Das Keimplasma*, p. 137.

[33] *Das Keimplasma*, p. 169.

[34] *Contemporary Review*, February to May 1893. Spencer's articles were reprinted separately as a pamphlet under the title *The Inadequacy of Natural Selection* (Williams & Norgate, 1893). Prof. Marcus Hartog contributed also an important paper to the same Review, 'The Spencer-Weismann Controversy,' July 1893.

was maintaining at that time the *Allmacht*—the 'all-sufficiency' of natural selection.

Weismann, however, soon abandoned this position, thinking that he had found the true origin of variation in sexual reproduction, *i.e.* in the mixing together of the germ-plasms of the two parents during the process of fertilisation, to which he gave the appropriate name of *Amphimixis*.

Microscopical investigation had shown, a few years before, that in sexual reproduction an actual mixing together of the two parent plasms takes place in the fertilised egg, whereupon one-half of the coalesced two plasms is thrown out—the remaining half only going for the development of the embryo. To take a familiar example, things go on as if two packs of cards, one of which represents the characters inherited from the father, and the other represents those of the mother, were shuffled together; whereupon the double pack is divided into two equal parts, one of which is put aside and the other retained. The number of determinants corresponding to the immense variety of characters of each parent being extremely great, the possible combinations of them are countless, and this is why two children of the same parents, or even two puppies of the same litter, are never quite alike.

This was the idea developed by Weismann in 1886 and 1891.[35] He was so much taken by it that he saw in Amphimixis the *true* cause of all inheritable individual variation—'the keystone of the whole structure' of the theory of heredity.[36] Therefore he still more emphatically denied the possibility of the germ-plasm being influenced by external agencies 'in the same direction as that taken by the somatogenic changes which follow the same cause.'[37] The only source from which inheritable individual differences could be derived was sexual reproduction—Amphimixis. 'It was *only* in this way that hereditary individual differences *could arise and persist*';[38]—only in this way new species could originate with the aid of natural selection.

There is no need to say that such a position could not be maintained. The believers in the sufficiency of Amphimixis as a cause of variation were shown that if variation were limited to a redistribution of already existing characters, no progressive evolution would have been possible, and Weismann himself had to recognise the force of this remark, so that in 1904 he

[35] 'The Significance of the Sexual Reproduction in the Theory of Natural Selection,' in *Essays*, i. 257-342, and 'Amphimixis; or, the Essential Meaning of Conjugation and Sexual Reproduction,' in *Essays*, ii. 99-222.

[36] *Essays*, ii. 101.

[37] *Essays*, ii. 190.

[38] *Essays*, i. 296.

abandoned the Amphimixis hypothesis in his *Vorträge über die Descendenztheorie* (*The Evolution Theory* in the English version).

> Even now [he writes in this work] I still consider Amphimixis as the process by means of which new *re-combinations of variations* are produced—a process without which the building up of an organic world infinitely rich in forms and incomprehensively complicated could not have taken place. But I do *not* consider it as the true root of the variations themselves, because the latter cannot possibly depend upon a mere *exchange* (*Austausch*) of ids: they must rather depend upon a *modification* of the ids. . . . Amphimixis, *i.e.* the coalescence of two plasms, certainly does not modify the determinants: it only produces new and new combinations of the ids (the ancestral plasms). If the appearance of variations were limited to this cause, the transmutation of species and genuses would have been possible only within a very limited scope.[39]

But this abandonment of the Amphimixis hypothesis was not sufficient. Every hypothesis of heredity is bound to indicate the source of 'definite,' or 'cumulative' variation which accumulates from generation to generation certain changes in a given direction. In Weismann's terminology, it had to indicate the possible cause of a *continued modification of the determinants* of the germ-plasm in a given direction.

Let us take, as an instance, the classical example, worked out by Professor Marsh, of the horse's hoof evolved out of the median toe. It so happens that we have a practically complete chain of the ancestors of the present horse since the Eocene period; and we see how, these ancestors having dwelt in regions with a hard ground, where increased rapidity of locomotion was an advantage, the median toe, which was becoming the chief support of the foot, gradually developed more and more, and its nail became a hoof; while the other digits, touching the ground no more, ceased to be used, and were atrophied, so that now they are only splint-bones. This is what the determinants' hypothesis had to explain, without recognising the inheritance of acquired characters which it repudiated.

Weismann tried to do so by means of a new hypothesis—of 'germinal selection,' or of struggle between the determinants in the germ-plasm. W. Roux had just published at that time a remarkable work in which he described the sometimes conflicting claims of the different organs upon the disponible stock of nutritive stuffs in the organism as a struggle between them. Weismann applied the same conception to the determinants within the germ-plasm, and described the effects of that competition as 'germinal selection.'

[39] *Vorträge* (2nd edition), ii. 163.

However, the new hypothesis did not help to solve the diffi culties. We certainly may use the word 'struggle' as metaphoric expression for processes far more complex in realit than a competition for nutritive stuffs; but we must not forget th physiological facts covered by our vague expression—those fact which Roux and his co-workers precisely are studying now at hi laboratory for the study of 'the mechanics of evolution,' and which the *Archiv für Entwicklungsmechanik* is the organ Thus, reverting to the causes which may secure to the median toe a 'victory' over the other toes, they are of a physiological nature; namely, an increased *use* of the toe, leading to *stimulation* of its tissues, and consequently to an increased *nutrition* of that toe. But how do these changes of nutrition c the different toes affect the germ-plasm determinants of these toes? Do they affect them at all? and, if they do, is there an parallelism in the changes of nutrition of the toes and the nutritio of the respective determinants? Formerly, Weismann used to assert most positively that there is no such correlation : not even an approach to it.

'I must thus affirm to-day, even more decidedly than I formerly di (Weismann wrote in 1892 in *Germ-Plasm*) that all lasting, *i.e.* inheritable modifications of the body originate in primary modifications of the germ predispositions (*Keimesanlagen*), and that neither mutilations, nor func tional hypertrophy or atrophy, nor any changes that have originated in th body as the effects of temperature, or food, or any other influences environment, are transmitted to the germ-cells, so that therefore they migh become inheritable.' [40]

The transmission of differences of nutrition from the digits o the horse to the determinants of these digits, so as to provoke an increased nutrition of the mediane toe determinants, and decreased one for the determinants of the other toes, was thu absolutely excluded. Germinal selection having no relation what ever to the 'struggle' that is going on between the toes, it coul even run in the opposite direction and favour the development o all the digits but the mediane one, thus counterbalancing th cumulative increase of the latter.

Only in 1904, when Weismann published his *Lectures o the Theory of Descent*, he seemed to make a concession; he recognised that the effects of a varying nutrition may be such a better to feed and to increase certain determinants more than th others, in which case the organs they determine would also in crease; but he expressed no opinion as to the possibility, or th impossibility, of the reverse effect : he did not say that the increas of an organ (of the mediane toe in our case) should result in

[40] *Das Keimplasma: eine Theorie der Vererbung* (Jena, 1892), p. 518.

corresponding increase of force in the determinants of that toe lodged in the germ-plasm: he only did not deny it.[41]

Only in one passage, where he spoke of the seasonal variations of colour in butterflies, did Weismann recognise that the change, both in the germ-plasm and in the butterfly's wings, takes place in consequence of the same cause—temperature. This change is inherited; but this is, Weismann maintains, *only an 'apparent' inheritance of an acquired character.* The changes in the body and the germ-plasm simply take place simultaneously.

This statement, quite unproved and unprovable, evidently renders all further discussion about the inheritance of acquired characters from a theoretical point of view absolutely useless—so long as we are not able to study the 'determinants,' and the still more minute 'biophores' of which they are composed, their 'struggles' and their 'selection' under the microscope. Keeping still to our illustration—if it be asserted that an increased nutrition of the determinants of the middle toe of the horse is a pure matter of accident: that it may happen in some individual horses while in other horses the determinants of the other toes will receive an excess of nutrition—then there is no determinate variation; everything is left again to be accomplished by natural selection, and the whole discussion begins again from the beginning. Or, the fact that the middle-toe determinants receive an excess of nourishment, as soon as the middle toe itself is better fed in consequence of an increased use, is admitted; and then the 'impossibility' for the germ-plasm of being influenced in the same sense by the causes affecting the body-cells is abandoned, in which case the admission ought to be recognised in plain words. Of course, there is a third way out of the difficulty: some new hypothetical suggestion, still more difficult to verify, may be made; but then we should be landed in the domain of pure dialectics.

At any rate, we must say that the attempt to prove the 'impossibility' of an hereditary transmission of acquired characters, and, as Professor Osborne remarks, the attempt to explain evolution without recognising that transmission, have failed. So we can now return from the domain of speculation to the true domain of science—the experimental study of the question. Here

[41] 'Of course (he wrote) we know nothing certain and nothing exact about the component units of the germ-plasm, we have no definite representation about the relations which exist between the changes going on in the determinant and those that are going on in the part which it determines'; we have only the right to suppose 'that to a stronger development of the one [the determinant] corresponds a stronger development of the other, and that the reverse cannot be true at the same time. If the determinant X disappeared from the germ, the determinate X_1 would also disappear from the *soma*. So we have also the

we have such a mass of rapidly accumulating data that I must leave for another article the analysis of the experimental proofs of the hereditary transmission of acquired characters.

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right to conclude from the degree of development of an organ about the force (*Stärke*) of its determinants, and to consider the *positive* variations and the *negative* variations of both the organ and its determinants as corresponding quantities (*entsprechende Grössen*).' (*Vorträge*, ii. 129.)

THE FUTURE OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

IN the third book of his *Ecclesiastical History*, the Venerable Bede says of Aidan, with whom he was in disagreement as to the right day for celebrating Easter, that he was 'full of zeal for God, but not wholly according to knowledge.' The words, combining as they do sincere appreciation with gentle, yet firm, correction, form a model of the way in which disputants in ecclesiastical controversy should regard one another. They represent a mind free from all taint of the *odium theologicum*—one for which the recognition of defects is no hindrance to the recognition of facts. One could wish that they had become part of the regular stock-in-trade of those who think and write about the Church which Bede adorned. And this is all the more desirable when the subjects under discussion relate to recent or contemporary persons and events. A combatant may perhaps succeed in blinding the spectators by raising the dust of the arena; but he also blinds himself, and renders himself unable even to see his opponent. The result is a beating of the air and many errors—perhaps even the wounding of some of those who watch; while the object of the attack comes off unscathed.

Now it is difficult not to think that something of this kind has happened in the case of two articles which have appeared in the January and February numbers of this Review, entitled 'The Passing of the Oxford Movement,' by the Rev. A. H. T. Clarke. One would have expected, after reading such a superscription, to find an attempt to analyse and weigh carefully the mass of evidence—both past and present—relevant to the subject. Such analysis should reveal forces and tendencies, both within and without the Movement, which suggest that it is passing away; it should make us realise the inevitability of its decline and death; and even then it should convince us that it has not died merely to rise again in another and more potent form. Only so could such a conclusion as Mr. Clarke's be substantiated. Only by such a method, too, could the contrary case be made out, and the probability created that the Oxford Movement, even if its name changes, has still a future before it. But this last, which is the thesis of the present article, must be deferred until we have examined Mr. Clarke's position and its resources.

I

What, then, has Mr. Clarke given us of the critical estimat which his choice of a title justified us in expecting? There a list of modern historical works and of recent periodicals whic betray a 'distinctly Protestant trend': there is an appeal t the authority of a member of the Chapter of St. Paul's, witho any assurance that the latter approves of the appeal[1]: ther is a reference to the controversy over the Ornaments Rubric which completely disregards the latest enquiry into tha subject[2]: there is as confident a republication of Chillingworth title, *The Bible and the Bible only as the Religion of Protes tants*, as though Biblical criticism had never existed: there a chequered appreciation of Liddon as a man, and some tribute t his preaching: and, finally, there is a plea 'for the restoration o the old High Church party,' with the usual statement that 'th Church of England is now at the parting of the ways.'

And what of the remainder of the article? It consists little more than an attack on the memory of Liddon and on th theology of the 'neo-Tractarian mystics' who were responsibl for *Lux Mundi*. As to the first of these, Liddon's name need properly no defence; while a work like *Lux Mundi*, and the othe works which have proceeded from the same author, can onl be combated by reasoning which is *in pari materia*—by th reasoning, that is, of scientific theology. Yet it would not b right so lightly to discharge the duty of criticising Mr. Clarke' attack. For it is an example of a method of theological contro versy of which we had thought to have seen the last. I hav before me a copy of the celebrated sermon of Dr. Faussett preached before the University of Oxford in 1838, which evoked in reply one of Newman's most eloquent and outspoken letters Its arguments and its phrases alike are strangely reproduced ir Mr. Clarke's articles. The 'disposition to overrate the importanc of Apostolical tradition'—the 'rigid mortifications, and self abasements, and painful penances, which call us back at onc to the darkest period of Roman superstition'—Baptismal Re generation—the 'gross idea of the corporal presence in the Sacra

[1] I happen to know Canon Simpson slightly, and know that he had not se eyes on Mr. Clarke's article until the middle of February, and that there is n one more heartily in sympathy with St. Paul's, as Liddon, Church, and Gregor made it, than he.

[2] The Report of the sub-Committee of the Upper House of the Convocatio of Canterbury, appointed in February 1907, 'to draw up a historical memoran dum on the Ornaments of the Church and its Ministers.' In ch. ii. § 4, p. of this Report, the Five Bishops write:—'We feel bound to state that our ow study of the facts leads us to the conclusion that the Ornaments Rubric canno rightly be interpreted as excluding the use of all vestments for the clergy othe than the surplice in parish churches. . . .'

ment'—the 'connexion between Pagan and Popish idolatry'—all these are held up to us by the learned Divine for our resentment and vituperation. And yet there was some excuse for Dr. Faussett; for he lived when the issues were so new in the Church of England, so recently revived within our own Communion, that few could have been expected to see them clearly and dispassionately. But to-day it is otherwise. By dint of living and working together, the parties to the controversy have learnt how to learn from one another, and disagreement is no bar to mutual understanding. Moreover, the researches of theologians and historians have elucidated many points, in such a way as to turn the weapons of controversy, which were serviceable enough seventy years ago, against those who would still try to use them to-day. Yet Mr. Clarke cares for none of these things.

Let us take a few instances. Speaking of the Eucharist, he writes:

> For thirteen hundred years the Christian Church has accepted Augustine's view and quoted Augustine's language, to the effect that the broken bread and poured-out wine are 'symbols' of Christ's Passion.

He further asserts that this was the view of all the Fathers of the first six centuries, including Pope Gelasius himself. Now this same point was also made by Dr. Faussett, and in his day it was an effective argument. But whatever effectiveness it had then no longer belongs to it now. For the meaning of the terms 'signs,' 'symbols,' 'figures,' on which the whole argument turns, has been the subject of a very thorough investigation, and has been proved to have been very different for the Fathers of the first six centuries from what it is for us to-day. On such a point I imagine that the considered words of Professor Harnack will carry conclusive weight:

> What we nowadays understand by 'symbol' is a thing which is not that which it represents; at that time 'symbol' denoted a thing which, in some kind of way, really is what it signifies; but, on the other hand, according to the ideas of that period, the really heavenly element lay either in or behind the visible form without being identical with it. *Accordingly the distinction of a symbolic and realistic conception of the Supper is altogether to be rejected. . . .*[3]

Mr. Clarke also appeals to the authority of S. Thomas Aquinas in support of his views. He gives only one reference, but that unfortunately tells directly against him.[4] He has fallen into the common mistake of all those who are not familiar with the

[3] Harnack, *History of Dogma*, ii. p. 144. Compare also words to the same effect in vol. iv. p. 289, n. 2 of the same work.

[4] *Summa.* Quaestio LXXV., art. i.

Summa, and read the words of the objector as though they were those of Aquinas himself. But when St. Thomas at the beginning of this 'article' says that 'it seems that in this Sacrament there is not the Body of Christ in very truth, but only accordin to a figure, and as it were in a sign . . . according to the exposition of Augustine,' he is merely following his invariable metho of stating at the outset his objector's views, before coming to the contrary arguments and deciding in favour of the latter. This is the kind of error which it is worth while pointing out, merely in the interests of accurate reference.

Unhappily Mr. Clarke's mistakes do not end here. It is impossible to deal with them all, but one or two may be mentioned. As regards Baptism, he urges that Nowell's *Catechism* which is one of 'two authorised commentaries'[*] on the Church Catechism, warns us that the language of the latter about Baptismal Regeneration is 'to be taken on a charitable hypothesis.' I am not quite clear what these last words mean; but Nowell's *Catechism* speaks quite explicitly:

M. What is the secret and spiritual grace?
S. It is of two sorts; that is, forgiveness of sins and regeneration.

though he adds later that we do not obtain forgiveness by the outward washing or sprinkling of water: 'This honour therefore it is not lawful to give to the outward element'—a doctrine which I imagine Liddon would have accepted.

But it is when he is dealing with the Higher Criticism and the attitude which modern representatives of the Oxford Movement have adopted towards it, that Mr. Clarke lets loose the floods of his displeasure. Fortunately the marks of Prejudice, and its companion, Error, are splashed in such bright colours across these pages that specific refutation is needless. Everyone knows, for instance, that 'the allegorising Jews of Alexandria' took over nothing from 'the heathen philosopher Plotinus,' because they lived a century and a half before he was born. Reckless statements such as this correct themselves in the mind of the educated reader. But it is a graver matter when Mr. Clarke tries to yoke the Church of England with a reactionary view of the Scriptures which became quite untenable over fifty years ago. Happily the time has passed when we can be bludgeoned into believing the infallibility of Scripture, as Mr. Clarke understands it. And even if we could believe it, we should realise that Mr. Clarke's argument for the necessity of a certain guide applies *a fortiori* to the infallibility of the Pope. But none the less it is an ominous sign, when Mr. Clarke defends the

[*] The other is Mayor's *English Catechism*, which I have not got by me.

historicity of the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection by such arguments as the following:

> Six Jewish and several heathen prophecies of the Virgin Birth and of a resurrection of the dead were fulfilled in Him Who was to come as 'the desire of all nations' and 'the light and life of men.'

One may ask in passing on what grounds Mr. Clarke assumes a validity in non-Scriptural prophecies which he refuses to non-Scriptural miracles.[6] More relevant is it to ask how he can hope, in the face of all the work which has been done upon the origins of Christianity, to recommend the orthodox Creed to the general public by methods such as this. One can only suppose that he is so eager to 'track' the 'heresy'—the phrase smacks of the Papal Curia—of Modernism to its lair in the pages of *Lux Mundi*, that he does not feel the necessity of choosing carefully the weapons with which to make for his quarry.

I shall have more to say later about the true relation, as I conceive it, of the Oxford Movement to the Higher Criticism. Let me now only close this portion of my article with a few words about Mr. Clarke's attack on Liddon. As I have said, Liddon needs to-day no defence. Yet since he is taken in Mr. Clarke's articles as the embodiment of the Oxford Movement, it is only right that the more glaring of his misleading statements should be corrected. And it is difficult, when one goes at all closely into this matter, to refrain from a certain just indignation at the reckless, and often brutal, way in which he assails the memory of one of the great departed. Damaging phrases torn from their context—innuendoes skilfully suggested—private expressions of grief or difficulty held up for us to mock at—these are the features of his attack. Why, for instance, does he quote for us a mutilated passage from Lord Acton's letters, to show Lord Acton's opinion of Liddon, when he might have quoted the following:

> Assuredly Liddon is the greatest power in the conflict with sin, and in turning the minds of men to God, that the nation now possesses[7]?

Why does he not tell us that Acton's fear that Liddon was 'rather inclined to rely on others'—words which he italicises in his quotation—was later completely set at rest?[8] What does he mean by charging Liddon with being at one time a Roman

[6] See p. 350, n. 25, of the February number.

[7] *Acton's Letters to Mary Gladstone*, p. 202. Gladstone also speaks of him as 'the first champion of belief.' Liddon's *Life*, p. 312.

[8] *Acton's Letters to Mary Gladstone*, p. 191. Only when this article was in proof have I been able to find Mr. Clarke's quotation from Acton. It is composed of two quite unconnected passages from two different letters. The first is on pp. 179, 180, of the *Letters to Mary Gladstone*, and the sentences Mr. Clarke omits qualify the whole vitally. The second is on p. 182 of the same volume, and is the last sentence of Mr. Clarke's quotation: it represents an old doubt in Acton's mind, which Acton shows *on the very next page*, in the words I quote above, to have been already completely dispelled.

at heart both in doctrine and in practice,' when his own chosen authority, Lord Acton, writing at this same period, confesses his assurance that

> Liddon is made of sterner stuff than I fancied, that he knows exactly where he stands, where others have stood before him, and where and why he parts with them; that the course of Newman and the rest has no secrets and no surprises for him; that he looks a long way before him, and has no disposition to cling to the authority of others. In short, it appeared very decidedly that he is . . . fixed in his Anglican position?

But this is not the worst. In the January article on p. 142 Mr. Clarke writes of Liddon that 'he studiously insults on every occasion the cause of the Reformation and the Protestant interest,' and he cites as examples of this two facts—one, that 'he attends High Mass on St. Bartholomew's Day—the day on which . . . the Huguenots were massacred, with full concurrence of the Pope'; the other, that 'he preaches his first sermon at Oxford on St. Thomas's Day at the Church of St. Thomas the Martyr; for St. Thomas was the chief saint of the Middle Ages, a man of worldly mind and ungovernable temper, canonised for his lifelong successful opposition to the Crown.' Now what does all this rest upon? In *The Life and Letters of Henry Parry Liddon*, on page 15, we read:

> In the following month he was travelling on the Continent with his friend and pupil, Charles Bridges. Everywhere he notices with interest the Church life. He attends the High Mass at the Cathedral at Ghent on S. Bartholomew's Day.

And later, on page 28, we read:

> He was ordained deacon . . . on the Fourth Sunday in Advent, December 19, 1852 . . . His first sermon was preached on the following Tuesday, St. Thomas's Day, at the Church of St. Thomas the Martyr in Oxford.

Often, indeed, has men's distempered imagination put upon simple events constructions which they would not bear, but rarely, one must admit, to the extent which we find here.*

Such, then, are the methods which Mr. Clarke employs in his attack on the Oxford Movement. It is clearly best not to characterise them, but, by laying them bare, to let them speak for themselves. They have already delayed us too long. And we must come to the proper subject of this article.

II

In attempting to estimate the future of the Oxford Movement, and to gauge which, if any, of its especial principles are still pregnant and vitalising in the life of the Church of England to-day, one is confronted at the outset by several difficulties.

* A similar parody of the facts is to be found on pp. 146, 147 of Mr. Clarke's first article. See the *Life*, pp. 142, 143.

On the one hand, much of what the Oxford Movement stood for has been so thoroughly fused with the whole mass of forces and tendencies which have been operating in the Church for the last eighty years, that it is hard to disengage the one from the other, and to say that these features are a fruit of the Movement, and those others of something else. One has to beware, that is to say, of claiming for the Oxford Movement a future which belongs to the entire Church of England, and, indeed, to English Christianity itself. On the other hand, there is a real sense in which the Oxford Movement has died, and that more than once, even though it died each time only in giving birth to new forms. It died, for instance, with the birth of the Ritualistic movement; it died again when the authors of *Lux Mundi* frankly recognised the claims of that Liberalism—whether on its theological or its political side—which Newman said 'fretted him inwardly,' and against which he had 'fierce thoughts'; perhaps it has to die yet again, when the Church of England suffers the Disestablishment which the Movement was called into being to repel. But in all these cases it is a death to live. Its deepest characteristics—the sense of sacramental union with the Church of all the ages, the insistence on Theology as making religion rational, the tendency towards the ascetic life—all, in short, which has gone to make up its peculiar genius—these things have been transmitted without a break. There is no reason to suppose that they will pass.

When the Industrial Revolution came at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, it found the Church of England quite unready to cope with the new conditions of life which were then brought into being. The Church had not yet woken from the comfortable slumbers of the previous age. They were only relative slumbers, it is true; for, if the clergy were not awake to the higher and more spiritual claims of religion, they were awake to the pleasures and occupations of country life, and to the duties of bringing up families. We should never forget that to that age belongs the immortal Vicar of Wakefield. But they were emphatically not a clergy who could go anywhere and do anything; and by the end of the century, when this was most needed, their deficiencies were only too patent. Wesley's efforts to remedy them merely ended in his followers carrying on his work outside the Church's borders. There was, indeed, the Evangelical movement within the Church, and it bore much fruit; but, in the words of Dean Church, referring to the years immediately preceding the Oxford Movement:

> Their system was a one-sided and unnatural one, indeed in the hands of some of its expounders threatening morality and soundness of character.

And in the meantime the old High Church party was asleep, until their dreams were rudely broken by the thundering approach of 1882.

Whether or not the leaders of the Church had good reason for their fears of Disestablishment at the time of the Reform Bill is not very clear. True it is that one Bishop's palace was burnt; but later events would seem to show that their alarm was at least exaggerated. Be that as it may, Keble and Newman show quite plainly that it provided the outward stimulus for the Oxford Movement. The immediate question was: How could the Church be saved? And it involved a more ultimate one: What is the Church? The answer came in the form of a claim—the claim that the Church of England was one by unbroken historic succession with the Church of the First Age of Christianity, of the period covered by the New Testament writings. And the claim was substantiated by a twofold appeal—to antiquity, on the one hand, and, on the other, to the English Divines; or rather, to antiquity through the English Divines. Bishop Creighton used to point out that the reason why the English Reformation issued so differently from the Continental was that our Reformers were men of greater learning than Luther, Melanchthon, or Calvin. In other words, they appealed to antiquity with far wider and more accurate knowledge. So that the leaders of the Oxford Movement did not need to disown or to correct the principal Divines who had preceded them in the English Church. The appeal to them and the appeal to the Fathers went *pari passu*. Newman, for instance, writes:

> In 1834 and the following years I put this ecclesiastical doctrine on a broader basis, after reading Laud, Bramhall, and Stillingfleet, and other Anglican Divines, on the one hand, and after prosecuting the study of the Fathers on the other.[19]

Still more remarkable perhaps is the famous passage in the third chapter of the *Apologia*:

> As I declared on occasion of Tract 90, I claimed in behalf of who would in the Anglican Church, the right of holding with Bramhall a comprecation with the Saints, and the Mass all but Transubstantiation with Andrewes, or with Hooker that Transubstantiation itself is not a point for Churches to part Communion upon, or with Hammond that a General Council, truly such, never did, never shall err in a matter of faith, or with Bull that man had in Paradise, and lost on the Fall, a supernatural habit of grace, or with Thorndike that penance is a propitiation for post-baptismal sin, or with Pearson that the all-powerful name of Jesus is no otherwise given than in the Catholic Church.

Such then was the cardinal principle of the Oxford Movement at its beginning. It was to make the belief, which the Creed enshrines, in 'one Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church,' a living and real thing for members of the Church of England. But this

[19] *Apologia*, ch. ii.

was not the only seeming innovation in the Tractarian theology. The appeal to the historic Church involved naturally an exaltation of the Sacraments. Baptism and the Holy Communion were invested with vital and supernatural meaning. The net result was to restore in the Church of England what we may call the Catholic life—that way of life which had affirmed itself and proved its worth as normally necessary to the Saints of the Christian Church. But a word should be said here upon a point which cannot help interesting us to-day. To-day we naturally associate a high valuation of the Sacraments with the practice of elaborate Ritual. But it was not so in the early days. Some words of Dr. Pusey's show what was his attitude as regards Ritual. They occur in a letter written in 1839, incorporated in the second volume of his *Life* :[11]

> On this ground, among others, I should deprecate seeking to restore the richer style of vestments used in Edward the Sixth's reign . . . It seems beginning at the wrong end for ministers to deck their own persons: our own plain dresses are more in keeping with the state of our Church, which is one of humiliation: it does not seem in character to revive gorgeous or even in any degree handsome dresses in a day of reproach and rebuke and blasphemy: these are not holy-day times.

And there is much else in the letter to the same effect.

The Oxford Movement, then, started by bringing into the full light of day the Catholic and Apostolic character of the Church of England, historically considered, and by restoring the Sacramental life, which had been the mainstay of most of the Saints: while, on the other hand, it discouraged any serious advance in Ritual. Moreover, it was a reaction against Liberalism, which seemed to be carrying all before it. As Newman writes:

> The vital question was, How were we to keep the Church from being Liberalised?

Now, since the period to which these words apply, two marked changes have overtaken the Movement. The first took place when the Oxford Movement became the Ritualistic Movement: the second, when in *Lux Mundi* it came to terms with Liberalism. I have spoken above of these two events as occasions when the Oxford Movement died to live. As regards the first of these, it came as a necessity if the Catholic religion was to be the religion of a people, and not only of a University. It was the Ritualists who applied in the parishes the principles which the Tractarians had taught, and had hoped to keep, for a time at least, free from spectacular alloy. But it was not to be. Men who believed in the Divine appointment of the Church, and in the reality of the Sacraments, could not be expected to hide

[11] *Life of E. B. Pusey, D.D.*, vol. ii. p. 142 ff. The whole letter is worth perusal on this subject.

their profession under a bushel, more especially when the rubrics of the Prayer Book provided, or seemed to provide, for its proper expression. It is difficult for us now to believe that so much stir could have been caused by practices which to-day we take as a matter of course. Such usages as preaching in a surplice, daily reciting Mattins and Evensong in church, vesting the choristers in surplices, were innovations so serious as to gain for the innovators the nickname of 'ultra-rubricians.' We smile: but we should do well to remember that customs such as these, which are universal now, are part of the direct debt which we owe to the Oxford Movement. It is little more than sixty years ago that they evoked popular riots, and an extensively signed memorial to the Queen. Unfortunately, the Bishops themselves joined in the protests against the changes, and in the effort to restrain them; thereby losing a hold on the more advanced of their clergy which it has taken a long time to regain, and which can only be fully regained by more widespread sympathy and understanding. How much later trouble might have been avoided, if they had secured then the confidence of the parish priests! As it was, the Ritualists were left largely without shepherds, and there followed several decades of civil war within the Church. They were not the men to go back. Vestments, Altar-lights, Crosses and Crucifixes, Eastward position—these naturally followed in the wake of the rest: until by the end of the century there were hundreds of churches whose ritual practices would have left Keble or Pusey aghast.

This is perhaps the place at which to try and gauge the permanence of the Ritualistic movement. I have said that it came inevitably—inevitably because religious principles cannot help but clothe themselves. And by the same inevitability it must continue in one form or another. It is no longer a matter of suppressing 'illegal' practices in the Church of England: that has been tried and has failed. Nor is it a matter of winking at them. For that is largely responsible for the trouble we are in now. Deprived of guidance in those quarters whence guidance might most have been looked for, it is no wonder if some of our parish priests have found it in modern ritual and devotional developments of the Roman Church. One may admit that this is regrettable—regrettable because it is substituting fashion for traditional use and identifying Romanism with Catholicism; but it is not surprising. It is the chief function of authority in religion to ensure the subordination of caprice, which is local and individual, to a wider wisdom born of the experience of many climes and peoples: and on this point of Ritual, Authority had until recently [12] failed us. Yet there is no reason to suppose that

[12] *I take the Report of the five Bishops alluded to earlier as a turning-point.*

these errors are permanent on either side: or that, if the Bishops would collectively recognise Catholic Ritual, they would find very much difficulty in regulating it.

The second great change came with *Lux Mundi*. Hitherto the Oxford Movement had been at daggers drawn with Liberalism. That term covered the new critical theology of Germany as well as the new political thought which had originated with Bentham. It is with the first of these that we are concerned for the moment. The particular Essay in *Lux Mundi* which embodied the change was that of the present Bishop of Oxford on 'The Holy Spirit and Inspiration.' Those who have read Liddon's Life will remember how gravely he regarded the position there adopted, and how harmful he expected it to be. In a letter of that date, for instance, he describes it as 'a capitulation at the feet of the young Rationalistic Professors, by which the main positions which the old Apologists of Holy Scripture have maintained are conceded to the enemy.'[13]

But this change, like the one before it, came because it was inevitable, if the Movement was not to imitate the ostrich and hide its brains in the sand. It was no use, even if it had been any longer possible, to refuse to see. It is true that the step then taken has been fruitful of further steps. Once accept critical principles with regard to the Old Testament, and you cannot keep them out from the New. But the authors of *Lux Mundi* knew what they were facing, and they believed that the critical process, justly applied, could only issue in the vindication of the historical element of Christianity. The process is not yet over; but already the theories of the Tübingen school as to the late date of the Gospels have been discarded, and the authenticity of many of the Epistles, once disputed, is now very widely admitted. Nay, more, the more thorough-going criticism is serving only to bring into ever clearer light—not by the old methods, but by methods more scientific—the truths which the Church has always held most dear.

But the contribution of the Oxford Movement towards the solution of the critical problem has not lain only in the frank acceptance of critical methods. It has also added to the data under discussion. The phrase is a bold one, but not too bold. The weakness of German theology is that it takes as data for criticism the documents of the New Testament, considered *in vacuo*: Anglican theology finds its data in the life of the Church, in which those documents play a part. We set the Gospels within a larger horizon, and treat them in reference to the whole life of the community in and for which they were written. It is true that in a sense the Germans do this; they deal, for

[13] *Life*, p. 367.

instance, with the history of the Apostolic Age as well as with the Gospels. But—to use a popular distinction—the documents are to them in the main objective. There is no organic and necessary connexion between their corporate religious life and that of the first age. But with us it is otherwise. We have, and we are conscious of having, a corporate life which forms an unbroken *continuum* with that of the primitive Church. For having it, we have to thank the moderation of our Reformers; for being conscious of it, we have largely to thank the Oxford Movement. And it means that the true setting of the Gospels is not the Apostolic age only, but the history of the Church, considered as a whole—not the primitive Church any more than the Church of to-day. So that the Gospels bear as close a subjective relation to us as to those who wrote them, or who read them at the first: and our faith and experience are as relevant to their interpretation as were theirs. Thus, any theory as to the historical value of the Gospels must explain not only them: it must also, if it is to be true, rationalise our religious experience as well. Schleiermacher has said that 'Rationalism tries to explain religion from without, Reason from within.' The saying may be applied to the historical element in religion: and it illustrates the claim I am advancing that the Church of England through the Oxford Movement brought a new datum into the critical controversy, and one which is essential if we are to arrive at the truth. Rationalism was what the early Tractarians expelled; what the authors of *Lux Mundi* and their disciples have introduced is—not Rationalism—but Reason. Neither of these parties stood for Reaction, save in so far as the reconsideration of a movement like the Reformation and its fruits was bound to show that, in certain points, its principles had been carried to unnecessary and illogical extremes. But they differed in that while the one stood upon its defence, the other has carried the war into the enemy's country.

But it is not only in the sphere of the Critical Problem that the achievement of the Oxford Movement in bringing the Church to self-consciousness is important. It has a rôle to fulfil also in the whole field of Theology and Apologetic. This is a task on which it has hardly yet entered; it belongs to the present and to future generations. It is none other than the discovery of a satisfactory doctrine of Authority in Religion. In this matter the Tractarians looked for guidance to the Fathers; the authors of *Lux Mundi* did likewise, only with a greater realisation that the knowledge of no age was final or conclusive; there remains to-day a school of thought—as yet only in its infancy—making what is ultimately the same appeal, if in a wider form, and conscious of having inherited it, through the authors of *Lux*

Mundi, from the Tractarians. And the appeal is necessary. Apologetic is rapidly coming to fight its battles on the field of the problem of knowledge; and we are coming more and more to recognise that Theology—as, indeed, every branch of science—rests on assumptions which are capable indeed of partial verification, but not capable of proof. We shall not be 'vilifying reason'—to use Bishop Butler's phrase—but only be accepting loyally its normal methods, if we thus hold that knowledge rests on the affirmations of an instinct or sense of fitness. This sense of fitness, which Bishop Butler would perhaps have called insight into probability, and which has affinities with Newman's 'illative sense,' must, of course, be educated by experience which is *in pari materia* with its affirmations, and must be governed by concern to reach Truth. It is claimed, for instance, and claimed with growing confidence, that the strange measure of unanimity (far more striking than the measure of discord) in regard to such *fundamental affirmations, among those who live the Christian* and Catholic life—nay, more, indeed, the strange approximation to Catholic doctrine even outside Christianity itself—indicates a real education of a sense of fitness; whence we may expect, if the analogy of other fields of knowledge counts for anything, that valid affirmations will ensue. Thus, as we believe that the broad tradition of scientific thought involves the real emergence of valid principles which baffle complete experimental verification—such, for instance, as the principle of the Uniformity of Nature—so we believe the same of the broad tradition of Christian thought; claiming for the one the cogency which all the world gives readily to the other. In both cases alike the principles should enjoy at least provisional credence, not only in the measure in which they can be verified, but because they are affirmed by men whose instinct is peculiarly educated in the relevant experience and interest; in both cases alike entrance into the tradition brings us by instinct to make the same affirmations; in both cases alike we realise that progress is social, and —seeking not so much the solution of all riddles for our own comfort as the advance of knowledge—accept a broad, yet highly individualised, tradition, that we may criticise it and enrich it from within. Finally, we feel bound to emphasise the danger of development of thought which simply follows instinct, without checking it at frequent points by fact. Accordingly, we insist that any Christian theology which claims to be true must verify itself in an unrivalled power to account for religious experience, as we have it now, and as the Saints have had it in the past, and pre-eminently for the unique experience of the Apostolic times. Or, to put it conversely, as we accept our Lord on the guarantee of His character, so we seek the best explanation of His teaching

and His life from the lips of those who have best followed His example.[14]

In conclusion, one may ask what the conditions will be under which the work of the Oxford Movement will be carried on in the future, whether in the Universities or in the parishes of town and country. As regards England, at least, we do not live in that daily fear of immediate Disestablishment which was so widespread at the time of Keble's Assize Sermon. The character and temper of the Church of England have changed radically since those days. Our Bishops no longer live apart from the people, surveying with aristocratic aloofness the movements which go on beneath them. Our priests no longer regard the ministry as a comfortable profession, where in time one may be sure of rising to the enjoyment of a freehold and a life of ease. And for the change the Oxford Movement has been not a little responsible. Its leaders stressed above all things the spiritual and the inward side of the clerical calling; if the clergy had also a recognised place in the national life, that was an accident of history, not an integral part of their vocation. The result was that the Bishops left the seclusion of their palaces, and threw themselves into the life of the new democracy : while the Ritualist clergy penetrated into the poorest districts of our great cities, and lived amid surroundings of squalor, relieved only by the beauty of their Church Services and the gratitude of their parish folk. We to-day have entered into their labours. It is through them that we have now a vital interior sympathy with the life of all classes of the community, that we touch it at every point, and that we can be its guide, philosopher, and friend. And in this we have a great advantage over Nonconformity. On the one hand, our parochial endowments ensure that no section of the people shall be left without the succours of religion. On the other, the fact of our historic connexion with the past tends to check the temptation to compromise with the world, and to preach what will be acceptable to it instead of the teaching which Christ has given to us. Whether the nation will continue for many decades to avail itself of these services is another matter. But even should it desire otherwise—should it decide or be cajoled into depriving the Church of those resources which are necessary to the prosecution of its warfare—we stand ultimately in a far stronger position than we did eighty years ago. Such a measure, if it came, would probably be disastrous to the nation, and shake its world-wide credit to the foundations; and it would set back the cause of Christianity in England and abroad for several

[14] I owe this outline of a doctrine of Authority to my friend and colleague, Mr. Spens.

generations. But that is all. For, since 1832, the Church has become self-conscious; it knows where it stands, and could avail itself of its freedom. It has learnt that its roots are set, not in human soil, but in places where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and it would work, without alarm and without compromise, at the building of the City of God.

E. G. Selwyn.

'UGLINESS,' 'BEAUTY,' AND MR. FREDERIC HARRISON

I SALUTE in Mr. Harrison, before I go into action, a veteran of the Old Guard, one of the original band who gathered round the mast when this Review was launched just five-and-thirty years ago, in the 'roaring moon of daffodil and crocus.' On his own field of legal history I should not venture to challenge him; in that of the morals and methods of art his authority is more questionable, and I venture to dispute the reasoning and conclusions of his recent article.[1] I will not linger over some more than doubtful literary history[2] in his opening pages, nor stop to discuss the judgment that dismisses Wagner as unmelodious, that brings Doré the illustrator and the writers of *feuilletons* about millionaires and motors into the discussion of great art. My business is with his general attitude towards what he stamps as foul or ugly in the arts, and more particularly in the art of one sculptor.

It would take me too far to deal with all the writers who horrify Mr. Harrison: but his list of the openers of the gates includes Tolstoi, Ibsen and Zola.[3] These are all what may be called 'uncomfortable' writers, and it is this quality, perhaps, rather than the grossness of detail that might be urged against one of them, that links them, in Mr. Harrison's mind, with so different a writer as d'Annunzio. They are uncomfortable writers for the sentimentalist, and it is the revenge of reality on the sentimentalist that he ceases to be able to recognise a moralist when he meets one. If a critical case is to be urged against them, it is surely not that they are servants of foulness, but that they are haters of it so fervent that their view of life becomes distorted. Their analogues in English literature are Mr. Harrison's friends, Carlyle and Ruskin. The grave moralist and puritan Tolstoi, the ironic moralist Ibsen, the furious moralist Zola describe ugly things, but they certainly do not love them; and if boys

[1] 'Aischro-Latreia: the Cult of the Foul,' *Nineteenth Century and After*, February 1912.

[2] *E.g.* his tracing of the extravagance of *Monte Christo* to the example of Hugo. Hugo was undoubtedly an influence with Dumas; but they were exactly contemporaries, and Monte Cristo was nearly twenty years the senior of Jean Valjean.

[3] Gorky also, who, it must be remembered, has come up from the hell he describes, as did Dante, who went down into his.

and furtive readers of more advanced years go to Zola for his grossness, it is exactly as these boys go to certain pages of the Bible. They would not go in that spirit if a shameful secrecy were not maintained about matters that every human being ought to understand. That the spirit rather than the matter of these writers offends Mr. Harrison becomes clear if we put beside this list another, which he has himself furnished in a gossip about the books to which he turns by preference in his library.[4] He does not condemn writers because they deal with the erotic or the scabrous side of life; for among the ancients he singles out for eulogy Petronius, Apuleius and Longus, the author of *Daphnis and Chloe*. These are writers whom Mudie would not circulate in a complete translation; writers who describe what is forbidden to the libraries not with the puritan's repugnance, but with complaisance and zest. To this list are added the authors of the *Fabliaux*, Boccaccio, and Rabelais. So Mr. Harrison's surprising position is that writers who enjoy this element are praiseworthy, writers who detest it are 'foul.'

There is no question here, be it remembered, of pornographers; they are more often to be found in the ranks of pseudo-scientific writers than of artists. Nor does Mr. Harrison, it is clear, object to plainness of speech. What is considered indecent in spoken or printed language varies with time and place. In polite American circles the word 'leg' is said to be taboo, just as for a short period 'trousers' were 'unmentionables' in ladylike English. In our own day some dozen direct words at most are unprintable, and that not in all cases because they are not wanted in literature, but a good deal because the simple words have become, on the lips that habitually use them, *malhonnêtes*. Hence the need of periphrasis. But there is nothing human, given the imaginative necessity for its expression, that literature cannot decently handle, however wary the handling must be in a region devastated by the leering habit. Mr. Harrison allows, if I understand him, that Boccaccio and Rabelais have a right to this region on their own terms: what is difficult, in the face of prudery, is to maintain for poetry its greater right, the right to treat as clean and sacred the passionate climax of life.

Mr. Harrison's idea that the three modern writers enumerated represent a mere reaction against the blamelessness of Scott, Dickens, Thackeray and their period is quite untenable. It is rather the case that the convention of these last is an interruption in literary tradition; the convention, namely, that nothing should be printed for grown-up people that could not be read in the nursery. For Scott and Dickens this very likely meant no constraint; indeed, for Dickens it meant an inspiration, since each period of literature

[4] 'Among my Books,' *English Review*, January and February 1912.

has the great writers proper to it.[5] But Thackeray was not so happy; his themes required a greater freedom, and we know how he chafed under the restrictions of the libraries. The code, already infringed in different ways by Byron and Shelley, was short-lived. Later novelists, from Meredith and Hardy onwards, have sacrificed the wide nursery audience to the demands of a more masculine conscience, and have left the provision of nursery literature to those who are happy within its boundaries. I do not deny that the change from one convention to another and the growth of free speech have been the opportunity for uncomfortable writers of another cast, who found an ambiguous pleasure in breaking in upon the nursery for the sake of shocking the nurse. Such incidents are the toll we pay for the Mudie period; but even if the nurse is as much shocked as she is taught to appear, it takes a very great deal, I believe, really to shock our grandmothers, which is the aim, Mr. Harrison says, of much recent art.' Our grandfathers, perhaps, are more frequently shocked; but what in them is rendered uncomfortable is less often a tender than a guilty conscience.

If the free handling of life by moralists like Tolstoi, Ibsen and Zola is not the obscene in art, what is? I, for my part, find it in just the sort of thing which the sentimentalists usually admire. That lascivious prettiness which pervades our library literature and popular drama is also the characteristic of the painting and sculpture usually called 'academic.' This admixture of the sensual and seductive with sacred and heroic themes and persons is what made classic sculpture from Praxiteles downwards a popular tyranny of fashion till the other day. It was this that tainted the art of Perugino and Raphael, that was gradually corrupting the art even of Leonardo, and makes that of his followers noisome; this that affected the middle period of Titian; in later times reached a climax in Greuze, and later still struggled with the ascetic draughtsman's impulse of Ingres, winning a ludicrous triumph in the *Turkish Bath.* This same mixture forms the staple of the 'ideal' pictures in our academies, rendered the painting of so considerable a designer as Leighton nauseous, and became comically indecent in Calderon's *Renunciation* and many other specimens of Chantrey art. This same mixture makes

[5] I do not know whether it has ever been observed, and if not I add the observation as my trifling contribution to the subject of the day, why Sam Weller was created. He was brought upon the scene to reassure timid readers on the propriety of Mr. Jingle and Miss Wardle when Wardle caught them at the inn after their elopement. It had to be unobtrusively established that they had occupied separate bedrooms, in the situation that is the nearest point to tragedy permitted in the histories of our stage, that of a night spent blamelessly together away from home by members of the opposite sex. Dickens ingeniously brought a character on to prove this by his comments on the boots collected from the different doors, and out of this trifling occasion sprang the immortal Weller!

novels popular, and, blessed by the Censor, fills our theatres with close-packed rows of matrons, curates, young people and old gentlemen, who murmur, while the little dressmakers' models on the stage languish, display and undress themselves, 'Beautiful scenery!' York Powell used to tell how he went to a music-hall with a certain Highland professor of history. There came upon the stage a planturous lady in tights, who sang about the hymns she had learned at her mother's knee. 'Hymns and tights!' moaned the Highlander; 'Hymns and tights,* Powell! What a nation!' Neither the Highlander nor the Frenchman condemns one or the other of those things in their own place, but he does not so often mix them; and what shocks both of them in the British (I reserve 'English' for a cleaner tradition), is just their complacent adoration of the mixture, which is what, in this country, is usually described as 'pure.' The quality of this 'purity' is brought out in the incomparably British legend (dear to academics) of Lady Godiva, who is said to have ridden naked through Coventry, but did not do so because everyone was shut up indoors. Neither side could trust its pride and modesty to such an ordeal. The hero and martyr of the occasion was Peeping Tom, who was obliged to look through a keyhole. The British and the French, like Blake's angels and devils, shock one another, and what the foreigner observes with wonder in Mrs. and Miss Grundy is an extraordinary gift for affecting to be singing a hymn, while—but I had better follow Mr. Harrison no further.

Mr. Harrison's main theme is Auguste (not, by the way, 'Augustin') Rodin, and his art, and this introduces us to a tangle of ideas about sculpture, and its relation to the other arts, that we must try to clear up. First, however, a word about Rodin's place in history and influence. He is not, as Mr. Harrison seems to think, a very recent influence, and he is no longer a fashionable one. The school that is now occupying critics and youthful artists is a different one—a school of simplified and massive forms, more architectural than Rodin's, represented by the Frenchman Maillol, the Servian Meštrović and the semi-English Epstein. This by the way. Rodin is a veteran, born nine years later than Mr. Harrison himself, who, after untold struggles, first emerged into recognition with *L'âge d'airain* in the year 1877. This figure at least Mr. Harrison would admire; it is so close-modelled on life that it was rejected from the Salon as a cast from the model. The phase that Mr. Harrison detests began with Rodin's study of Dante, the book

* In deference to any over-sensitive readers of this Review I weaken the plain word used, though Mr. Harrison has been, shall I say, *αἰσχρολόγος* with a relish in his descriptions of Rodin's sculpture.

that of all others Mr. Harrison admires.[1] The effort to express the passions of the *Inferno* in terms of another art took the shape of the *Porta de l'Enfer*, a project several times remodelled and never completed; and the *Ugolino* (a subject, by the way, handled by Reynolds also, properest of academics) is but one episode from that whole, as is also *Danaïde*, and many other pieces, which have been detached and carried out separately. The source and subjects, then, are not themselves *corrupt*; but here, Mr. Harrison says, is the radical error of Rodin: the attempt to give plastic shape to what can only properly be treated in literature. I will deal with that general question in a moment, but first let me remark that if Rodin is wrong, his error is by no means a new one; there is an unbroken medieval tradition in sculpture and painting dealing with the torments of the damned that is continued at the Renaissance and reaches its climax in the *Last Judgment* of Michael Angelo. This tradition was brutal and somewhat farcical, one of grotesque devils pitchforking unhappy souls into the jaws of Hell, or playing various obscene tricks with them, an external and physical idea of damnation. What Dante did was to combine with the lingering horrors and foulness of that conception the idea that had been gathering substance from Homer to Virgil of a world in which unhappiness was not a punishment but a state, in which souls were 'themselves their own fever and pain'; and what Rodin did was further to free the conception from a shallow and grotesque externality, and present it in a series of typical episodes of creatures self-tormented by appetite and lust. There has therefore, from first to last, been a give-and-take in this theme between sculpture and literature, in which sculpture has had nearly as much to say for itself as literature.

Was this a mistake, as Mr. Harrison thinks? We must at once allow to him, though he gives entirely wrong reasons for the view, that in representing the terrible, the horrible and the pitiful, it does make a difference whether the art be that of words, of painting or of sculpture. One great difference is that of immediacy; words do not render the thing seen, but refer to it only, and can therefore pass at once from the material fact, half visualised, to its moral implications, with just as little or as much pressure on the image evoked as the artist chooses. The painter's image, or the sculptor's, on the other hand, does necessarily fix the eye and mind on the material fact, on the terrible or pitiful figure; and there is a difference also between the painter's and the sculptor's image in this respect: not the difference Mr. Harrison sets up, that one is an art of surfaces and the other not, for both are arts of surfaces, tangible as well as visible in the case of sculpture,

[1] 'All of us to whom Dante is the new Bible.' 'To me Dante has ever been the source and foundation of my love of great imaginative thought.' *English Review*, January 1912.

visible only in the case of painting. The difference is that painting can use much more freely than sculpture means of attenuation. Painting, rendering only one point of view, differs in that respect from sculpture in the round, though not from sculpture in relief (which is half drawing, and which Rodin used in the *Gate of Hell*); but painting also has the resources of fixed shadow and of atmosphere, as well as the devices of an immensely freer composition to cover up, to veil, to work by suggestion rather than by complete presentation. It is, by the way, an extension of some of those devices, already employed in relief sculpture (compare the 'stiacciato' of Donatello's almost vaporous *Christ's Charge to Peter* at Kensington), to sculpture in the round that Mr. Harrison objects to; the emergence of half-veiled shapes from the marble, the leaving parts of a figure or group engaged in the block. Rodin is here meeting Mr. Harrison half way, but gets no thanks for it. I point this out, but do not insist, because I do not think those are Rodin's happiest works; his best work is not in marble, but in bronze. I come back to the crux of the argument. It is admitted that literature, with a Dante, may treat of the horrible and pitiful; it is admitted that if sculpture so treats, the impression produced, being solid and material, is visually more intense. What, then, are the demands of the imagination on the sculptor, if he take up responsibilities admittedly so heavy? We may answer generally that the image created must justify, in its beauty and significance, the horror that it brings before not only our mind but our eyes, justify to the eyes in beauty, to the mind in significance. Let us take the second of these demands first, and ask what it implies in the sculptor's art. He is required, evidently, to find, in terms of modelling, what will convey to us not merely the brute fact, but his attitude towards the fact; his horrible or pitiful figure must become not merely visible to the eye, but expressive to the imagination, carry with it a sentiment of pity, awe, repugnance or revolt. The thing must cry out its meaning; such tame scientific enumeration of facts as is proper in a text-book of pathology will be disgusting in a work of art. The artist must minimise the insignificant facts, underline and emphasise the significant, so that just as the humane spectator of the fact, unless he be a doctor, will not set to work to catalogue to himself what he sees, but will exclaim 'How terrible!' so will he on seeing the sculpture, and pass on with a mind 'purged by pity and terror.'

But the odd thing is that just at this point of the argument Mr. Harrison becomes unbelievably wrong-headed, and denies to the art of tragic sculpture the means of justifying its existence. He goes further; he denies to sculpture any means of expression whatever. It is his incredible belief that sculpture begins and ends

with the exact reproduction, as by a cast, of the human form. If that be so, why do we have sculptors at all? We have, indeed, very few; most so-called sculptors are content with imperfect casts of the human form, just as most so-called painters are content with bungled photographs. But the art of the painter or sculptor only begins where the photograph or the cast leaves off, begins with the choice and emphasis of forms that make lucid, in the outer image, the inner spirit. But then, says Mr. Harrison, you turn sculpture into an art of caricature. Certainly: or more precisely caricature is an expressive image for the purposes of comedy or farce; but the tragic image is arrived at by the same processes of elimination, emphasis, and creative remaking that satire uses with another intention. Portraiture itself gains its object by this process; but what we call 'caricature' in the comic image we call 'character' in the serious portrait; and Rodin, in his *Balzac*, his *Hugo*, his many splendid busts, is a master of portraiture, because he there works to bring out in his modelling the essential character that in the photograph or the cast is covered up and disguised by a hundred casual and trivial details. The two processes, that of getting the tame facts and that of modifying for expression, are, as it happens, very distinct in Rodin's practice. Mr. Harrison calls him an 'impressionist' sculptor. I do not know what that means, unless the method of working for an effect from one point of view only—a method fatal if the point of view is altered. Rodin's method is the reverse: he arrives at his facts by studying the profiles of a form from endless points of view. When this process is complete, the bust or figure exists as Mr. Harrison would have it, save that it has those 'movements' of life impossible to the relaxed muscles of the cast. On this he then works for 'expression,' amplifying here, reducing there, bringing out the latent character, till the form tells the story he has read in it. It was a long time before he would admit that there was any such modification: the process was so half-conscious that twelve years ago he held out that all he did was to amplify contours a little to allow for the irradiation of light. But in the book Mr. Harrison quotes from,[*] Rodin, or his interpreter, concedes all that I then contended for, the exaggeration of traits and gestures for expressive purposes. I may add that to one who can read between the lines it is evident that M. Gsell, the amiable reporter, has 'amplified' in places what Rodin himself is likely to have said. There is a sentimental filling out of the text that should be received with caution. Rodin arrives only gradually at the theory of what he has been doing, and catches often at an explanation offered, just as he waits for a title to be proposed for something he has created by a plastic inspiration.

[*] *L'Art* par Auguste Rodin. *Entretiens réunis* par Paul Gsell.

So much on the side of significance and expression. But those embodiments of horror might still be intolerable if they were not beautiful as well as expressive, since beauty is the medicine of art for wounds to sensibility. And here we come to more difficult ground. It is usual to bilk the discussion by the assertion that the 'ugly' as well as the beautiful has its place in art. But that is to talk nonsense, and give the case of tragic art away; and I propose to pursue the argument further. This use of 'ugly' and 'beautiful' rests upon ambiguity and confusion; we employ the words in two senses. When we speak of a 'beautiful' woman we mean not necessarily that she is a 'beautiful' object to draw, for most of her poses will be useless to the artist; we mean partly that her rhythm and colour and movement are beautiful, but we mean also that she is to us as men admirable or desirable: admirable for the qualities of health, youth, perfection of structure, for the harmony of nature and promise of womanly virtues of which we find an index in natural physical signs; on the other hand, we more frequently mean that she is seductive to the senses, and people who use 'beauty' chiefly to mean this are completely puzzled when they hear others call the face of an aged crone as painted by Rembrandt 'beautiful'—more beautiful than a pretty face by Greuze or Bouguereau. The seduction, the youth, the associations which they have included in the word 'beauty' have passed away from Rembrandt's subject, and even the moral associations of a fine character, to which the face is an index, may also be wanting: associations for which once more we use that hard-worked word when we should use 'noble.' But if we limit 'beauty' to the elements of rhythm in line, proportion in parts, harmony in colour, the crone's head as painted may be as beautiful as the lovely girl's, or more so. This is what 'beauty' means to the artist, and those other elements belong to the side, not of beauty, but of significance. On that side they have their enormous importance: the significance to us of loveliness is so great that artists will constantly sacrifice more beautiful subjects for its sake, but if we wish to be clear-headed we shall call it 'loveliness' and not 'beauty.' The truth is—and here I shall be accused, no doubt, of paradox, but I must follow where the argument leads—the truth is that the element of beauty in a lovely woman is small compared with the attraction she exercises by her perfection as a woman. A human being, considered rhythmically, is at the best a spoiled animal, distorted by standing on its hind legs. We condone the loss of beauty for the sake of the measure of divinity which the animal through this loss has attained; but in beauty, pure and simple, a toad is more complete than an Apollo or a Venus. This is the reason why an

element of silliness clings to classic sculpture in which the human figure is posed as an object of pure beauty, and why such efforts so soon decline into voluptuous prettiness. The human figure is hardly beautiful enough for unoccupied pose as a pure ornament, and sculpture must engage it in block-like shapes, as did Michael Angelo, or give it the rhythm and significance of action, as does Rodin, to relieve it of this haunting insufficiency.

We are now ready to confront Mr. Harrison's crowning example of the horrible and foul in Rodin's art, for I do not think I need defend his *Bourgeois de Calais*. That splendid piece of character work solves a problem in design never before attempted. For Rodin here is not dealing with the composition of one single figure to be seen from all the points on a circle in succession—the ordinary and difficult enough problem of the sculptor in the round—but with six figures at once, that move among themselves as the spectator moves, an infinite, almost, of design. I will pass from that and come to *La Vieille Heaulmière*. Mr. Harrison tells us that the title means, in antique French, 'The Old Strumpet.' His obsession here has obscured his scholarship, for the words mean simply 'The Armourer's (helmet-maker's) daughter grown old,' the subject of Villon's poem. I have heard an eminent Academician say of this figure that 'no gentleman could have done it.' Certainly no mere gentleman could, but the phrase seems to point to a confusion of two arts. If we were to put upon the stage, or to bring into a room to be stared at, an old woman such as is here sculptured, the effect would be shocking, because whether she minded it or not, we should imagine it for her as a personal outrage, and therefore be uncomfortable. But we must not be frightened by being told that she is 'ugly.' She is far from lovely, but any artist who can free himself from the enthralling attraction of loveliness will tell you that the deeply marked character, the engraving of Time in fold and wrinkle make her as much more ready and rich material for drawing than a smooth pretty girl, as a gnarled tree is more beautiful than a slip from the nurseryman. To this beauty in the subject the artist has added the rhythm of the pose, which at the same time expresses the tragic appeal of dejection, weariness and feebleness in the decrepit being. We are weak creatures; we cannot stand a great deal of knowledge about ourselves; we must, for the most part, pass easily, without looking or thinking, on one side or the other; a figure like this is not an ornament for the dining-room or the drawing-room or the street; but either the *Triumph of Time* was a morbid deviation of the poet's, or the sculptor also has his right to compose a *De Senectute* less comfortable than Cicero's. And if this be permitted, the particular subject here treated calls for realism, since that is of its essence.

So much for the tragic side in Rodin's work, but there is another count in the indictment. Rodin is also erotic. We are, all of us, in our degree, erotic, except a few unfortunates. Not all the great creators have given in their art a special expression to this element; but the most various and healthy, as well as the most narrow and morbid are apt to do so. The Eros of Rodin is not the green-sickness of the *Venus and Adonis* of Shakespeare, nor the conventual gauloiserie of the *Contes Drolatiques;* nor is it one of the deviations that afflicted some of his great predecessors in plastic art; it is not the obscene compromise of a Leda or a Danaë, still less is it the perversion of British prudery. He touches more than one point in the poetry of love, that ranges from *The Song of Songs* to Dante. And he is found, at times, among the Fauns and Satyrs, as how could he fail to be, having himself their form? His Satyrs are Satyrs unashamed; the Frenchman, when he joins the Bacchants, does it almost as frankly as the Greek Brygos who painted ithyphallic riots on his vases. But, the Dionysus of Rodin being Dionysus, his Apollo also is Apollo.

When sculptors use tragic realism, Mr. Harrison calls it 'foul'; when they set out to render 'dreams,' he tells them it is impossible. Let him ask Donatello and Michael Angelo what they think of the domain he would allow their art.

D. S. MacColl.

WANTED: A MINISTRY OF FINE ARTS

It is not for want of being told of our faults that we do not mend them. Not a book or pamphlet is published to-day, not a newspaper article printed—saving always those of the permanent journalistic staff—but points out to us the serious defects in our national system.

An ex-President of a friendly nation dines at our expense and scolds us like a schoolmaster for our want of attention to lessons. The Headquarters Staff of an inimical nation indicates to us the vulnerable points in our armaments and the weak spots that we will not strengthen until 'the horse is stolen.' At home we are not more free from criticism. Beginning with the ordinary necessities of life, such as the coal-supply and its blackmail, the telephone service and its irregularity, the taximeter cab and its brigandage, down to the more vital questions of cancer and carelessness, infant mortality and sweated labour—the last two may well be bracketed with regard to the mothers—we are treated to the private opinion of every individual who has a grievous experience on any one of these subjects, and who relieves his mind or shifts his responsibilities by printing, publishing, or preaching on whatever abuse comes within his range of sight or knowledge.

To all these attacks we as a nation remain magnificently impervious. Our imperturbability is at once the gibe of other peoples and the envy. For have we not muddled through for centuries with discredit to our vanity and credit to our bankers? Why put a house in order that, with the worst cooks in the world and the coldest staircases, is at the same time the most sought after and the most frequented? England remains commercially, socially, and artistically the Mecca of merchants, millionaires, and 'maestros.' To have the hall-mark of London punched into the solid silver of endeavour means the establishment of a market-value all over the world. Why or how this has come about it is not easy to say, for commercially the English are as slow to adopt a new article as they are socially quick to accept only what will amuse them, while artistically they are neither reactionary nor progressive, but patiently sit on the fence until they are shown on which side to descend.

All around us the world is waking up and rubbing its eyes, wondering how and when Great Britain managed, with so little effort, to assert her supremacy; and all around us there is a growing determination to wrest it from us without loss of time. Meanwhile, Great Britain, tired with so many centuries of energy that divide her from her competitors, drowsily smiles, and, without so much as looking back, throws a 'Catch-me-if-you-can' over her shoulder and falls asleep again in the noonday shade. That she will presently, during her 'week-end off,' be overtaken and passed by her rivals, it is difficult for her to believe—she has outstripped them for so many years; yet while we ignore the increasing activity of our opponents, we are also blind to the increasing *inactivity* of ourselves, and prefer to ignore the increasing age of our Constitution and its approaching senile decay. We still talk 'patter' about the liberty of the subject under a Constitutional Government, though that liberty has long been a thing of the past; we fondle our belief in it because we are still free to air our grievances by writing to the papers, the only vestige of freedom that is left to us since Democracy has had its heel on our necks.

At St. Stephen's our representatives are no longer allowed to voice what we have sent them to Westminster to say. Into our offices or workshops the apparitors of a rapacious Inquisition may penetrate at all hours uninvited, now representing a County Council that dictates to us how many washhand basins we shall supply for our employés (or details of equal importance likely to be forgotten by the employer who may well be expected to look after his staff in his own interests); now representing a Treasury that endeavours to make our profit-and-loss account demonstrate to the State how fine and lucrative a business is ours, in which personal losses may not be set against nominal salary lest the income-tax collector be defrauded of his prey. In our homes our death-beds are no longer dignified by reflections on a higher life above, but degraded by sordid calculations on an after-life for our heirs below in the coming conflict with the death duties. The smug satisfaction that was ours in knowing a little better than our neighbours when we bought that Riesener cabinet for a hundred guineas, or that since-authenticated Rembrandt for fifty, is now twisted into discontent that fashion should have taken its valuation out of our hands. For Democracy has decreed that the individual shall not reap the benefit of individual effort and individual wisdom. Such benefits shall not be inherited by the offspring of the master-mind that built the fortune, but shall be squandered by a State on behalf of a Constitution that is dead. Derelict! The Constitutional Chariot is *vieux jeu* and out of date. The machinery creaks, the

hinges are rusty. It cannot be used with credit to-day even for State occasions. The Amiable Despot, the Father of the People, alone can save England against herself, against the extraordinary contradiction of her self-complacency and her self-depreciation fighting each other.

It is natural that, associated as I am with things artistic, I should incline to government by an amiable despot, for the Arts have ever flourished under wise paternal government from the day when Cosimo de Medici, known to his contemporaries as Cosimo Pater Patriae, gave that impetus to painters, sculptors, and craftsmen that has produced most of the greatest wonders in the world of Art. But for the encouragement to the Fine Arts accorded in turn by every member of that autocratic family of the Medicis, from Cosimo Pater Patriae, Piero il Gottoso, Lorenzo il Magnifico, down to the Archdukes of their line, and finally to the generous Anne who bequeathed the family treasures to the City, Florence might never have held her head erect through many ages as the centre to which pilgrims worshipping at the shrine of the Renaissance are attracted from all parts of the world. Indeed, to the Medicis she owes much of her material prosperity, due in the present day more to the museums they founded than to the banks by which they made their fortunes.

In England the Arts are for the most part left to look after themselves; that is to say, they are left to the accidental benevolence of the private man of fortune or taste. Less than nothing is left for the upkeep and replenishments of our Galleries. The National Gallery has virtually no fund at all at its command, when we consider that it is continually put into competition with, let us say, the Berlin Museum, where Dr. Bode holds the strings of an apparently unlimited purse; and it is due to the agitation of a few enthusiasts that some of the *chefs d'œuvre* that have been in England for many decades have not recently passed out of it for ever. In Italy, which as a country is not financially considered wealthy, there exists a law preventing the collector from letting his treasures go out of the country before he has offered them to the Nation at a fair valuation; but in England, where no such law exists, and where the owner is faced with enormous death duties on his inheritance, the practice of selling the *capo d'opera* of the collection to the biggest offer from America or elsewhere has crept in to provide a sum that need not be taken out of capital. Then begins the outcry that this country is being depleted of the world-famous masterpieces that have been accumulated by our ancestors.

The three sets of conditions that lead up to this are interesting. Legislation has begun by saying, firstly, that it is not

fair to dictate to a man what he shall or shall not do with his property, therefore no law shall be passed to prevent works of art leaving the country.

Secondly: Democratic legislation has decreed that it is not fair that a man shall accumulate vast wealth and leave it all to one who has had no share in the making of it, and therefore the State should profit by it.

Thirdly: Though a man may sell his most exquisite work of art to provide these death dues, there is no money available for the Nation to buy it from him, seeing that Art has no place in the annual Budget prepared by constitutional Ministers. It might even be reasonable to suppose that a part of these same taxes should be set aside to buy in the picture that will otherwise leave the country in order to assist the heirs of the dead collector to pay them. This sounds something of 'The House that Jack built' order, though it is in truth quite logical. Only, if common-sense and national finance bore any relation to one another, where would be the genius required for the framing of a Budget, and where the reputation of many a Chancellor of the Exchequer?

Thus, when some great picture goes a-begging that has been unselfishly loaned to the Nation for so long that we feel aggrieved when it is withdrawn, there is a mighty pother against everyone concerned; and then the owner, the millionaire who commands the market, the public that would like to buy it and has not allowed a margin for it, all run up the price to a fabulous and prohibitive figure, and the picture is sent abroad, unless by some fortunate accident a wealthy benefactor helps to purchase it for the people.

Italy has solved such puzzles long ago. Most of her legislative common-sense is still pure 'Code Napoleon'—fine, simple laws framed under that hero of autocrats. I picture to myself that despot calling to his side a few capable, clear-headed men of his time and bidding them frame a code of laws, with the warning that it shall be framed so that he can read it between two battles, understand it quickly, and that before he rides into action. No clauses, cackle, and closure, if you please, but closeness and clearness. And it has endured through many decades in countries that he had set his seal on, endured long after the vanquished conqueror had passed away and was known no more—from the North Sea to the Adriatic, one code that has stood the test of many tongues and many nationalities. What an argument in favour of the absolute monarch! Not neglecting the Arts either—with a leaning towards the Classical. He calls to his side sculptors, architects, painters, and designers. He wants something that will stamp his era as a thing to be remembered. Strong,

unwavering lines borrowed from the early Greeks, made gracious with reminiscences of picturesque, unhappy Marie Antoinette: her wreaths and garlands winding round the sterner pillars of the Parthenon. A distinctive, decorative style uniting the Graces and the Gods; easily recognised as 'Empire'—something to be recalled otherwise than by mere ugliness of line, as when we say 'Victorian.'

To what shall we ascribe that heavy materialism of decorative art during the great Queen's reign? Far-fetched as it would appear, it seems to me due largely to the increasing constitutionalism of the Sovereign. When Queen Victoria came to the throne, her Majesty, being but a child and inexperienced, with rare good sense allowed herself to be guided by her Ministers. Thus sovereignty became less personal and more symbolic. Beyond the special acknowledgment of such artists and literary men of whose private character she approved, there was no recognition or impetus to Art given by the Court of St. James's. In France, the Emperor Napoleon the Third and his beautiful Spanish wife received and even singled out men of achievement in literature and Art, but it was counted an adventurous Court, a little Bohemian and not quite correct. The more constitutional a monarch, the less personal becomes his relation to Art, and the less encouragement is given to artists; hence it is that when every other country has a Minister of Fine Arts, England is still left without one—a sign that Art has no place in the history of the Nation.

It is possible that the national Art Galleries and Museums to a certain extent come under the Department of Works; but is it not surprising that so vast, so all-embracing a subject as the Arts should have no Minister, no trained staff of its own? Hardly credible in a country that everywhere else takes two, if not three, men to do the work of one. The Arts, then, have to knock about and rough it, to get a hearing as best they can and to survive if fit. To say that they have not suffered by this would be absurd, seeing that we do not know how much more they would have prospered had they been carefully tended. I question whether the beautiful buildings that I see being destroyed daily in London—(the latest to go are the houses in Lincoln's Inn Fields built by Inigo Jones himself)—would not have been preserved and repaired in a suitable manner had there been a Ministry of Fine Arts. At present, if they are conserved at all, it is only individual generosity that has to be thanked! It appears to be no part of the programme of the First Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings to take a walk between Piccadilly Circus and Oxford Street, let us say, and note the fine survivals of old London that are marked down for destruction. The picturesque

houses in Carlisle Street, Soho, the historical houses in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the quaint passages between Soho Square and Golden Square, can nothing be done to make them sanitary and fit for habitation, while keeping the original character of the building? Supposing that there were a Ministry of Fine Arts, assuredly there would be a department for the preservation of such landmarks. Let us say that tucked away in some of the Storey's Gate buildings there already is such an organisation in being, what account can it give of its stewardship? It dwells in my mind that I had a practical instance of how much of such a stewardship exists, when I called there once while the Little Theatre was being erected, and wanted to buy for it some pillars and fine old chimneys and fanlights that were being carried away during the demolition of the charming ancient dwelling-houses in Great George Street, by order of the Board of Works, so as to make room for modern Government offices. I was referred to the house-breaker, as they were his perquisites! Can you imagine such a thing occurring under a properly equipped Ministry of Fine Arts? By the time I traced the firm, somewhere in the south-east of London, no one knew what had become of the things I asked about. I can only hope that some '*conoscente*' architect has bought them for his clients. The argument will be, of course, that the Public Works has no available funds for the preservation of old monuments, yet this is exactly what could not happen if there were a Ministry of Fine Arts. It would have a knowledge of its requirements and a place in the Budget.

That all over Great Britain there are magnificent historical manors, mansions, and castles still extant is due to the fact that these have been inhabited by private families. When it is a matter of castles that have belonged at some period of history to the Crown, it is more often the case that they are either in ruins or in a state of dilapidation; Richmond and Middleham and Ludlow may afford beautiful themes to the imaginative painter, but they are national monuments—of decay!

The sum-total of it all is that but for the individual there would hardly be an ancient edifice left. This we may say also of the pictures, sculpture, and other *objets de vertu*. Art has no place in the Constitution, and perhaps for want of a well considered plan by which it could be taken over, of some carefully deliberated scheme, it is better for England that it should be so; for in the one instance in which the *enfant terrible* or black sheep of the Arts is legislated for, the dramatic Art, it has been in leading-strings for upwards of two hundred years, and is, as we know, not only still in a Reformatory, but of late has had to submit to an even sterner correctional *régime* than it has ever been exposed to since 1649. But the spectacle of a

punishment largely in excess of the crime has defeated its ow
ends. The crime itself is the not very heinous one of writi
plays calculated to interest the public—it is worthy of note th
only those authors are penalised who write with the serio
intention of interesting the public; and the astounding come
of the Lord Chamberlain, his Permanent Secretary, his Rea
and his Advisory Board being unable to cope with a situati
that they themselves have created, for their own relief, h
raised such a laugh that in less than five weeks the work
nearly two centuries has been undone, and it is presumable th
the Censorship, in consequence of the Lord Chamberlain's actio
will soon become a dead-letter.

Was there ever anything more 'opéra comique' than wh
recently occurred? W. S. Gilbert, with his topsy-turvy world
fun, could alone have done justice to it. A Censorship has be
established, ostensibly for the benefit of the theatre. We ha
heard that view expounded by several of our leading theatric
managers. Unless, they argued, they received a licence fr
the Lord Chamberlain to perform a play, the theatre would
at the mercy of the common informer. The manager, af
having expended much time and capital on his production, mi
find himself dragged into a police court by anyone who, objecti
to the play performed, might lodge an information against him
compelled to shut down his theatre, to throw his staff out of wo
and to forfeit all his previous outlay in production. To save t
manager from this loss, the Lord Chamberlain undertakes
read the play and give or withhold his sanction. The Act
1843 reads that seven days' notice must be given, and aft
that time *if no answer has been received the management pr
duces it at its own risk.* The last few weeks have produc
exactly the situation the Censor is presumed by his supporte
to have prevented. Plays that have been sent to the Lo
Chamberlain's Office fully ten days before the day named f
production have not received their licence until within a f
hours of taking up the curtain, and in cases where no licence h
been given the initial expenses are not reimbursed to t
management. By the Censor's own action his bulwark
defence for the theatre is broken down: and there is no appe
The Lord Chamberlain is the King's servant and no action
possible against the Crown.

Justice for every man, for every trade, for every calling
this constitutional country of freedom, save for the unfortun
exponents of the drama. This is what calls for the Ministry
Fine Arts. I am not myself for any restriction of free speech
the playhouse, and view with horror the recent suggestion of
Censorship for literature. I deprecate more than I can say

action of some booksellers who veto certain books that have been written by earnest literary men of reputation, and well reviewed by accredited critics of reproachless record. It is an insult to the riper judgments of men whose lives have been passed in the mastering of their work, achieved with toil and suffering, and I bitterly resent the pruriency of mind that sees evil where none is meant. Yet if, as I am told, managers and players are liable to be dragged into the ignominy of a police court by any nasty-minded common informer in the absence of a Censor of Plays, then by all means let the theatre have a department of its own, a conscientiously conceived and well-administered office in the Ministry of Fine Arts. Here we should find, I do not doubt, under some enlightened Chief—chosen on account of his knowledge of artistic qualifications—a trained staff fully adequate to deal with any questions that may arise in the theatre. All matters concerning theatres, music-halls, exhibitions, and places of entertainment generally, should be taken over and be under the control of a 'Public Amusements' department in the new Ministerial centre.

Obedience to many masters, as things stand now, leads only to tyranny on the part of each. At present, after the Committee of Public Safety, the Head of the Fire Brigade and the County Council have recommended the Lord Chamberlain to grant the theatrical manager his licence, it might be supposed that, having satisfied all the not too reasonable demands of all three, the licensee could expect, for some time at all events, some freedom from interference; but for the wretched manager his troubles have only begun. The theatre, once open to the public, is infested with overseers whose zeal exceeds their discretion. Gangways and doors are permitted in some old theatres that in others are condemned. In one *very large* theatre I know the stage has been built out to within a very small limit of the front row of stalls, and with only two doors of exit from the stalls. In another *very small* theatre, where it would be a matter of immense gain to have a foot more of space on the stage itself, a wide passage between stage and stalls is insisted upon and three doors of exit are considered imperative. These visits of inspection may take place, without notice, at any time during the day or night, and it is rare that the inspector does not ask for some alteration (which, of course, invariably means fresh expenditure) in things that are rarely of vital importance and are usually points that have been under the inspector's observation since the commencement, when they might have been easily altered or remedied.

In an elective body, it is in human nature that the newly elected candidate should display to his supporters how energetic

and active a fellow is he. The new broom that shows how clean he can sweep is much more satisfactory to the electors than the wise man who leaves well alone; the trouble of it is, however, that in the case of the theatre it is the manager who has to pay for this outbreak of energy and activity. Were these places of amusement placed under the jurisdiction of a Ministry of Fine Arts, these vexatious if well-meant regulations would not be frivolously imposed and paid for out of the manager's pocket. Should we not have much more judiciously administered theatrical law if it were left to a properly trained staff of Government officials to give their well-disposed attention to any dangers or abuses that might occur in a public place of entertainment, instead of, as now, being exposed to a shifting body of men, kaleidoscopically changing with every election fought on local party lines? The supposition that these men of standing who have so long catered for the public have not the interest and safety of their patrons at heart is an untenable one, yet the whole energies of the local bodies who sit in judgment on such men are based on the suggestion that the manager, but for a watchful committee, would sacrifice the welfare of his clients. The practical answer to this is that it would be against the manager's *personal interest* to do so. Now a Government Office takes up an entirely different standpoint with regard to such enterprise—it is established to protect, to encourage, to foster, but not to hinder. Any changes to be made at the recommendation of a department would be weighed and discussed—not only from the public's, but also from the manager's side of the question. The process might be slow, but it would also be sure.

Nor can I see why the whole question of licences for the appearance of children should not be regulated from that office, nor why children should be forced to appear personally in a police court before a magistrate, and wait their turn, like patient little lambs brought to the slaughter, while unsavoury cases are being tried. The presence of a child in such a court is an outrage in itself, and when, in the case of an actress-manageress who personally applied for a child of eleven to be allowed to appear at half-past ten in the evening in a play she was producing, an irascible old magistrate lectured her on the heartlessness of keeping a child up until eleven o'clock at night, and then passed some other fifteen or twenty children for a ballet without a remonstrance, the Hogarthian humour of this licensing comedy could go no further. To those who have worked among the poor and who know that these hours in the warmth and light of the theatre, surrounded by kindly and hard-working people, are often the only wholesome influences that these children receive in their poverty-stricken lives, and that they look forward to their

evening's work as keenly as their more fortunate little sisters and brothers look forward to a juvenile party, this farce of creating difficulties and taking bread out of the little ones' mouths is not laughable, it is criminal. It belongs to the sentimental type of legislation that Democracy has brought into fashion.

Now, whether a reader of plays exists or does not exist, let him at any rate no longer be the servant of an officer attached to the Household. Time was when the Licenser of Plays was the 'Master of the King's Revels by night and by day,' in the days when a merry monarch took an active interest in the stage and when the drama depended on the patronage of the Court; there was then some justification, with plays and interludes constantly produced before the King and Queen, for a personal control of the stage. But to-day, when it has become a vast public business, it is not right that an officer of his Majesty's Household should be called up to adjudicate on such questions. It is grossly unfair to the author, to the manager, and to the actor, who has no appeal against this Royal officer; and insomuch that it is imperilling the dignity of an official who writes from no less a place than a Royal Palace, every loyal subject would willingly see such duties removed from the ridicule and obloquy that have been attached to the Censorship during the last weeks. Even the most conservative London newspaper can no longer break a quill in defence of the office as it stands now, and whether the Press leads public opinion or public opinion leads the Press, the result is the same.

It is, of course, easy to destroy and difficult to construct; but if a licence for a play must be obtained for performance, then let the reader or readers be chosen with some educational preparation for the work, let them be scholars who by virtue of their wide reading have enlarged their sympathies and their appreciation of something more than mere box-office literature, and let them, above all, be attached to a Ministry of Fine Arts. Thus, when there are vexed questions of good taste or of political allusion they may refer it to the proper quarter, which shall be directly responsible for the decision. It is not within the spirit of the Habeas Corpus of which we are so justly proud to condemn a man without a hearing, but that is what has been done to the theatrical profession ever since the year 1649. We theatrical managers are censored, we are condemned to pay the fine of heavy loss of capital without appeal, because it is the King's representative who has judged us.

Clearly there is no hope for the theatre, for free thought or for good art, until we have a public office prepared and authorised to deal with the Arts themselves.

The time has come when Art must be officially recognised

as an important necessity in the history of a State. There should be and can be no reason why the plastic and æsthetic crafts should receive less consideration from the hands of politicians than any other handicrafts. Why should the sculptor in marble, for instance, have less of a place in the political mind than the mason who hews stone?

If the British character would finally condescend to give the place to Art that is at present occupied by sport, I think there might be at last some chance of Art being officially recognised as an important necessity in the history of the State. So long, however, as the Briton will sit for many hours an idle spectator of a football or cricket match, and think himself a much manlier fellow for doing so than for visiting an Art Gallery, a disdain of Art will continue to be the standard of morality and excellence by which the Anglo-Saxon will be judged by his countrymen. At the best very little personal prowess or physical perfection can be attained by the masculine habit of watching professionals hit a ball at Lord's or the Oval, though there may be some healthy expansion for the lungs in shouting! Yet it is, I am aware, voted a fine, honest way of wasting the national time, and incidentally playing into the hands of the industrious foreigner, who is making hay while the sun is shining on the cricket and football field.

Once establish a Ministry of Fine Arts, allow a place for it in the country's Budget, place it on a footing of equality at least with Roads or Insurance or Woods and Forests, and immediately the Englishman, with his inherent respect for the Constitution and the Public Office, will begin to realise that a study and appreciation of the beautiful is not necessarily unchristian or unmanly.

GERTRUDE KINGSTON.

OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THEIR INFLUENCES

There are being trained every year in the great public schools of the United Kingdom a number approximate to ten thousand scholars, under head masters who are eminent men distinguished not only for their scholarship but for their ability to govern and guide colonies of boys, many of whom are destined to make their mark in the world and to take a foremost place in our national life. These boys are piloted through their studies and watched over in their school career by a body of devoted under masters whose high attainments, generally speaking, and human experience particularly qualify them for the duty.

As a result, there is an annual output of young men well developed in mind and body, and of good manners, who for the most part go to fill vacancies in those spheres of Empire employment which call for the display of intellect and leadership. Failures and disappointments there are, of course, in schools as in every walk of life; but they are quite exceptional to the general rule, and not infrequently it happens that a wider horizon has the effect of turning them into sound and useful members of the community.

It is proposed to discuss in this article some of the means which contribute to the result above mentioned, and some other matters relating to education and the formation of character.

Now, the first question suggested is, What is the primary object in sending our boys to the public schools? To that question it is possible to offer several answers which parents and guardians would probably give in different ways. Few might be able to reply clearly or precisely as to their positive aim, because at the early age of school entry it had not been practicable for them to gauge the bent of their boys; and nearly all would hesitate to lay down a hard and fast line of career that the boys must certainly follow. Nothing, it is well known, is more sure than that youthful impulses are apt to be formed and swayed according as their imagination is played upon by the chums, the sets, the atmosphere with whom and with which they are surrounded at school. So, it is unwise to dedicate a youth to a definite class of work in life unless he has positively lent himself to the idea of

a particular profession, or until he has shown such clear evidence of his fancy as to justify the assurance of his being in absolute sympathy with it. Early and reliable manifestations of that character are unusual, if not rare. Some boys of course are from the first marked down to be soldiers, sailors, doctors or lawyers in consequence of its being 'in the family'; but they are not quite cases in point because, from the nursery perhaps, tradition determines their choice.

However, the generality of parents would most likely have in their minds the desire to give their children what is commonly called a good general education—and an excellent thing too. Some would declare they meant by that an education of which classics, that is, a respectable knowledge of Latin and Greek, were the leading features; it might be from a prejudice that in Latin and Greek alone are to be found true culture, or from the fact that classics are essential as a preparation for the universities and dignified positions in the law and the Church. Others would see more merit in the modern side on account of its consecration to modern languages, mathematics and science, suitable for the professions say of medicine and what is called 'business'; they might argue from their point of view that in the world of to-day no boy is adequately equipped for the struggle unless he is acquainted with the principles of natural sciences and physical laws. Others, again, would look with favour upon any system of tuition leading up to success in examinations for the public service or army; and some, no doubt, would have no particular idea at all as to what a good general education ought to comprise.

A philosopher called upon to define on the spur of the moment what he meant by education might probably answer—To cultivate and train the mental powers so as to qualify a person for the business and duties of life. A man of the world might under the same circumstances vary the definition by saying—Education is what remains, in character, after a boy has done with school. Both of them would be right, for we may look at the matter from different aspects. But before doing so let us consider for a moment the composition of the ordinary boy sent to schools of the character of Eton, Winchester, Rugby, etc. As we take him along, the subject will invite discussion of other issues arising out of it affecting the community in general.

Prior to entry there he is generally committed at an early age, say about ten, to a Preparatory, where he is specially prepared for admission to the great school. His time is mainly given to classics, in which he will have to pass a moderate test before matriculating, and he gets in addition an elementary knowledge of other subjects, like history, geography, and primary mathematics. He goes into the nurseries of cricket and other recrea-

tions, imbibes generally the juvenile traditions of public school life, and worships the day that will carry him on to the great seminary chosen for his educational outfit. There he proceeds about the age of fourteen, a healthy-looking, well-grown boy with not very much in his head unless he is phenomenal or has been heavily crammed, and no startling ideas or deep ambitions beyond perhaps the dream of figuring as school representative in the Boat, Eleven, or Fifteen. He does not weigh or care much as a rule what he is going to learn, or how he will turn his learning to account.

This, the croakers will say, is all wrong; but it is not so; he is in the delightful phase of boyhood, and it is a crime to blight it by attempting to fix a grave head on young shoulders. What is more charmless and melancholy than children who cannot bend to the innocent vanities of youth or can be even hostile to its allurements? At that age their brains are not yet formed; they are brimming over with gay and buoyant spirits which do not accommodate themselves to great thoughts of becoming Lord Chancellors and Archbishops. Moreover, if they started with such grand ideas at the big school their toes would be trodden upon and other gentle suffering inflicted, to remind them that there were a good many senior candidates in front of them. So that the tendency is to keep youth in its natural place and not to encourage infant prodigies. Genius and ability will be sure to assert themselves in due time according to the fitness of things; there is no keeping them under.

On arrival at the big school our young friend begins again at the foot, and thus far has had the experience of proceeding by useful steps from the bottom to the top of a baby school, and then starting fresh on the ladder of a higher circle. That is all in his favour. If he was inclined to be conceited with himself as one of the swells at the Preparatory, it is knocked out of him, and the door is opened for him to go in and win new spurs. He is in fact taught to perfect himself in the goose step of public school ranks and is passed through the elementary stage of discipline which attends the process of elevation from the ranks to command. That command may mean in turn the head of his form, his dormitory or house, leadership in games, the authority of one in the sixth form, or finally the coveted position of being head of the school.

The holder of any of those positions has had to endure at the hands of his fellows criticism, abuse, jealousy, and applause of the most exhilarating description if won, for there is no more enthusiastic audience in the world than that which greets a boy after a meritorious innings, a fine run at football, or upon advancing to receive a scholarship or other reward for merit. It is

therefore a fine theatre for training, where wholesome discipline prevails and qualities are not only being constantly developed but tested. In that kind of atmosphere each one receives impressions, and he emerges from the ordeal with a certain amount of character varying in force according to his nature and capability.

Why some rise to the occasion so much more easily than others, all things being equal, is at times a mystery. Nothing of course is more faulty than to assess all boys of even age as equal also in capacity, or to assume that, because some do not show early promise of great things or signs of ability they are not and cannot ever become capable. It often happens that under an apparently torpid disposition there lies brain power which only needs the touch of a chord to awaken and set going. What an edifying story it would be, if a group of head masters could be induced to relate in one record their life-long experiences of the surprises they had encountered in respect of those pupils who failed strangely to justify promise, and those who advanced unexpectedly after hanging back to a late moment. And not only their recollections, but their inferences as to how it came about that most hopeful cases occasionally proved failures and gloomy cases turned out brilliant successes—what led to it—what, in fact, was the turning point upwards or downwards, that is to say, an accident, influence or inspiration.

An analysis of the careers of distinguished men during the past hundred years shows, for instance, how few comparatively were renowned as great scholars, and how many, on the other hand, who left school with the reputation of being only ordinary if not indifferent performers became eminent leaders of thought and action in after life as statesmen, soldiers, authors, administrators, and what not. This somewhat strange order of things is hard to reconcile. Though we cannot clearly understand why it should be so, it is possible to suggest reasons.

If one feature is more evident than another in a study of biography, it is that the human mind has frequently been unmasked by extraordinary influences, and that often its deployment has been retarded for want of exciting impulse or timely inspiration.

We recognise that genius is usually a gift born to the owner, such as in regard to music, poetry, invention, and, as some think, command; but the acquisition of the latter faculty, first as a habit and then as a force, may oftentimes be traced to the opportunities which school experience has afforded for the practice of it.

This article, however, does not contemplate dealing with phenomenal beings who are interesting subjects for professors in the study of cerebral anatomy; it is intended to deal rather

with the general average individuals possessed of an ordinary share of brains. What we know is that some intellects give precocious signs of proficiency in any task or business they may be set to accomplish; others in early stages appear slack and dull of comprehension.

The minds of young people, like their bodies, grow at various ages and in various ways. It is a commonplace to hear that such and such a boy has sprung up or grown out physically in one term or vacation. Similarly, his brain may suddenly appear to expand and indicate ability hitherto obscure. Thus it must be difficult for parents and masters to discover mental power where its growth, which may be stimulated by utterly unknown and unimagined causes, is entirely beyond their control. It may be that health has affected it or that the one thing essential to quicken it has not been discovered. Then perhaps some magnetism sets the mind going as well as growing and we wonder what the motive power springs from, what brought to the surface energy and ability that no one ever dreamt of. Casting round for explanation we hit upon a lot of conjectures and arrive at the conclusion, different in each case probably, that it may have been that 'sympathetic talking to,' that 'gentle remonstrance,' that 'singular opportunity,' or that 'stirring ambition.' Above all stands out the fact that ability of a certain order was there all the time and only wanted drawing out.

Now, there are several sorts of capacity commonly exhibited which a parent or tutor can trace and cultivate, such as memory, application, quick understanding and solid grasp. These all minister to the composition of mind, but are not the absolute formulæ required for the constitution of character, which cannot be built up by study alone, and is in general the product of various influences exerted during a lengthened course of studentship. There is no manner of doubt that the good influence of masters and tutors ranks very high in the founding of character, and that as a rule it is exercised with telling effect. But there are other factors which synchronise with it.

We are accustomed to hear complaints from the upbraiding section ever ready to put things right, and to read periodical howls addressed to the *Times* and other organs of the Press inveighing against the perniciousness of games as encouraged at our public schools to the detriment of learning. We are told that the German nation, whose army is held up as an idol to be worshipped (though man for man it is not as good as our own), and whose every institution and system are assumed to be superior to ours, has reached its present altitude of greatness and prosperity without games. It is not a convincing argument, because, in the opinion of many, they would have fared better still if national

pastimes like our own, which they sometimes try to adopt, had been a characteristic. It is probably true that at the completion of their studies the German boys are better primed in the arts and sciences. But that is not all which goes to make men.

For the abuse of games there is nothing to say, except that it may be condemned as freely as vice or any other objectionable practice. Even the misdemeanour of cramming learning into brain-weary boys may be denounced. For the use of games in due season there is much to be said. You cannot with profit concentrate a juvenile mind on work for more than a limited number of hours in a day or days in a week. If you do, the brain gets as clouded and overloaded as the stomach after a surfeit of Christmas feeding, and that means the doctor or abstinence. Boys require change, refreshment and, if healthy, output of energy, without which what miserable objects they would be. They want tonic excitement such as may be derived from robust games, which revive all that remains of the chivalry the books on their library shelves tell them of. What a charm there is, for instance, in the anticipation of contest, the shock of a scrimmage, the thrill of keen rivalry; and what value in exciting the physical energy, which modern races have in some degree lost since they have ceased to be governed by the law that the fit can only survive by the exercise of it. Energy, in fact, requires stimulation or it is liable to decay. Natural history affords us an object lesson in the example of those birds which, being no longer compelled to fly in self-protection, have ceased to do so and lost the capacity. Similarly, our boys if not urged to manly exercise as part of a system would soon lose their vitality and become knock-kneed specimens.

Let us consider for a moment what qualities are demanded and developed by our national games and pastimes in vogue at schools. To begin with, take cricket. Before a boy wins his way to the status of players in the front rank, many stages have had to be traversed. He has had to fag, to be coaxed and broken into careful play at the nets, to practise fielding and other accomplishments. Then he has to be keen so as to catch the eye of the captain or coach, to show himself capable of effort, to keep his head in crises and to compete with others in the contest for highest efficiency. Finally, upon winning his colours, he has to subordinate himself to the captaincy until such time as he can gain the crest himself, to play unselfishly for his side and keep up its reputation; and all the time to remember that a game is never lost till it is won and may always be saved by the last effort of the last player. And then he finds himself partner in a game conspicuous from all time for its perfect straightforwardness. There is absolutely nothing crooked in its methods and aims. So

was the honour of the thing enshrined in the bosoms of ers, that a proverb coined in days gone by has been handed 1 for generations as part of the moral code to condemn any orthy act in the phrase 'It isn't cricket, it isn't playing ame.' That proverb runs throughout the British Empire ever its sons are gathered, whether the game continues to them as a pleasure to be shared in or not; and it is an ring game which affords refreshment to millions of watchers they have abandoned the pursuit of it.

Then, as regards football, we find it arouses the same tions, the same effort to excel and win a high place as cricket . The game is one to beget and preserve manly fellows who take buffeting and bruises in good part and will work unsparingly for their side. Egoism is not an uncommon fault with olboys. There is nothing which tends to cure it more than ball, where if you play honestly for your side you cannot be sh, and if you are selfish you soon come under the ban of a olboy audience which is quick to observe and strong to express f. So likewise the shirker has a poor time and is exhorted erform thoroughly the task he is appointed to do.

To take another illustration, viz. rowing, limited of course verside schools. It has, probably more than any other branch thletics, excited the ardour of eminent Britishers—otherwise ious of habit—who have emanated from our public schools universities. To quote one instance only of a really great . It is related in a biography of the late Lord Kelvin that, ng become enamoured, he joined his college boat at Cambridge and thenceforth was able to think and talk of nothing else the races. Apart from the fascination of rowing, there are essons it teaches of self-reliance, determination and discipline. ore a crew is chosen, its members have had to prove their ermanship and their mettle, not only in muscle but in devotion heir cause, which is to win if possible, but at any rate to train ctiliously so that the product may be the fullest effort of eight pulling in harmony. Rowing in its proper form is the application of scientific principles, requiring the attention both of mind body. Those who have never indulged in it cannot perhaps reciate the glorious sensation felt by a crew of sturdy souls hey lift their boat in unison, struggling with rivals alongside every inch of waterway. The value of the effort cannot be sured by the actual success achieved as between competing vs. There is something elevating to the character of individuals who are entrusted with the duty of making an earnest mpt to serve a communal purpose.

Of other pastimes, all good in their way, one word as to etic sports, concerning which periodical squibs are fired off

about the iniquity of letting boys exhaust themselves on the running path. It is folly of course to let them attempt too much and run themselves off their legs, or permit those of questionable physique to engage in long and punishing races. That is where abuses may creep in to neutralise the good effect of fine exercise leading up to the cultivation of stamina and endurance. But undue exertion is not the fault of schoolboys only; men and women of mature age occasionally overtax their strength and come down badly. Yet we do not condemn the whole social system because Mrs. A., age sixty, exhausted herself with a long day in town, or Mr. B., after an extra round of golf, caught chills and succumbed. They are object lessons for us to study. The problem for each one is to preserve a sense of proportion by subordinating the will to physical powers, remembering that what some may do with impunity others may find most injurious.

Now, what I desire to emphasise is that for inculcation of the discipline which human nature stands in need of, all these games and pastimes referred to are sound and are a healthy supplement to intellectual training. They afford relief during the period of mental strain, and wholesome occupation; they enforce the practical lessons of obedience which must be learnt as part of the equipment for future command; they bring out the qualities that make successful leaders and tend to the formation of character; they foster some of the characteristics we like to think are truly British, viz. calmness in excitement or danger, resolution in difficulties, resource and judgment in action. There is, in fact, little doubt that, but for the ambitions they kindle, the stimulus to exertion required by healthy individuals would as a rule fall short of the mark. A final point in their favour is that they call into being a form of comradeship leading to enduring friendship memorable and useful in after life. Enmities there must be also; but they are comparatively trifling, for the whole spirit of true sport is to take defeat in good part, to be modest in victory and generous to the vanquished. So that, weighing it all up, it is not hard to realise, apart from the material benefit of games, how great a moral influence for good they exercise upon the minds of youthful generations who are bound by the best traditions of school honour and ethics.

Whilst holding strongly to these views, I must admit that they are controversial and raise other issues. There are, for instance, those who contend that games have the effect of making boys hold in contempt their fellows who aim at distinction in scholarship. The writer ventures the opinion that as a rule this is quite incorrect. He believes that the great majority to-day are ambitious to gain the coveted position which distinction in form alone can give them, and that in any case they are loyal to

scholarly merit wherever it is found. There are others, again, who go so far as to urge that the 'grit of our forefathers,' if not a lost quality, is waning badly. In a contribution to this Review of September 1908, Lord Meath supports that opinion. He does not allude to schoolboys in particular, but to the British race as a whole, defining the word 'grit' as 'that virile spirit which makes light of pain and physical discomfort and rejoices in the consciousness of victory over adverse circumstances, and which regards the performance of duty, however difficult and distasteful, as one of the supreme virtues of all true men and women.' Then he proceeds to give reasons for doubt whether grit permeates the entire mass of the population in anything like the proportion it did a hundred years ago.

Amongst his arguments are:

(1) That in the late South African war there were, compared to other campaigns, questionable British surrenders to the enemy.

(2) That whilst the Englishman's head is filled with thoughts of sport, the German is gaining knowledge which will avail to advance him in his profession.

(3) That the waste places of the earth used formerly to be colonised by the Briton; now he finds the labour of subduing nature too severe for his enfeebled energies, and settles in the towns, leaving the health-giving tillage of the virgin soil of new countries to the hardier races.

I will refer to these arguments in the order they are quoted.

(1) It is unfair to pass sentence on British surrenders in South Africa without careful examination of all the circumstances connected with them. This is not the place to consider that matter. It must be borne in mind, however, that in these days a commanding officer has to make up his mind rapidly whether those committed to his charge can possibly retain a post under the fierce fire of machine guns and magazine rifles; whether he should allow them to be wiped out in the hopeless attempt or save them from utter destruction. That alternative in modern warfare is presented to every commandant who for strategic reasons may be forced into a desperate position not of his own choosing. It is wounding to our susceptibilities to think even of loss of honour and betrayal of traditions; but we must recognise the changed conditions, and not condemn men for lack of valour who exercise military discretion in avoiding wholesale slaughter which the science of war to-day makes inevitable if heroism is not tempered with reason.

(2) Lord Meath, in making his comparison between British and Germans, describes pluck and quick-wittedness as invaluable national assets which cannot be maintained without frequent daily

use. Yet surely those attributes are more likely to be developed in the sporting man than in the mere bookworm.

(3) At no time probably has emigration been more clamoured for or more vigorously pushed and carried out than now. What numerous agencies from almost all the self-governing Colonies and from many emigration societies are promoting it freely! the only striking change of conditions being that the Colonies will no longer permit paupers, lunatics and criminals to land on their shores. And, modern emigrants are beyond doubt adapting themselves admirably to their new life.

In seeking explanation for the inclination of our rural population to settle in towns instead of remaining in the country for agricultural pursuits, we have to look not so much to a change of national temperament as to other causes. The primary cause is the class of education now given at State-aided schools. It was the sturdy old fisherman in the North Sea trade who lamented, alluding to the School Board kids, 'They an't got the heart, they an't got the guts.' No doubt he was right. Those youngsters who are to take up occupations of danger and hardship such as sea-fishing and the like need not only to be trained but to be bred to them. Yet their education unfits them for it, in that, instead of cultivating a taste for work on the land or for honest trades demanding long apprenticeship, muscle and endurance, they become seized of a craze for clerkships and sedentary employment under the fallacy that a little learning makes it dishonouring to labour in the sense formerly understood.

In the education of the masses according to the existing programme the whole point seems to be missed. They do not need to be fitted up with knowledge required for the passing of examinations. That is necessary for the classes but useless as a rule for the masses, whose time is wasted as they muddle along through many books, instead of laying up that kind of information suitable to the technical occupations which the bulk will find open to them. The policy might with more advantage be to teach and develop the children according to their different types of mind, not classifying them all in one mould, nor assuming that the aims and characteristics of one class of the community are bound to be in keeping with the standard of others. Handicrafts, manufactures, and agriculture must all have their votaries if the country is to hold its own in worldwide competition. The common judgment of the nation is in favour of universal education of the masses so long as it is not carried to an unpractical length. While, therefore, allowing every scope for genius, no matter in what social layer it is found, our educational system may usefully be to familiarise the minds of the multitude with the idea that there are various kinds of employment of a healthy and paying character

ich the many may go for, and that mere clerical work is neither ich in request nor so lucrative or independent as some of the upations, despised as they appear to be, requiring manual our.

If, then, our boys and girls are, to the minds of some people, of the grit they used to be, the cause is not to be attributed any spontaneous degeneration of physique, but to a system of ication which favours the production of penmen rather than rkmen—a passing phase, let us hope. But it is not too late stay the rot before permanent mischief is done. We have indant evidence that there is still plenty of stamina in the intry. The personnel of our navy is the finest in the world. late war in South Africa proved beyond question, in spite of rettable incidents, what stuff our young soldiers and colonial isins were made of. No other nation has yet shown itself able of such an effort as we then made. Even our Territorials, ruited largely from classes engaged in sedentary work, few as y unfortunately are, have shown what a reserve of vigour they isess during prolonged field operations.

But if, as I think, there is reason to believe the British are 'gritty,' it is due, in respect of the masses as well as the sses, more to national pastimes than to books or learning, or to grinding 'German' study which is held up as a pattern. Our liers and sailors revel in games; every Board school has an ole playground, every institution its athletic club, and every eet (except the likes of Oxford Street and the Strand) its swarms players. It is urged by some that there is now a visible defect the lack of keenness to follow manly pursuits as of old. May that, however, be ascribed more than anything else to the many ersions, healthy enough attractions in their way, which win endance the cricket field used to claim in our village life? The ts we have to guide us in a comparative study of national mettle that Victoria Crosses are as well and frequently earned as nerly, and there is no dearth of heroic men, ever ready to face h in releasing entombed miners, in saving life at sea or cuing from fire in desperate cases.

t is well to know the opinion of others. In that entertain- book by Price Collier, *England and the English*, from an erican point of view, the author says, in reference to the cessful breeding of human beings:

> Nature beats Socialism hollow at her own game. The English common- comes to the fore again in an attempt to solve this problem. She is enough to know from experience that the world is still ruled by men in all probability will be for a long time to come. She breeds men, ilers, as strong and simple as she can. In these islands sport is not a ation for idlers, it is a philosophy of life. They believe in it as a ark against effeminacy and decay.

But if sporting instincts are answerable for much that goes to make robust men, there are many other things at our great public schools that contribute to the formation and enrichment of character. The masters know well how keenly alive their boys are to the tradition that the Anglo-Saxon people prefer to conduct, or at any rate to share in, the management of their own affairs. Can anyone acquainted with the system doubt the salutary effect of appointing and recognising young men of 'good report' as prefects, heads of houses, and leaders of thought? These positions are not won or maintained by muscular prowess, but by a combination of qualities making for general fitness as regards capacity and integrity. They are held by those who, after trial, have proved themselves good citizens, who have gained the confidence of the authorities and are found worthy to be endowed with responsibility for assisting in the maintenance of order and the direction of activities in the corporate life of the school. What a power for good in the government of a school this partnership in responsibility can become!

One invaluable course of discipline which most of them pass through is that of the rifle corps. If not necessary to cultivate a martial spirit in our boys, it is of the highest importance, in these days when the position of Great Britain is challenged, to train the able-bodied sufficiently in drill and the use of arms, so that each may be competent to stand as an effective in the ranks for defence of his country in case of need. Apart from that, the physical exercise sets them up and makes them, as they should be, proud of wearing the King's uniform. Would that the entire manhood of this country were compelled to go through their course before they could claim the full right of citizenship. Were that so we might hear less of German bogies and foreign invasion.

There are many practical questions which cannot here be dealt with; but one in particular demands attention, viz. that which relates to the duty of bringing up boys with a definite aim, and not allowing them to drift along in a purposeless manner to the end of an academic career. In these thrusting days, when the struggle for existence is getting so acute, we cannot ignore the fact that the great majority go to school with the certain prospect of having eventually to earn their own living. The timely choice of professions is therefore a matter of grave consequence. Many boys from want of enlightenment or experience are utterly incapable of choosing for themselves. It is no fault of theirs; it is simply their misfortune. Some round ones are fitted into square holes and fail; others succeed by force of character in spite of the misfit. But it is a lottery, and a great burden lies upon parents and guardians to diagnose not only the capacity but the temperament of their charges, before committing them

nocably to a business or profession which may be entirely of harmony with their tastes and feelings. The diagnosis is nittedly difficult, and if when faulty it *is* obstinately adhered he result may prove disastrous.

Towards the close of the last General Election, when the public become nauseated with politics in the newspapers, the follow- story was wedged one evening into the columns of the *Globe*:

SELECTING A SON'S PROFESSION.

farmer in the Western States had a son and did not know in what ness to start him, so he put him up in a room in which there was ing but a Bible, an apple, and a dollar. He decided that if after a t time he found the boy eating the apple he would make him a farmer; reading the Bible he would train him for the Church; and if he had ceted the money he would make him a stockbroker. Entering, he found boy sitting on the Bible, and eating the apple, with the dollar in his cet. He became a politician.

Whether the story is fictitious or not, there is more in it than ets the eye. If exaggerated, it illustrates the sort of method which children are sometimes dedicated to professions. The al is to show how well-laid designs may be frustrated. The ner pooled his ideas and determined by a practical test to ide upon his son's career. He was completely beaten in the nble, the boy solving the problem for himself. It was a mere ident that gave him the opportunity to show that his ideas e not in common with those of his parent. How often it may that the instincts of boys and their guardians differ without the nce being afforded to discover the fact until too late; that is, en the parties are committed to a course which turns out to unpractical if not unhappy.

In this article my desire has been to indicate in particular that boys in our great public schools have set before them the mple of strong leaders whose places they are animated and uraged to fill, and whose motto is 'To be just is to be great.' se leaders, succeeding each other at intervals, have a great sion. They have to feel and impress upon others the truth that are destined to take a prominent place in the national life, to share in the burden of Imperial responsibility, for which must prepare by study, not often made available at school, he history, geography and politics of Empire. Their future cess will depend largely upon force of character, which in nan affairs achieves more than intellect or learning. Genius hout common-sense seldom accomplishes great things. Men possess it in great degree are often lost without the help of heads to proportion their ideas.

And the natural question here arises as to whether our public ools are meeting present-day requirements and fulfilling their

proper functions. It may be that they are still working in grooves, though much less than formerly, and do not seek to develop boys according to their different types of mind; perhaps it is found impossible to do so. Yet the system in vogue undoubtedly makes for the formation of character and for development of the best national qualities. The boys are nourished on the doctrine that they have to play the human game in a mannerly way with a straight bat and shun crookedness. They are given a high standard of duty to live up to at school, are taught to be jealous of maintaining it while there, and to carry it into any sphere of public work in after-life. If, as I believe, the great majority are turned out with a useful education and high-minded character, then we may feel that the public schools, which we regard as one of the treasures of England, are doing their work and doing it well.

In conclusion let me quote the following striking and appropriate lines from a short poem by Mr. Henry Newbolt, which appeared in the *Spectator* of September 10, 1898, entitled 'Clifton Chapel':

> To set the Cause above renown,
> To love the game beyond the prize,
> To honour while you strike him down
> The foe that comes with fearless eyes.
> To count the life of battle good,
> And dear the land that gave you birth,
> And dearer yet the brotherhood
> That binds the brave of all the earth.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Henceforth the School and you are one,
> And what You are the race will be.

GODFREY LAGDEN.

THE PASSING OF THE CHAPERON

'When shall we marry our girls?' is becoming a no less serious problem than 'What shall we do with our boys?' Mothers are apt to launch a débutante daughter with a remark, conveyed in an unconvincing manner, that they trust the dear child will not marry during her first season. They need have no fear; this hope is almost always realised. But why? Marriage is out of fashion, that is merely a platitude; a fundamental cause has to be discovered, and I think we shall find if we look carefully into the question that the relation between men and maidens has been revolutionised. The *Zeitgeist* is, of course, responsible for so serious a change, but as I am an advocate of early marriage—child marriage if possible, where the woman's age only is concerned—I deplore these days of prolonged spinsterhood.

Nothing is more demoralising to a girl than a cycle of seasons. By season I mean not only the loveliest months of summer spent cooped up in Mayfair, but the round of pleasuring which the year's calendar provides. Let me say in defence of the twentieth-century girl that she has an insatiable appetite for amusement. Her sense of enjoyment does not become jaded by the constant repetition of hunt balls, country-house parties, amateur theatricals, and days spent on the river. She weathers the storm of these entertainments bravely, she has a glad manner, her health is good, her high spirits are inveterate. She is no less pretty, well dressed, laughing at twenty-eight than she was at eighteen. I had almost said seductive, but she is not that; alas! there's the rub. She has had love affairs—many—it is our business here to see how they have been conducted. The old-fashioned methods are, of course, obsolete, yet perhaps they were the best, as a means to an end that is to say. The vigilant chaperonage at balls, the dog-like fidelity of a black-gowned maid when travelling or shopping, the invitation to luncheon or dinner written in Mamma's own fair hand which precluded the bare idea of correspondence with an admirer—this sheltered life has been abandoned by the modern girl; she is fending for herself. She echoes the cry of Magda '*Io son io*'—yes, and the pity is that she ought to be somebody else.

The times move fast, and our girls begin early—at seventeen a young lady emerges from the schoolroom no *Backfisch*, but

the finished article. She knows instinctively how to do her hair in the most becoming manner, with just enough *chien* to recall the front row of the Gaiety, though this note is not overdone. She powdered her nose from the first, not aggressively, but she naturally contends that one should make the best of oneself.

There is to me something touching in the attitude of dowdy mothers and bluff English fathers towards this exotic creature they have reared in a healthy, if a little inclement, atmosphere. It is obvious that the forcing-house process has not been resorted to at home, and it is difficult to say what outside influences have been brought to bear. Judging from the coiffure and the almost typical silhouette of many, we surmise that the *Tatler* has cast a sinister spell on their young existence. As anxious parents our lives are further jeopardised by the fear that our girls may choose a career on the stage in preference to the time-honoured institution of marriage.

A young lady's first experience of the philanderings of the other sex is probably derived from the calf-love of young Oxford. She sees her brother's friends in a free-and-easy manner, and they would be inhuman if they did not fall victims to her charms. Here I must draw attention to the extremely delicate position of the chaperon, who views with a certain disquietude an intercourse which, though harmless, has an erotic flavour. To make capital out of such Jack-and-Jill friendships is unnecessary, yet they often assume an alarming aspect, and, where there is distressing constancy on both sides, without the utilitarian sense of self-preservation. A romantic attachment of this kind might prove a serious impediment.

The chaperon, if she is wise, will wink at a great deal of this irresponsible love-making, but I cannot quite fall in with the present-day view of the harmlessness of these flirtations. It is usually said of the young man in his last year at Oxford, 'He is such a nice boy; we are all so devoted to him; he makes quite a home of this place.' To which I would reply, 'Beware.' For the young man is not by any means the child you fondly picture, and you are playing with fire that you may not be able to extinguish, and which will cost you expensive fuel in the future.

The University youth is annoying, in that, Peter-Panlike, he never grows up. 'Shades of the prison house' do not seem to close around him, or at least not nearly as quickly as they should, for while he still claims boyhood as his own, in years, and very probably in experience, he is the equal of a subaltern in the Army, or a lieutenant in his Majesty's Navy. It is nevertheless the custom lately to allow untrammelled propinquity between what we call boys and girls. Girls, I will grant you, but not boys. It establishes an unfortunate precedent, for it is difficult, logically,

reconcile free intercourse with Balliol undergraduates and the inting chaperonage which should be exercised where a marriage- man is concerned.

Correspondence plays a very large part in these early affairs. covers, in a close, scholarly hand, many sheets of College ver, and she answers frequently till she is too busy to catch e than an occasional post. For a sterner task lies before , and while he is wrestling with 'Greats' her little white in shoes are flying nightly on the big London treadmill.

I do not know how the modern girl fills in her day. Riding the Park has no longer much vogue. Balls are kept up till voice of the milkman is lilting in the area, so hacking in the rning is probably too strenuous an effort. Dressmakers occupy ny hours, and one can hardly grudge this when one sees the ult; a little philanthropy is usually thrown in somewhere— Personal Service League, or the London Hospital, or a ys' Club somewhere in the Wapping district. Art is given urn—a studio is visited three days a week, or there are singing sons to be taken. But the object of existence for her at present he making of friends, and this very really and truly should be aim. To achieve it, she must not be too smart in her repartee en are so easily scared); she must be tolerant, she must not do d imitations, and she must assert that she enjoys herself all time.

Girls are good friends to girls as a rule, but when three or r clever ones form a close gang a man feels, not unnaturally, couraged and bewildered. This is another tendency of the age, l a solemn warning should be given to those Mammas who see ir girls drifting into a clique. When an unfortunate *soupirant* begun to pay his addresses to one or the other, he has an un- nfortable feeling that he has to run the gauntlet and be freely oried and criticised by all. This endless discussion, this rend- and tearing of every eligible, makes the ladies themselves tious and hypercritical. They are neither touched nor flattered t a man should pay them the highest tribute a woman can be en; they receive it as a joke, and if he is dull and plain almost an insult. Many of the girls are labouring under a delusion t they are capable of passion equal to Juliet's. Under this sapprehension they demand a Romeo. The reason that they not enough in love is given as a pretext for refusing what would pear an excellent marriage. I imagine it does not occur to a l that she is too much wrapped up in herself to be capable of ing in love—a rather painful process to us all. She protects rself insensibly from such a fate by a thick shell of egotism. thers can merely bewail the blindness of men, but I am not e, for in the daughters there is so much that is sharp-witted,

droll and unconventional, but of tenderness, that most lovable quality, more common to men than to women, there is little.

Let us look at the man's attitude when he is attracted by the girl. He is determined to see a good deal of her, and he succeeds in this, too well perhaps, for every facility is given him. An *amitié amoureuse* with a married woman could not be conducted in a more straightforward manner. The fact that he admires her is common knowledge after a week, and he meets her constantly with an unquestioned licence. They meet on a curiously equal footing—they are both in a way bachelors; but though he is attracted he is also wary, he is determined not to force the pace, to look before he leaps, and so the thing hangs fire. Some months pass by, and in the end he rides away to propose to a little Jane Austen débutante whom he has seen four or five times at local cricket-matches.

Intellectual flirtations, with men much older than themselves, form a favourite occupation for the *jeunes filles* of to-day. They are called intellectual because books are exchanged, but not read, and the original bond of sympathy is, perhaps, the mutual appreciation of some mawkish literature. A passionate attachment for Synge or Housman is declared at a dinner-party, and on this slender basis is built up an unnecessary and rather tiresome relation.

Five or six years slip by, misspent because a true value is not given to things. Where the fault lies I do not know nor will I attempt to say, but I feel that there is a want of honest outspeaking on all sides. Mothers are ashamed to admit that marriage is the goal they wish their daughters to reach. Daughters are under the impression that with no personal effort to ingratiate themselves they will be sought out, wooed and wed by the ideal bridegroom. Better far not to make marriage the sort of bogey which it is, to discuss it freely as the most natural result of 'coming out,' the happiest issue of girlhood.

The ambition of mothers is often a very serious drawback. As this generation marries late, so Mammas and Grannies married at seventeen. A rather difficult situation arises where the chaperon and the girl are almost of an age! An ambitious mother, if she is not careful, can act as a cold douche, and discourage the young couple in an injudicious manner if the suitor does not quite fulfil the high standard she demands of him. There is nearly always a loss of dignity on one side or the other, and I cannot help thinking that girls nowadays fear the situation: they all wish to play at the 'proud Maisie' of the old ballad.

Perhaps in any case it is wise not to form any preconceived notion as to the kind of man one's daughter will marry. The law of variety is apt to baffle one. If you care passionately for

liberal politics with leanings towards the Limehouse school of economics, your daughter will marry an ignorant soldier with a few crusted Conservative tags as his entire political stock-in-trade. If you have set your heart on the sawny scion of a noble house, she will marry a promising young journalist on the *Daily Mirror* staff. Where you have hoped for a union with a neighbouring squire of seven thousand acres, she will become engaged to a gentleman rider who has scored a triumph in the Sefton. Parents, you are doomed to disappointment, and you will require a broad tolerance; you must needs follow a policy of inaction, for you can do nothing.

I began by saying the relations between men and maidens are not now what they used to be. They are changed, I think, because of the liberty we give our girls. The little, slender barrier which fenced them round in old days has somehow or other disappeared. It was a thing of straw, I admit, a mere observance of a few conventionalities, but breaking it down has had wide-reaching effects. A man can enjoy the constant *tête-à-tête* society of a girl whom he admires; can flirt with her, dance with her, hunt with her, can travel from country-house to country-house with her as long as his fancy pleases, without feeling that he is pledging himself to anything further. *Cela n'engage à rien*—delightful for him; there is no longer any talk of compromising her, or behaving badly. Intentions are not asked; these are honourable, no doubt, but inconvenient; and so we find that new methods have produced a type of bachelor-girl—(I have already used this phrase, but I can think of no other)—previously unknown to us. All my sympathies are with her, though she would not like this. She has unwittingly created an *impasse* for herself.

She does not know that though she has altered, men are ever the same, that the idea of *purdah* is as strong in the West as in the East. The bride that is desirable is the precious guarded jewel which has not sparkled for others.

There must be mystery where there is to be romance. We cannot blame men who feel this; they are going back to the old primeval instincts, of which the unwritten law of social life is merely the shadow.

There is a talisman in immaturity—a charm which has never ceased to cast its spell. The sketch in art is often nearer perfection than the laboured effort at completion. A girl is possibly not at her best when she is eighteen, yet there is a quality in her first blow of loveliness which the years cannot recapture. If I were a man I would ask for this youthfulness as I would demand the delicious freshness of a mind that is opening. I would not fear that such a young, crude thing could not be my companion, for the *éternel féminin* is there at all times slumbering, and has only to be awakened like the old fairy-tale of the Sleeping Beauty.

After the noonday glory of her beauty is clouded over, there is an aftermath which he and she together will glean from their golden memories, ripened by the tears and laughter they have shared, mellowed by a staunch fellowship against the winds of life. As the shadows lengthen she will feel that she has reaped the rich harvest of a long love.

> Et comme chaque jour je t'aime davantage
> Aujourd'hui plus qu'hier et bien moins que demain,
> Qu'importeront alors les rides du visage . . .
> Mon amour se fera plus grave et plus serein.
> C'est vrai, nous serons vieux, très vieux, faiblis par l'âge,
> Mais plus fort chaque jour je serrerai ta main,
> Car vois-tu, chaque jour je t'aime davantage
> Aujourd'hui plus qu'hier et bien moins que demain.

It is impossible to put the clock back—young ladies throw off the schoolroom yoke early; and here, again, I am in favour of plain-speaking to check a forwardness and precocity which is painful. If they knew that their most powerful weapon is a gentle reserve, that their strength lies in their weakness, they would perhaps correct their ways. They *will* have to learn to please men—as a squaw I say it (I hope no suffragette will scan this line) —for that, indeed, is the whole duty of woman.

Parti-hunting has gone on through the ages; it is not a noble sport, but the quarry is well able to protect itself. Most eldest sons' lives are blighted by an ingenuous illusion, touching in its own way, that they are being tracked and trapped at every step. This fear haunts their waking dreams, makes them rude, self-conscious, and aloof, and cuts them off from a great deal of simple enjoyment. They are mercilessly persecuted, I admit, in some quarters; indeed, it is a perpetual subject of wonder to me that mothers, equipped with every knowledge of the world and an undefeated tact and delicacy in other matters, should blunder so hopelessly in their methods to annex marriageable men.

There are some of my acquaintance who, realising that to cater for eligibles is a work of difficulty, have departed from the beaten track: their daughters have an almost frenzied naturalness of manner and appearance. Others have attempted a return to medievalism by practising their girls in much fine needlework and the reading aloud of recondite poetry. I do not consider that these far-fetched effects are necessary—we have only to generalise roughly on our own experience to find the type of girl that the average young man chooses to be his wife. He does not select the brilliant girl who seems to have been endowed by fairy godmothers with the choicest gifts of beauty, wit, and talent, and who has learnt to use them before she has struck seventeen. The announcement in the *Morning Post* of the marriage of a

much-sought-after young man usually falls as a bolt from the blue on the family breakfast-table. It is nearly always a surprise, and to mothers of daughters who have already outstayed their market a disagreeable surprise.

The thing has been done so quietly, almost in an underhand way, for while the offender has not blushed to advertise his flirtation with Miss ——, he has kept his own counsel with regard to the choice of a bride. One cannot help feeling a personal rancour.

His taste, as a rule, is good. He attaches a value to the upbringing of the woman who is to be the mother of his children. This is possibly the bedrock on which we founder. There is something seriously wrong in the education of our girls. We are not preparing them for their task. A Frenchman once said to me that the English transcended all other nations in their system of training. We are unchallenged in our greatness as the trainers of boys, horses, and sporting dogs. Let it not be said that we do not know how to rear our girls, for this is a grave indictment. The Frenchman in *Fanny's First Play* makes a speech on this subject. Adroit and brilliant, and instinct with the genius of his nationality, he is never for a moment sincere. He professes to admire and envy us in our upbringing of our girls; he is, no doubt, startled that mothers should not afford their daughters the ordinary protection that a good housekeeper gives the servant-girls committed to her care. These are the English methods, but he himself will be careful not to resort to them. Do not let us be hoodwinked into imagining that they are wise ones.

We are gambling with a serious trust; we are playing a losing game. Let us see the folly of these new ways, and go back to the old.

BARBARA WILSON.

ENGLISH RADICALS AND FOREIGN POLITICS

A VERY notable change has lately come over a section of the Radical party in reference to foreign affairs. It was first visible in the welcome given to the Turkish or rather Salonika Revolution. So long as the Ottoman Government remained a despotism, alike in fact and in appearance, English Radicals adhered pretty steadily to the 'bag and baggage' doctrine which Mr. Gladstone had made famous. He had not, it is true, done much when in office to give practical effect to his denunciations in opposition. A European conflict was too great a calamity to be provoked for the sake of an idea. But so far as feeling went, he was always on the side of the oppressed Christian races, and his conception of the ultimate re-arrangement of the Balkan peninsula invariably included the retirement of the Turks from Europe. The recent change in Radical feeling is due to the lessened importance now attributed to the religious element in the problem. Mr. Gladstone could not tolerate the permanent subjection of a Christian population to a Mohammedan Government; his Radical successors see no objection to such an arrangement, provided that the Mohammedan Government is willing to veil its real character under a veneer of constitutional forms. From the moment that the authors of the Turkish Revolution adopted the correct Parliamentary shibboleths, their English sympathisers treated the religious difficulty as non-existent. With this out of the way the establishment of a Liberal Ottoman Empire seemed to them the best and most natural settlement of the Eastern Question. It is only fair to the Young Turks to admit that they did not long sail under false colours. They have governed Macedonia and Albania by methods identical in principle with those pursued by the dethroned Sultan. In one respect, indeed, the condition of these unfortunate provinces has changed for the worse. Under Abdul Hamid they had at least the goodwill of Europe. The Great Powers may not have done very much to check the employment of murder, rape, and torture as the customary instruments of maintaining order, but they did something. Since the change of Government they have done nothing. All thought of intervention was at once dismissed, and the Young Turks have been left free to show how readily the new hands could accommodate themselves

to the old weapons. I am glad to say that some of their English friends are now thoroughly shocked by the policy of the new Government. It is a singular commentary on the enthusiasm with which the revolution in Constantinople was welcomed that it should so soon have been found necessary to revive the old machinery for helping the victims of the Government which that revolution has set up. Yet what has happened might have been foreseen by anyone who looked facts in the face. The only alternative course to that actually taken by the Young Turks would have been to give the Christian population their full share in the conduct of affairs. But this would have meant a speedy end to the Ottoman dominion in Europe. Thus the continuance of the old policy was inevitable, and the old policy carried with it the old methods. That the Young Turks should choose the second of these alternatives was inevitable. What was not inevitable was that an English party which has always associated itself with Nationalist aspirations should abandon its ideal in the case of the Christian subjects of the Porte.

It is probably only a coincidence that this new-born sympathy with Turkey has been accompanied by an equally marked approach to the one friend that Turkey can claim in Europe. The understanding with France and Russia, which for years has been accepted as the corner-stone of English foreign policy, has suddenly fallen into disfavour with a section of the Radical party. The assurance of continued peace which the Triple Entente is supposed to offer has lost its value in their eyes. Every act of the Russian Government is once more viewed with suspicion. The impracticable rulers of Persia have been consistently encouraged to flout Russia by hopes of English support, while the Russian attempts to restore order have, by a fine imaginative effort, been denounced as massacres. The burdens of a French alliance are dwelt upon with hardly a reference to the advantages which so greatly outweigh them, and we are counselled to look to Germany for the peace we have so long sought for in the wrong quarter. This sudden desire for a German alliance cannot be set down to a disinterested admiration of German methods. English Radicals can hardly be in love with the conscription, with the position of the Emperor in the State, with the ingenious arrangements by which a Parliamentary vote is denied any real influence in the conduct of public affairs. What, then, is left us by way of explanation of this sudden change of front? Nothing, seemingly, except the unheroic desire to be on good terms with the strongest Power. It was suddenly discovered that our understanding with France might involve duties as well as benefits. The prospect of having to send an expeditionary force either to Belgium or to the French coast awoke absolute consternation in some English

politicians. Even peace seemed to them worthless if it had to be paid for in such coin. 'The true policy of England is to keep clear of entangling alliances; or, if this should prove impossible, to take care always to be the friend of the combatant which is most likely to win. For forty years Germany has been the only Power that answers to this description. She, and she alone, has been strong enough to threaten the peace of Europe. Consequently in an understanding with Germany lies our best chance of ensuring that, should war unfortunately come, it will find us on the side of the strongest battalions. The miasma of the French Entente and the misreading of the European situation in which it had its origin have blinded us to this plain fact. We have once more put our money on the wrong horse, and allied ourselves with a nation which has everything to gain by our friendship and nothing of value to offer in return. We have little to fear from France and a great deal to fear from Germany. Consequently France may be safely left to take her chance, so long as we can secure the goodwill of her great neighbour. That we can do this we may feel reasonably certain. No doubt we are not on very good terms with Germany at this moment. But that is really the outcome of Sir Edward Grey's perverse suspicions and of the mistaken naval policy of successive English Cabinets. Of this policy the recent growth of the German navy is the natural and inevitable result. What else can be expected so long as we go on building ships which a rational arrangement with Germany would at once make unnecessary?'

A good deal might be said of the meanness of the part which these calculations assign to England. But to say it would be useless, because to politicians of this type the profitableness of a policy is the only thing worth considering, and unnecessary because it is easy to combat them on the ground they themselves have taken up. In the present position of European affairs the maintenance of European peace is the end which it chiefly becomes us to keep in view. A German alliance is now recommended to us as a safer road to this end than our present understanding with France. But this alternative policy rests on a double misconception. It ignores both the obligations which a German alliance would entail upon us, and the extent to which the benefits which it is assumed would follow from it are already secured by the Triple Entente. The Radical explanation of the growth of the German navy is that it is simply the result of our own extravagance in the same field. What has made the German Government and the German people uneasy has been the action of the English Admiralty. These enormous estimates can, they think, only be explained as the preparation for a contemplated attack upon themselves. If our shipbuilding were brought down

to the modest figures which the lifting of the German cloud would make ample for all purposes, the growth of the German navy would automatically come to an end. The consequence would disappear with the cause.

If a German alliance meant no more than this, the Radical desire for it would at least be intelligible. If it left us bankrupt in the matter of honour, it would at least give us more money to spend on doubtful experiments in social legislation. In point of fact, however, the supposed harvest would never be reaped. The drain on the national pocket would go on at an even greater rate than before. Our new ally would be ready with new demands of the same kind as those we thought we had seen the last of. The most sanguine of Sir Edward Grey's assailants can hardly believe that France would not see in an Anglo-German alliance a direct menace to herself. The moment she discovered that she had no fleets to look to except her own, to have a navy equal to those of England and Germany would become a matter of the first necessity. When this change of front was understood in England the old feeling against France would at once revive. She would again be regarded as our natural enemy, and Englishmen would be the victims of a French panic as much more violent than any German panic, as the French coast and the French harbours are nearer to us than the German. Our new alliance would be no help to us here. Germany would certainly not be willing to bear our burden as well as her own. She would be far more likely to remind us that as in a war with France the principal part on land would fall to her, England must be prepared to play the principal part at sea. Our naval strength would rapidly rise to its old or greater proportions, with the solitary difference that it would be directed against France instead of against Germany.

It will possibly be objected that I am imagining a far closer and more intimate connexion with Germany than even the most advanced Radical desires. No doubt, if we could distribute the burden of the Alliance just as we pleased, we should prefer an arrangement under which Germany should do all the work and leave us only the gains. But is this a division likely to suit Germany's purpose? She will not accept our overtures unless we are prepared to make it worth her while. The notion that she wants nothing of us except our goodwill, and that when once this has been given we shall be left to thank our stars that the most efficient army and the biggest navy in Europe belong to a friend instead of to an enemy, has no foundation except in fancy. The value of Italy to the Triple Alliance has been greatly lessened by her African adventure, and though Germany cannot look to us to fill the place of an Italian army we can far more than fill the place of an Italian fleet. We shall have

deliberately turned France into an enemy, and our new ally will certainly not relieve us of the consequences of our choice merely because we find them inconvenient. She will hold that we are sufficiently rewarded for our change of policy by the blessing of her friendship. But that inestimable gift will certainly carry with it duties as well as advantages, and if we are to enjoy the one we must be prepared to perform the other. Least of all Powers is Germany likely to conclude a treaty in which the other party gets the lion's share of the spoil. The increase in the French navy which will certainly follow upon our virtual repudiation of the entente will be a menace to her as well as to us, and since England will have been the immediate cause of it, Germany will with reason expect her at the very least to pay her full share of the naval cost.

Nor is this the whole of the burden which the retirement from the Triple Entente would lay upon us. France would naturally be indignant at our sudden change of policy, and she would be eager to show how much we had lost by abandoning her. She has far more opportunities of this kind than Germany has. Our interests cross hers in more parts of the world, and we should very soon learn the difference between making business arrangements with a present friend and with a friend whom we have lately discarded for one who, as we think, will serve our purpose better. English statesmen had large experience in the past of what France could do in this way, and their successors will not find her power of giving pin-pricks at all lessened by the recollection that we have thrown her over in the hope of conciliating Germany. To mention only one instance, Lord Kitchener would find his work in Egypt a good deal harder if it had to be done in the face of constant remonstrance and interference on the part of France. But what will this matter if we have Germany at our back? There would be great force in this question if we could be sure of German support in a quarrel with France. But we have no possible right to take this for granted. Germany might be of opinion that there was something more to be got out of a war between England and France than a decisive victory on either side. She might prefer to leave both combatants to waste their strength in a conflict which she would at last bring to a conclusion in which her own fee as arbitrator would not be forgotten.

This is the prospect—not surely a very inviting one—which a German alliance holds out to England. But there is no certainty that even this alliance, uninviting as it would seem to most of us, is really within our reach. Germany has no sentimental affection for England, and the English dominions contain large areas of scantily occupied territory which it would

be very convenient to her to possess. An alliance which did not make proper allowance for this fact might have no attraction for her, while one that did make this allowance would not be popular in England. Quite possibly, therefore, Germany might prefer to take the chances of a war with England as soon as her naval preparations are complete. Nor would she run any great risks by this necessary delay. The alliance with England would not have been proposed to her until our understanding with France had come to an end, and with this gone we should be in no hurry to quarrel with the one possible friend remaining to us in Europe. The German statesmen would be quite alive to the significance of this change in our position. Our advances, worthless as they might think them, would not be at once rejected, and the interval of apparent hesitation might be turned to excellent account in another direction.

There is another aspect of the foreign policy that has lately found favour with some Radicals, which is more alarming than any I have mentioned. Our abandonment of France would not, it is true, leave her friendless. Russia would not be likely to change her policy for no other reason than because we had done the same thing, and, if the understanding between her and France were unaffected by the withdrawal of England, Germany would still have two possible attacks to prepare for. The movements of an army of invasion assembled on her western frontier would be seriously hampered by the need of keeping an army on her eastern frontier to meet a probable advance on the side of Russia. It is possible, no doubt, that Russia might see cause to reconsider her attitude towards France and leave Germany free to take what action she thinks best for her own interest. Even then, however, it would not follow that Germany would think it her interest to fight France. With England out of the way, what is there to prevent the two Powers from arriving at an understanding between themselves? No doubt with England and Russia remaining neutral, Germany might attack France in full confidence of victory. That confidence is not indeed shared by some highly competent observers outside Germany, but with the recollections of 1870 still in their minds her own people might naturally look forward with confidence to a similar triumph. All the same, Germany is not likely to provoke war when the objects for which it is undertaken may be had at far less cost. Germany has nothing to gain by a war with France that she may not equally look to gain by an understanding with France. And what has England to offer Germany comparable with what she may look for from an alliance with France? Our Radical advisers have not seemingly contemplated this contingency. They reason as though

England had only to offer Germany her friendship to have it at once accepted. They forget that when once she had made friends with France, nothing that we could offer her would have much value in her eyes. What Germany wants is 'not our help against anyone, but *France's* neutrality when Germany is at grips with us.'[1] A Franco-German understanding, concluded in advance of a war with England, would put an end to any hope of help coming at the last moment from an alienated friend, and we should have to face the probable hostility of two Great Powers without having a single ally whose help could be of any service. It is even possible that France's neutrality might be secured without any previous overtures from Germany to France. Our discarded ally might be so indignant at our desertion of her that her attitude in a war between Germany and England would be one of ostentatious indifference.

This is the new policy which is pressed upon us by a section of English politicians as giving better security for peace than the policy which has consistently been pursued by Lord Lansdowne and Sir Edward Grey. It will be seen that the security is not the same in the two cases. In a German Alliance it would be the ardent desire for peace which is credited to our new partner. I do not doubt that the German Government and the German nation are sincerely anxious for peace. It is scarcely conceivable, considering the scale on which a European war must be waged, that any nation should deliberately provoke one. But a nation may have objects in view—objects perfectly legitimate in themselves—which may not be attainable except by war. This, as everybody knows, is the case with Germany to-day. Her desire for territorial expansion, for 'a place in the sun,' is not concealed. Nor is it in itself a desire which Englishmen have any right to condemn. The whole history of the British Empire has had expansion for its dominant note, and a large part of that Empire is 'in the sun.' But between the two cases there is this significant difference. The growth of the British Empire began at a time when much of the world lay open to the first comer. The extension of the German Empire has to be carried on at a time when there is practically no vacant territory left. What her people will eventually have to determine is whether expansion is so necessary to them that war is not too high a price to pay for it. That is a question which no one outside Germany can answer. But the fact that it must be answered some day disqualifies Germany from posing as a Power which has a single eye to peace. Peace, no doubt, is one of her objects, but it is only one, and in the rough and tumble of European politics it may quite possibly be sent to the wall.

[1] I borrow this sentence from a striking article in the *Eye-Witness*.

This is what England must be prepared for if she allies herself with Germany. The consideration for such an alliance will include, at the very least, acquiescence in German colonial enterprises, and even if England succeeds in limiting her part to acquiescence, the peace of Europe will still be endangered by the carrying out of such enterprises. The only solid guarantee against a European war lies in an agreement between the Powers which have a common interest in preventing it. No alliance in which Germany is a partner can be trusted to make this interest the corner-stone of its policy. For in a desire for peace is included a certain contentment with things as they are, and this contentment is not even professed by Germany. She does not want war; she would far rather get what she wants without war. But this does not prove that the thing she wants may not at any moment appear so important to her that she will prefer to fight rather than forgo it. I say again that Englishmen have no right to blame Germany on this ground. The peace of Europe may be broken for what Germany holds to be a very good reason, but none the less it will be broken. In other words, a disaster which it is our supreme interest to prevent will not be prevented. To find ourselves on the side of the strongest combatant—even if it proved that we had chosen our side wisely—would be but poor comfort for a nation which had no concern in the quarrel and was only anxious to see Europe at rest. The one vital difference between Sir Edward Grey and the Dissentient Radicals is that his foreign policy aims at preventing war, while theirs aims at gaining a powerful ally in the event of war. No doubt if our principal anxiety were to get some good thing for ourselves this latter purpose might have a semblance of sense about it. We could not expect to get the prize without fighting, and with Germany at our back we should fight to much greater advantage. But putting aside the certainty on which I have already insisted, that Germany would exact a substantial payment for any help she might give us, there is a conclusive objection to the proposed alliance in the fact that we want nothing. All that we are anxious for is that Europe should remain quiet. That peace is the greatest of British interests has become a commonplace, and it is an interest which is admirably served by the Triple Entente. Not one of the three Powers included in it has any reason for desiring war. France, indeed, may be busy in preparing against distant eventualities, but they are not eventualities which she has any present wish to provoke. She has abundance to occupy her at home so long as peace lasts, and unless war is forced upon her she only asks to be let alone. Russia has still more reason for keeping Europe undisturbed. A peaceful Revolution is still in progress,

there is much leeway to be made up in the organisation of her army and her navy, and her agricultural system is undergoing reconstruction on an enormous scale. In these three facts there is matter enough to convince any reasonable man that she is not likely to be a party to any wanton breach of international peace. The third member of the Entente has a record at least as clean as those of the other two. Englishmen are sometimes almost nervously anxious lest they should themselves be attacked, but they have no disposition to attack other people. With England, as with France and Russia, the object of the Agreement between the three Powers is the maintenance of peace not among themselves only, but in Europe.

The Radical objection to this account of the European situation is that it is inconsistent with the facts. The Entente with France might be an excellent arrangement if it were directed against a real danger. It can only be mischievous when it is directed against an imaginary danger. Those who take this view are bound to explain how it is that every alarm which has arisen in Europe of recent years has come from the same quarter. Twice in the course of last summer an English expeditionary force was held in readiness for service abroad, and during the whole of the summer two of the Great Powers were engaged in negotiations which again and again seemed almost certain to end in war. What was the solitary cause of these ominous incidents? The danger, at times the imminent danger, that Germany would attack France. What was to all appearance the reason why the German Government suddenly changed its tone? The discovery that the understanding between England and France was still unbroken and that a war with one of the two Powers meant a war with both. The benefit of the Entente, the absolute necessity of the Entente, could not have been more clearly demonstrated. It is impossible to point to a single hitch in the whole course of the negotiations which did not originate in Berlin. They began with an unreasonable demand on France, they lasted for months because it took all that time to bring the aggressor to the point of accepting a concession which, though not really due, did at least serve the purpose of saving his face. The sympathy with Germany now professed by English Radicals is specially hard to understand, when we remember that the German experiments in Morocco were really directed against England rather than against France. It was England, not France, that had cause to fear the establishment of a naval station at Aguadir.

To recognise these plain facts is not necessarily to censure the author of this recurrent uneasiness. A Great Power is the only proper judge of its own foreign policy. The business of other [illegible]

which the carrying out of this policy may threaten them. Germany may think it essential to her safety to look to her armaments as the proper instrument with which to mould Europe to her will. It is not our business to find fault with her. It is our business to take care that her 'shining sword' is not left free to do the moulding in a fashion injurious to ourselves. It is the merit of the Triple Entente that it does this, and that it does nothing more than this. The one interest which its members have in common is the peace of Europe, and their geographical positions give them the means of securing this to an extent to which it would be hard to find a parallel. So long as they are of one mind, it seems impossible for Germany to go to war with any one of the three, and in the present position of affairs there is no other Power with which she is likely to have any occasion of quarrel. With Russia and France ready to move their troops to each other's assistance, and Great Britain ready to give the aid of her vast strength at sea and of a small expeditionary force on land, any desire that Germany may entertain of altering the distribution of power in Europe is sure to be kept in check.

It is very hard to get at the bottom of the Radicals' dislike of an arrangement so well suited to its purpose. They are lovers of peace, yet if their power were equal to their will they would upset an arrangement which gives them exactly what they want. It is hardly credible that they can wish to see the old enmity between England and France revived, yet they are ardent advocates of a policy which would inevitably have this result. So far as can be gathered from their organs, they have become, by a singular inversion of parts, the sole inheritors of the policy of Lord Beaconsfield. They are the enemies of Russia and the friends of Turkey, and their only idea of peace is that it should be secured by a new Treaty of Berlin. Politicians who are so ready to adore what their predecessors in title were eager to burn will, I trust, find it hard to establish any claim on the confidence of reasonable Englishmen.

D. C. LATHBURY.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE LIBERAL PARTY

It is not proposed to discuss in this paper the merits or demerits of the case for Woman Suffrage, which are already too familiar to us all. The public are as far as ever from agreeing whether the Parliamentary vote, and the powers of government which it inevitably carries, should or should not be reserved, as hitherto, for men; whether Woman Suffrage is a natural step in the emancipation of humanity, or a mistaken claim to powers for which most women are not specially well suited, too hastily put forward by those who have not realised the differences of function which differences of sex involve; whether it would make our politics sweeter or bitterer, purer or more personal, loftier in character or more unscrupulous in tone; whether 'militant' methods have proved the political capacity of those who use them, or have dishonoured the cause which they have advertised so well. On these perplexing problems men may be allowed to differ where women deeply disagree. But, leaving them on one side, it is now beginning to be generally admitted that, as regards the present political situation, there is a certain amount of common ground between the two contending sides. I do not mean that it is possible to make any statement on the subject which some Suffragist or Anti-Suffragist might not be found to deny. But I think that the majority of disputants in both camps would go far to acknowledge the following points. Most people are agreed, though many admit it with reluctance, that, whatever the chances of a limited Woman Suffrage Bill may have been some months ago, to-day it is the whole large issue, identity of rights for men and women, and nothing less, that Parliament must face. It is not now a question whether women of property alone should be enfranchised, whether, as Mr. Jacob Bright once pleaded in the House of Commons, 'every house should have a vote.' It is not a question whether unmarried women should get the vote and married women go without it. The day for half-measures of this kind is gone. The larger issue, broadly stated, and advocated by Ministers as a practicable claim, can never be so narrowed down again. The only question now to be decided is whether it is for the advantage of this country to sweep away the sex distinction which

has kept the supreme work of government for men, and to invite women to undertake, in politics, in Parliament, and in Imperial administration, exactly the same duties and liabilities as men have hitherto discharged alone.

Again, most people are agreed that this question is one of profound importance, a change in the basis of power, and it may be in the basis of society, the most novel and in its possibilities the most incalculable ever seen. It is not known how many millions of women would be added to the register by the Woman Suffrage amendment promised from the Treasury Bench. Sir Edward Grey has placed the number at six millions. Other estimates are higher. Some are not so high. But on any estimate, the Franchise Bill so amended would be the largest measure of franchise reform ever submitted to the House of Commons, and its results no wise man would forecast. There are, indeed, Laodiceans who argue with a certain plausibility that the practical differences made by such a measure would be few, beyond a heavy increase in the cost of elections. But Mr. Philip Snowden probably spoke for the great majority of convinced Suffragists, and for most of their opponents too, when he declared in Parliament that Woman Suffrage was not a mere franchise question but a great moral question, 'the greatest of all the measures with which Parliament was called upon to deal.' Most people are agreed that, if the majority of women want the suffrage, they will ultimately get it. The only question is whether the majority of women, or of men either in this country, want it at all. Most people are agreed that no Government can carry such a measure through the present House of Commons without a grave risk of destroying itself—a risk which the enemies of the Liberal party face with an equanimity imperfectly concealed. Most people are agreed that the House of Commons has repeatedly expressed itself in favour of the principle of Woman Suffrage, and has as repeatedly refused to allow any measure embodying the principle to go beyond the preliminary stages of debate. And most people are agreed that the electorate has never been asked by any responsible party leader to treat the question as a dominant or imminent issue at any General Election held in this country yet. Mr. Lloyd George stated the position on this point with great force and fairness in November 1907:

Before the Government could bring in a Bill on a gigantic question of that sort, it ought to have been before the country in a definite and concrete form. He could not conceive of a revolution of this character being introduced into our Constitution without the opinion of the country being asked upon it definitely. It could hardly be said that the four hundred members of Parliament pledged to Woman Suffrage had really consulted their

constituents about it. . . . It had never really been discussed by the electors in the way that previous extensions of the franchise had been debated, and it would be a very serious departure from all precedent if it were possible to introduce a Bill of that magnitude without giving fair warning to the country that it was intended to deal with the subject.

Since that speech there have been two General Elections at which certain prominent issues were definitely put by every candidate who stood. But in no case can it be contended that Woman Suffrage was seriously treated as an issue to be settled by the vote of the electorate then. That does not, of course, disentitle the advocates of Woman Suffrage to argue that the question ought to be decided without any appeal to the country. But the fact that the constituencies have never been consulted in the definite way which Mr. Lloyd George desired is a fact which fair minds will take into account.

But it matters little what degree of agreement there may be about these propositions. What does matter to loyal members of the Liberal party is the effect which recent Ministerial utterances in regard to Woman Suffrage may have on the fortunes of the Government and on the measures to which the party as a whole is pledged. The Liberals and their allies emerged from the second election of 1910 with a substantial majority and a very large programme. They had received a mandate for the Parliament Bill, so far as any election can be said to give a mandate for anything at all. They had made it clear to their supporters—they believed that they had made it clear to their opponents too—that their first use of the Parliament Act would be to endeavour to pass Home Rule, and to follow that up with proposals for Disestablishment in Wales, for One Man One Vote, and for Registration Reform. That was, I think, as much controversial legislation as the majority of Liberals hoped to secure in the second session of the new Parliament. But beyond that they were pledged to projects of Land reform and of reform in Education, in which for years past the veto of the Lords had blocked the way. And they were deeply committed to social reforms, like the great scheme of National Insurance, which were bound to occupy a great deal of the time of Parliament, but not likely to be delayed by the opposition of the Peers. Now this formidable programme is only just begun. The Parliament Bill is law. The Insurance Bill has emerged victorious from a very strenuous session. But practically the whole controversial programme of the Government remains, and, sure as that programme is of the loyal support of the Liberal party, no one can think lightly of the opposition it will encounter, or of the grave difficulties which it must involve. To carry Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, and the abolition of the Plural Vote this session is in any case

a Herculean task. The party as a whole is pledged to these measures, and on their passing its credit and its future will depend. But to complicate a task already so exacting by throwing in at the last moment a vast Franchise Bill, as novel in principle as it is sweeping in its scope, a Bill on which the Government and its followers are divided, and which not one elector in a thousand has asked or expected this Government to propose, seems to many Liberals, even to many who favour Woman Suffrage, to be courting disaster before that task is begun. Under these circumstances there is little ground for wonder at the exultation in the Opposition camp.

For instance, how will the forcing of the Suffrage issue affect Home Rule? The present Parliamentary majority is a majority for Home Rule alone. It is now a quarter of a century since the Liberal party pledged itself to the policy of Self-Government in Ireland, and every consideration of honour and of interest makes that the first obligation which it is called on to redeem. For a quarter of a century the Nationalist leaders, men of standing and abilities second to those of no section of the House of Commons, have refused with a self-sacrifice rare in English politics all those opportunities of office and emolument to which politicians look for their reward, and have stood by their Liberal allies, and by what they believe to be the interests of their country, with a patience and devotion which even opponents may admire. Now at last, rightly or wrongly, they think they see their victory in sight; and if they show in the next two years anything like the steady discipline which enabled Mr. Gladstone, with less than half Mr. Asquith's majority, to carry a Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons in 1893, the prospects of their victory are very fair. But the fate of Home Rule hangs on one condition—the maintenance of this Government and its majority for the next two years. Even with that assured the problem is not easy. It will need all the skill and all the unity of purpose which Ministers possess. And if, while answering critics in the Commons, meeting the Peers' resistance, and passing and re-passing a most contentious Home Rule Bill, the Government attempts *pari passu* to push through a Bill for Woman Suffrage which strains to breaking-point the unity of the Cabinet and of the majority at its back, the results can hardly fail to be disastrous to Home Rule. Besides that, the introduction of Woman Suffrage into Ireland must greatly aggravate the difficulties of the Home Rule Bill. The chief objection to Home Rule in the eyes of many Protestants both in England and in Ireland is that it will place political power in the hands of an electorate which is supposed to be peculiarly liable to the influence of the Roman priesthood. If we double that electorate by giving votes to Irishwomen, we

can hardly fail to increase the influence of the priests, and we double the fears we are most anxious to dispel. Can anyone pretend that such an extension of the suffrage has been in the minds of the Irish electors? Is it not essentially a question which the new Irish Parliament ought to consider and to settle for itself? Will Governments never learn the wisdom of doing one thing at a time? If it was impossible to drive three omnibuses abreast through Temple Bar in old days, it is no easier since they became more cumbersome, even though they be driven at a motor's pace.

As it is with Ireland, so it is, though in a lesser degree, with Wales. The Welshmen, too, have waited long and patiently. Their victory, too, is now within their grasp. But Welsh Disestablishment will not be passed till the Peers have exercised their veto to the full. It needs two years' persistent unity and discipline. Anything which breaks the Government in that time, which divides its followers or dissipates its force, means that that victory is indefinitely postponed. It would be a strange example of the irony of politics if the Church Establishment in Wales were to be saved, because a statesman whom the Welsh people love as they have loved few leaders, thought it his duty to insist on pushing Woman Suffrage to a point which shattered the Liberal Government just as the hopes of Welsh Nonconformity were about to be achieved.

And so, again, it is with Electoral Reform. I doubt whether six months ago anyone in the Cabinet or outside it contemplated a large extension of the franchise as a part of the work of this session. Quidnuncs have even questioned whether the Cabinet as a Cabinet have ever yet sanctioned any proposal of the kind. One Man One Vote and a simpler scheme of Registration have long been among the primary objects of the Liberal party, and have formed for years a part of every Liberal programme. One Man One Vote the Peers have already rejected, and every Liberal expected and desired that proposal to be introduced again this year and to come under the operation of the Parliament Act. But it was anticipated that the Franchise Bill and the Redistribution Bill, which had been dimly but much less clearly projected, and which are not necessarily such controversial measures, would be postponed until a later session, when the life of the new Parliament was more advanced. Most people imagined that the plans for this session were already ambitious enough. But now it seems that these plans are to be extended by superadding to a small measure of electoral reform, on which all Liberals are heartily agreed, large and startling franchise proposals on which the Liberals and their leaders are fatally divided. The chances of passing the smaller measure are rendered at once more uncertain and remote. And there is a real risk that the Liberal party

may be driven to face another Election under the same system of plural voting which it is at this moment in its power to end. On all these three contentious questions, the objects of long years of public effort, the Liberals seem for the first time in their history to have success almost within their grasp. And if, for the sake of pushing Woman Suffrage this session till it destroys the unity of the party, Home Rule were to be sacrificed, Welsh Disestablishment prevented, and One Man One Vote allowed to fail again, the Liberal leaders would find it difficult to answer the reproaches of their followers for opportunities wasted and pledges unfulfilled.

No one outside the Suffragette camp will question for a moment the disinterested sincerity of view which has led the majority of the present Cabinet to declare for a sweeping scheme of Woman Suffrage. One only hopes that, in giving effect to their opinion, they will not ignore the interests of their party. The two Ministers who have made themselves specially responsible for the suggestion that a leading member of the Cabinet should move an amendment to a Government Bill, embodying a principle which the Government has deliberately excluded, and which nearly half the Government regard as mischievous and wrong, command each in a rare measure the respect and affection of the Liberal party. Combined they would be irresistible, did not their proposal seem to involve the dissolution of the present Cabinet and of all that Cabinet responsibility means. They have behind them colleagues sharing their opinion with more or less reserve, and scarcely second in authority or esteem to them. They have at their back a majority of the House of Commons, which has again and again voted for the idea of Woman Suffrage, but has never yet shown itself willing to go a step beyond. No one, again, questions the right of the Commons to pass any Bill for Woman Suffrage, or the duty of the country to accept it if the Lords should pass it too. But it is almost impossible to reconcile with any tradition of English statesmanship, or with the character of Ministers in power, the theory that a Cabinet could father, if the House desired it, a measure which many of its members in principle condemned. The first duty of a Cabinet is to agree. Its second duty is to resign if its members are irreconcilably divided. Mr. Balfour's experiment in the opposite direction is one that few statesmen would readily repeat. It is only necessary to state the other course suggested to recognise it as a counsel of despair. Suppose that a Woman Suffrage amendment to a Government Bill were to be proposed by the Foreign Secretary from the Treasury Bench, opposed by the Prime Minister from his place beside him, supported by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, denounced by the Colonial Secretary, and so on in succession, amid the cheers and jeers of the opposite party. Suppose the amend-

ment were carried and added to the Government Bill. Is it credible that the Prime Minister and his colleagues who opposed it—men whose loss no Liberal Cabinet could survive—should then quietly make themselves responsible for carrying this amendment through its further stages, and, if the Lords objected, be parties to using the Parliament Act to carry it into law? It is hard to believe that Mr. Asquith would do that. It is hard to believe that Sir Edward Grey would urge such a course upon his leader. It is hard to believe that the Liberal Government or the Liberal party could survive a transaction so cynically indifferent to the grave responsibilities of power.

In this matter, indeed, of the use of the Parliament Act to force a Woman Suffrage Bill through the present Parliament in face of the opposition of the Peers, Sir Edward Grey would probably be willing to acknowledge that a special responsibility attaches to him. No one has laid such stress as he has on the temporary and provisional nature of that Act. The Liberal party as a whole may not share his views upon that subject. But the whole Liberal party agreed to an Act under which only measures carried through the Commons in the early years of a new Parliament could be passed into law over the heads of the Peers, on the assumption that such measures would be fresh in the minds of the electors, and that the majority of members would have been returned with some kind of mandate to legislate upon them. Would it be a fair thing for this Government to give facilities under the Parliament Act to a measure of Female Suffrage which no one contends was in the minds of the electors who returned the present House of Commons? And could Sir Edward Grey justify the use of an Act which he regards as a temporary arrangement, to force through the Lords against their will a legislative change which would alter for all time the basis of political power in this country? Yet if any Bill or amendment for Female Suffrage passes this year, Ministers cannot escape the responsibility of deciding whether it shall have in three successive sessions the facilities needed to bring it within the scope of the Parliament Act.

The truth is that on this perplexing problem, where the political situation is so unusual and confusing, the Government has allowed itself to slip into an impossible position, and it is for its followers to help it out. At present circumstances point to a situation where, unless the House of Commons saves them, the Cabinet may be driven to break up or to resign. If they go, their majority goes with them; their whole programme and all their social schemes go too; and the double victory of 1910 will for most practical purposes be thrown away. The Conservative party can hardly be expected to refrain from using any opportunity to

weaken its opponents. It rests with the Suffragist Ministers to decide whether any obligation of duty compels them to sacrifice their earlier pledges in order to pass Woman Suffrage in the present year. But it rests even more with the Liberal majority in the Commons to deliver their leaders from a dilemma from which they can hardly extricate themselves.

There are three ways of dealing with the difficulty. One obvious way would be for the Government to postpone its proposals for extending the franchise to another session, when there may be time to discuss them, and to deal this year, as was originally intended, only with Plural Voting, and perhaps Registration Reform. A limited measure of this kind would be quite enough to occupy any time that hangs heavy on the hands of Parliament this year. The division in the Cabinet would then not only be deferred, it would be far less serious to the party. For there would be a much better prospect of passing their other great projects into law; and there would be no temptation to misuse the Parliament Act for a 'revolution'—that is Mr. Lloyd George's phrase—which has never been definitely put before the country. The Conciliation Bill would go forward and take its chances as a private Bill. We should be spared the spectacle of Ministers fighting over a Government measure in the House of Commons. Considering the overwhelming pressure of public business, no reasonable advocate of Woman Suffrage could complain if Ministers found themselves compelled to take this course, and I believe that it would be hailed with relief by the great majority of the Liberal party.

The second course, and the proper constitutional course on a question of this magnitude, is to do what Mr. Lloyd George suggested with unanswerable force in November 1907, to insist on consulting the country before any such proposal is carried into law. There are only two ways of doing this, a General Election or a Referendum, and if both would answer the purpose, few Englishmen, and certainly no Liberal, would hesitate between the two. But under present conditions there is no possibility of getting a General Election on this issue, and if we could we should be no nearer a result. A divided Government cannot appeal to the country on it. If a Liberal Government won the next Election, it would come back just as much divided upon Woman Suffrage. If it lost, it would only give place to opponents as disunited on this question as itself. The truth is that, unless parties are prepared to throw all other considerations to the winds, to rearrange themselves as Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists, and to fight upon that footing, no General Election on the subject is possible at all. Did any large body of men care enough for Woman Suffrage to break old ties and

to form fresh parties for the sake of it, as men did for Free Trade and for Home Rule, then a Government could be formed on that basis and a General Election would settle the result. But of that at present there is no prospect—the majority of men do not care for it enough; and in these circumstances one is forced to the conclusion that for a question like this, which cuts across existing parties and which yet is not strong enough to create new parties for its own purpose, our present constitutional machinery for ascertaining the wishes of the people fails.

But if a General Election will not help us, a Referendum might, could we get over the obvious objections to it. Few Liberals would accept it without hesitation. None would accept it were it not that in this unique situation the ordinary test of an Election leaves us where we were before. It involves applying to a single isolated question a new form of political test, which on the vast majority of questions men of all parties would reject. The Referendum, *democratic* as it undoubtedly is, will never be accepted as a normal part of our political system so long as we believe in representative government and in the rights and responsibilities of the House of Commons. But it still remains a point worth consideration whether, on an issue unlike any other in English politics, because on it a General Election will not yield us the test which we desire, we ought not in fairness to take the only means available for ascertaining what the opinion of the nation is. Here there is no way of getting the views of the electorate except a Referendum, and it is a subject on which, before we legislate, we ought to be certain what the electors think.

The working of the Referendum, if it were resorted to, would not be so difficult as has been supposed. Clearly the House of Commons must first decide whether it is in favour of Woman Suffrage or not. If it decides against it, then, for this session at any rate, the question drops. But if it decides in its favour, then the practical question arises whether the vote of the Commons represents the electorate or not. The question of taking a poll of women does not arise. It would be very difficult to create machinery for that purpose. And a poll of women on the subject is the last thing that the Suffragists desire. What we want to know is whether the House of Commons on this point represents the electors who return it to power. The Referendum would take the place of a straight vote at a General Election, which on this issue it is almost impossible to get.

But if neither of these alternatives proves feasible—if the Government will not postpone its franchise legislation till a later year, and if the House of Commons will not consult the electors in a Referendum—then the only remaining way of avoiding a serious crisis for the Liberal party is for Liberal members to

vote against the Woman Suffrage amendment, on the ground, which Mr. Lloyd George suggested, that the electors have not yet discussed it enough. That is, after all, the simplest, the boldest, and the wisest course. It cannot be right for Liberals to sacrifice to this new, confusing issue the whole position and prospects of their party. They have other pledges not less sacred, other duties which unite and do not divide their ranks. Whatever the value of Woman Suffrage, the fate of humanity cannot depend on its passing or not passing through Parliament this year. The fate of Home Rule and of the Liberal Government probably does. It would be a catastrophe if this one issue were forced to the ruin of every other cause. It would be deplorable if no way could be found of retaining together in the service of the party men like Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Loreburn and Lord Morley, Mr. Harcourt and Sir Edward Grey, to name only a few of the leading advocates on either side. We cannot spare one of them and there is no reason why we should. But we can hardly stand by and see them contending with each other on a Government measure of the first importance to the State, while the enemies of Liberalism openly rejoice, and the Suffragettes boast with justice of having broken up the Liberal party. To avoid such a spectacle and the discredit it entails, all that is needed is a little moderation on one of the most perplexing problems of the day, and the postponement of this unexpected legislation till the promises made to the constituencies have been accomplished and the essential work of this Parliament done.

C. E. MALLET.

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AND AFTER

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'WE ARE THE GOVERNMENT NOW'

Thus a Miners' Federation leader is reported to have recently expressed himself in the words which head this article. The report may, or may not, be literally true. It has not, as yet, been publicly contradicted. But it is quite safe to say that this arrogant statement accurately represents the attitude and frame of mind of the Federation leaders, who, for years past, with an ability, perseverance, and foresight that his Majesty's present Ministers might well emulate, have been organising the powerful machinery of the wealthy industrial association they control for this very purpose of a general strike in order to attain their end. Speaking at Maesteg on Saturday, the 16th of March, Mr. Vernon Hartshorn is reported to have said: 'It is the duty and the intention of the Federation to see that whatever legislation was passed it should be of such a nature as to secure to the miners what they had always contended for—a wage commensurate to the services rendered by them to the community. The one outstanding fact was that the workers (*i.e.* the miners) possessed

the power and all the power. *No one to-day questioned that.*' (The italics are mine.)

For the moment I am not dealing with the merits of the Federation demand, but only with the position assumed by their leaders in regard to it. Although Labour is represented by over forty members in the House of Commons, there has been little talk recently of constitutional action through its Parliamentary representatives. Nothing is, perhaps, more remarkable than the quiescence and apparent impotence of the Labour Party in the House of Commons during this present industrial crisis—the gravity of which is unprecedented in our history.

'Labour is no longer on the doorstep,' wrote the *Clarion* in February 1906, after the General Election of that year, 'Labour is now inside'; and it was prophesied that 'things would happen.' Things certainly have happened, the passing of the Eight Hours (Mines) Act and the Trades Disputes Act to wit, among other consequent events. These two Acts have a direct bearing on the present crisis, and may be taken as part of the settled and carefully thought-out Labour policy that was initiated about ten years ago after the 'Taff Vale' decision. The Eight Hours Act for mines has tended to increase the cost of coal production on the one hand, and unwittingly to reduce the wage-earning power of the miner on the other, and so has rendered more acute the economic struggle between profits, rate of wages, and price of coal. The Trades Disputes Act, one of the first Labour pills obediently swallowed by the present Government, soon after their advent to power in 1906, has made Trade Union funds immune from civil action, and so enabled the Federation to tear up industrial agreements between employers and men at their own sweet will, and without fear of any consequential damages.

A month ago the scene changed from the Deliberative and Legislative Chamber of the representatives of the people to the pit-mouth. Armed with the weapon of a general strike, and their funds being immune from all danger of legal interference, the Federation leaders had no further use, for the moment, for the House of Commons. 'We are the Government now.' There was no question of sweet reasonableness here; there were not even two parties to the discussion; but only one. They, the miners' leaders, were reason, they were master. Our terms, they said, are not only the *principle* of a minimum wage—for this is an inconveniently vague term—but the adoption of the schedule containing the arbitrary figures that we, the leaders, choose to fix. Either accept, they said, in effect, to a popularly-elected Government and a democratic, freedom-loving nation, without demur and without discussion, our minimum-wage figures, or take the consequences of a general strike.

We are in the process of taking the consequences now. Some 3,000,000 men or more have been thrown out of work, a very large proportion of whom have nothing whatever to do with the coal dispute, and stand to gain nothing by it whichever way it may eventually be settled. Thousands of families have been threatened with hardship and even starvation. They are the innocent victims of an industrial quarrel in which they have no direct interest and which they do not in the least understand. The general transport service of the country has been, of necessity, curtailed. Our industrial and manufacturing centres, and our shipping ports, have been gradually paralysed for want of the cheap fuel which to them is life. In addition to these direct and more or less immediate consequences, the indirect consequences of the coal strike may be even more serious still, because more lasting. Collieries with narrow and deep seams that are difficult to work at a profit, or that are short of capital, once shut down, may not be readily re-opened, if at all. Contracts lost in consequence of the strike may not be regained. Some diversion of business to foreign competitors is certain to take place. Lastly, a much severer and more rigorous selection of workmen may be forced on the coal industry as a consequence of the strike. All these things will tend to permanently increased unemployment and reduced wage-earning capacity.

These are some of the far-reaching consequences that have been forced on our country by the leaders of a Federation numbering one-fiftieth only of our total population, and probably less than one-twelfth of our industrial population. They have been enabled to exercise this tyrannical power—for tyranny it is, and nothing less—first because of their unique position, in that coal-producers have an absolute monopoly of the first necessity and original basis of our industrial greatness—namely, cheap coal; and secondly, because of legislation that has freed them from all legal obligations.

So the Federation leaders have told us—and the object-lesson has been more forcibly driven home with every day that the strike has been prolonged—'We are the Government now.' If this boast were finally made good, if their arbitrary schedule of wage, whatever its merits or its necessity—these points I am not discussing now—were forced upon a possibly reluctant coal industry as a result of the strike, and from fear of its results and consequences, then in truth would the arrogance of the Federation leaders be fully justified, and they would indeed become the virtual rulers of our country. For the future, whatever terms they might choose to dictate would perforce be thrust, or attempted to be thrust, in defiance of economic laws, upon this or any other of the great industries which are the material life-blood of the

kingdom. The immediate and patent results of a general coal strike are nothing like so dangerous as the reckless and revolutionary spirit of which it is the symptom and the outcome. It is not so much the thing itself as the driving-force behind it that will concern the thinking community.

The position is at once so startling and so dramatic in its scope and intensity, that the detached onlooker, if it is possible under present circumstances for any British citizen to assume such a position, naturally asks himself how it has come about and what is the real meaning of it all. No one will seriously contend that a general coal strike is really the best or only way of settling the question of what is a fair wage for the miner. The mere fact of such a method being adopted, the possibility even of its adoption, argues that there must be something wrong in our system of government, some weak point in our executive and constitutional machinery, and that an immediate overhaul of our national body politic is urgently required.

The existence and progress of organic disease in the human body is often secret and insidious for a time. Suddenly some grave but mysterious symptoms appear, necessitating a thorough and immediate diagnosis of the patient. So a strike of this kind, which unless promptly checked threatens grave and even permanent injury to the whole community, appears to indicate the necessity of a similar national diagnosis.

A general coal strike is clearly differentiated from every other form of industrial dispute or warfare, because of the wideness of its scope and consequences. No statesman or even politician worthy of the name can say, 'I had no idea it would be so serious.' The basis of England's commercial and industrial greatness, as already stated, is comprised in the two words, 'cheap coal.' The fact that we have a population of nearly fifty million people in these two small islands in the North Sea, largely dependent for their maintenance and livelihood on the continuance and prosperity of our productive and manufacturing industries, can never be forgotten or ignored. For the continuance and prosperity of these industries a permanent and adequate supply of cheap fuel is a first and absolute necessity. It therefore follows that our coal production is really an affair of national importance from every point of view, and, although it is carried on by private enterprise, that the community has a right to expect from its Government a constant and effective supervision of the general conditions of the industry, coupled with some degree of intelligent anticipation of events in regard to it.

These are simple and self-evident propositions, only recited here because, while the Miners' Federation have remembered and

acted on them, our Government appear to have ignored or forgotten them. None of our present Ministers can say, 'I did not think a coal strike was really intended.' To do them justice, the Federation leaders have been perfectly explicit on the point all along. Their policy of a general strike on a certain day was openly indicated months beforehand, and has been steadily elaborated and developed without any concealment whatever. The ordinary citizen paid small attention, the predominant feeling probably being that a settlement of some kind was certain, by Government action or otherwise, in view of the appalling consequences of a stoppage of our national coal supplies, even for a short period. The Press, it is true, the *Times* in particular, laid stress beforehand on the coming danger. Nevertheless the strike has happened, and what now impresses the impartial but suffering onlooker is the extraordinary impotence of our democratic Government, the evolution of a century or so of a Party system and a gradually extended franchise, in this time of national perplexity and distress. Let us take it for granted that the men have every right to do the best they can for themselves, and that the colliery owners are also entitled to claim some adequate return on the capital they have invested, and are not to be asked to attempt the impossible task of running a colliery on purely philanthropic principles. All this being conceded, our national necessities imperatively demand that in an industry of such scope and importance the combatants, or either of them, shall not be allowed either the opportunity or the means of thrusting the whole community into a state of starvation and industrial paralysis simply because they cannot agree between themselves. 'Salus populi suprema lex.' It is the business of a Government to govern effectively and for the general benefit of all. It was the business of our present Government to have foreseen and provided against the actual event of an openly and long-threatened general coal strike. The inevitable and startling conclusion to which we are driven is that in this England of ours, whose boast it has always been that we are the freest, most enlightened, and best-governed country on earth, there is something radically and seriously wrong with the political and administrative system which can permit of such a national catastrophe.

No one supposes, then, for a moment, that our present Ministers did not know of the coming strike, or that they did not realise what the actual happening of it meant. Only a few months ago they had the practical object-lesson of a railway strike, less important only in degree. Everyone also will readily assume that when the event actually happened they did their best, as humane and capable men, to bring about a peaceable and lasting settlement at the earliest possible moment. The

unpleasant and unforgettable feature, from a national point of view, is that, although animated with the best intentions, and—let us assume—endowed with the highest qualities of statesmanship, these same Ministers have been able to accomplish so little.

The simple, overwhelming truth is that this country cannot afford, from any point of view, economic, social, or international, to indulge in industrial disputes of this kind, and general coal strikes least of all. It is incumbent upon us, as a civilised, enlightened, and business people, to take steps to prevent any possibility of a recurrence of a general coal or transport strike in the future.

Alternatively, if this cannot be done, and if it is ever again possible for the leaders of any industrial Federation or Association to say or imply 'We are the Government,' then we have lost our national and political liberty, we have surrendered our faculty for self-government, and we are exposed at any moment to successful foreign aggression and attack.

What, then, does the strike really mean, and how has it come about? The strike was skilfully engineered by the extreme section of the Federation leaders, whose motive and driving force is Socialism. This has been clearly and concisely put by Mr. Harold Cox in his pungent article, 'Holding a Nation to Ransom,' appearing in the March number of this Review. Mr. Enoch Edwards, M.P., the titular Federation leader, probably says what he is told to say by the more ardent spirits behind him, who, let us assume, really believe in Socialist or Syndicalist romance. These are two mutually destructive forces, only allied now for the common object of destroying private ownership of mines. In the yellow pamphlet recently circulated to Welsh miners, it is, I understand, seriously contended by the Syndicalists that once the capitalist coal-owner is got rid of the industrial millennium will arrive. So the forcible extinction of the owner has been decreed. Make the collieries impossible under the present *régime*, say the Syndicalists, and eventually they will be confiscated by the State and worked—here is the sublime pathos of it all, almost ludicrous if it were not so harmful—not for the benefit of the nation, but for the sole benefit of the miners engaged. Baldly put, this is the main outline of the case as presented to the Welsh miner. In order to get the English and Scotch Unions into line, the bait of a fixed and arbitrary minimum wage has been held out, alleged to be easily obtainable by a sympathetic strike, coupled with the suggestion that the Welsh coal-owner is a mercenary tyrant making large concealed profits at the expense of the real wealth-producer, the coal-getter. To secure public sympathy for the miner, it has also been neces-

sary to describe his occupation as 'penal servitude,' and himself as an overworked and underpaid slave of capital. It has long been obvious to the Federation leaders that a general strike was necessary for their purpose. Partial strikes have often been tried, and failed, because—being only local—they did not appreciably interfere with the nation's coal supply, and so did not terrorise the community at large.

This, then, is a leaders' strike. It is not a genuine miners' strike.[1] The colliers of England and Scotland have been hoodwinked and misled by ardent Socialist agitators. They cannot be expected to understand large economic questions, nor are they in a position to judge of and appreciate beforehand the far-reaching consequences of a general coal strike, and until it has been in operation for a period. The disastrous results of their organised action may, however, be dawning on them now, and it is possible that the ultimate outcome of this dearly-bought experience may, some day or other, be a reaction disastrous for the leaders who have misled them.

I know something of the Lancashire collier. Some thousands of them sent me for twenty years to the House of Commons through five contested elections. I have been down their pits, worked for a spell at the face, forgathered with them at their clubs and suppers, and talked politics to them at the pit-mouth and at election meetings. More manly, straightforward, fairly temperate, and industrious lords of their hands do not exist in the British Isles; nor a better-paid class of industrial workers. Working eight hours a day for three or four days a week, they can earn enough to maintain themselves and their families in comfort and put by for their old age, while they thoroughly enjoy their off-days and holidays. To describe their occupation as 'penal servitude' is sheer, unadulterated nonsense. No class of men have been more effectively and quite properly legislated for than the British collier; while their general appearance, health, and physique are a living contradiction to this 'penal servitude' romance.

But they are clubbable and gregarious, with a strong clan-feeling; and so they have readily lent themselves to the purposes of a Federation organised with consummate and unscrupulous ability by ardent leaders inspired by ambitious, but economically impossible Socialistic—or Syndicalistic—dreams. Moreover, their

[1] Of the 880,000 men and boys (or thereabouts) employed below ground, 115,000 voted against the strike; and about 200,000 did not vote at all. There is also good reason to believe that many did not understand what they were voting for; while others voted in the belief that there would be no strike; or that it would only last a few days. The desire to have a holiday and spend some strike funds actuated many. The voting papers were marked in the presence of a Union official.

Federation is financially strong, as may be gauged from the fact that threepence per collier per week is the minimum contribution to Federation funds,[2] yielding a possible income of over 500,000*l.* yearly; while recent legislation places these funds beyond the reach of penalty for corporate breach of contract.

And so the strike came about. Now for a word from the mine-owners' point of view. I have no pecuniary interest in any colliery, and write from an unbiassed and purely outside standpoint.

It can, I believe, be clearly shown that the aggregate profits of British colliery enterprise are, at most, only just sufficient to pay a moderate rate of interest on the whole capital sunk or employed; while in some cases mines have been frequently worked for years at a loss, and only kept going because allied to some other industry, such as iron or glass works, under the same ownership. In other cases large capital sums have been spent in opening up what have subsequently proved unprofitable collieries. In other words, the capital risks of the enterprise are considerable. A leading British colliery proprietor has informed me that he and his associates have recently expended 400,000*l.* in sinking a new shaft, equipped with all modern plant and appliances, on which not one penny of return has yet been received, nor will for some years be received, even if conditions had remained as they were before the strike. If the Federation Schedule were granted, this colliery could never pay, the 400,000*l.* capital would be lost, and 2500 colliers and allied working men in that particular locality would lose their employment; unless, of course, the price of British coal was materially and permanently raised. This is merely one example of many similar cases that could doubtless be quoted, if required. It is hardly necessary here to discuss the disastrous effect that a permanent rise in the price of coal would have on the railways and industries of our country and on the Welsh export trade, assuming that it were made possible by an import duty on the foreign coal that might otherwise be attracted to our market. If there is any reasonable doubt as to the coal-owners' position, when they tell us that the industry cannot stand the economic strain that Socialist leaders would put upon it; if, in other words, there is any doubt as to their knowledge of their own business and of their sanity—for surely no sane business men would go to the length of permitting a general coal strike if it were financially and economically possible to avoid it by conceding any reasonable demands of the men—then the solution, as a business matter, is a simple one. Let the accounts of the whole industry be compulsorily submitted

[2] From one English colliery, I am informed, the men pay 6*d.* per week, of which 4½*d.* goes in salaries to Union officials.

to a leading firm of auditors, armed with full powers, and we should soon arrive at the real economic truth; the collieries, meanwhile, to be worked as at present, pending the result of the investigation. Unfortunately, the real economic truth is the last thing the Federation leaders desire to ascertain or have revealed. Their policy is reckless and in defiance of economics, while the colliers themselves, except the older and more moderate minority who have all along been opposed to a strike, are mere pawns in the game, either ignorant of economic laws or gulled into believing that their capitalist employers are mercenary wretches, possessors of untold and inexhaustible wealth, that can easily be squeezed out of them if they—the men—only adopt, as they have adopted, this new-forged weapon of a general strike.

This, then, is a general outline of the position that the Government of this country are now called upon to face. 'We are the Government now.' So Democracy is challenged by an industrial Federation in its midst.

Earlier in this article it has been submitted that his Majesty's Ministers ought to have foreseen and prevented so widespread and general a coal strike; and, alternatively, when they intervened after the strike had come into operation, that they should have done so effectively; also, that their failure in both cases, granted the best intentions and the highest qualities of statesmanship on their part, argues some serious flaw in our constitutional machinery.

The general ground of this indictment is that, in occurrences of this magnitude, the people of this country have a right to expect from their rulers a certain intelligent anticipation of events, and some effective power in promptly dealing with them. In industrial crises of this kind, the national risk incurred is so great that we cannot afford to run it. A general coal strike, if sufficiently prolonged, would be as calamitous as a successful invasion by a foreign foe. The nation has long insisted on the latter danger being adequately provided against. So also, for similar reasons, should the former be made practically impossible.

Let us glance at the facts.

During the months that the strike was being openly threatened and prepared for, the Government apparently did nothing. When it arrived, hastily summoned Ministerial conferences with owners and the men's representatives took place. Early in the proceedings the Prime Minister, on behalf of the Government, committed himself to the statement that he was satisfied a case had been made out for the principle of a minimum wage, though a month before, during the debate on the Address, he had flatly declined to accept this principle. It may fairly be contended that this grave commitment, from which with-

drawal is now impossible, was hastily and prematurely entered into by the Government, purely for political reasons, and without sufficient justification or knowledge of the facts. Owing to the great variety in the nature and depth of coalseams, and the general conditions of the enterprise, it is probable that the coal industry is least of all industries a fit subject for the application of the minimum-wage principle. Or, to put it another way, if applicable to the coal trade, it is, *a fortiori*, even more applicable to most other industries. This is a very startling proposition, with far-reaching consequences. It has been conceded, moreover, not to reasoned argument, but to force, as Mr. Balfour, at a later stage, so pithily pointed out. In spite, however, of this important concession to the men, no settlement was arrived at, the Federation leaders insisting on the acceptance of their own schedule without discussion, although the owners intimated that if coerced they would accept the principle of the minimum wage if coupled with adequate safeguards ensuring competent work by the men.

And then, after three weeks' continued strike and futile Government effort, panic legislation was resorted to. The Minimum Wage Bill was introduced, enacting a statutory minimum wage for underground workers, and appointing district Wages Boards with a Government arbitrator to settle district rates, etc. For the first time in our history the price of labour was to be fixed, not by free bargaining between employer and employed, but by statute. This is a complete reversal of the system of industrial relations hitherto obtaining in Great Britain. The questions at once arise: Has this startling change been carefully and properly thought out? How will it work? What precedents are there to justify it? What are the resultant responsibilities thrown upon the State?

Neither time nor space here permits any adequate attempt to deal with these vital points, but a brief general purview may be permissible while important industrial history is in the making.

It is obvious in the first place that Government action has been guided mainly by political considerations. This may or may not be an unfortunate necessity of the case. At any rate it is an outcome of the present development of our Party system. This statement may be tested and verified in several ways. What would have happened, for example, if positions were reversed, and it had been a case of a general lock-out, not a strike, because the Welsh Coal-Owners' Association, not the men, had torn up the agreement of April 1910, and were insisting on fresh and more onerous terms of employment? The country would have rung from coast to coast with denunciations of the mercenary capitalists who were exploiting for their own advan-

tage the enslaved underground worker, and, to that end, paralysing the trade of the country. It is certain that such a position on the part of the owners would have been untenable. But the ethics of the procedure are precisely similar in both cases, and equally indefensible. The practical difference is that the Federation claim to control sixty-four seats in the House of Commons.

Again, let us assume the country to have been governed by an enlightened Dictator, or even by a strong and homogeneous majority Government in the House of Commons, entirely independent of the Labour vote. It is at least highly probable, if not quite certain, that in this case a clear intimation would have been conveyed to the Federation leaders, long before the strike actually took place, that any general attempt to hold up the nation's trade would at once be met, as has been done in Australia as well as in Europe, by seizure of Union funds, and prosecution of the Federation leaders for conspiracy against the public weal; that the necessary legislation for these purposes would be rapidly passed; this action also being accompanied by a clear and definite public declaration that all willing workers would be promptly and adequately protected if and when they desired to continue work. At the same time every facility for calm discussion and arbitration might have been offered. One thing is quite certain. Had some such steps been taken in good time, there would have been no strike. This would have been good national business, though it might not have proved, for the present Government, good party tactics.

The Suffragettes have recently destroyed about 20,000*l.* worth of West-End tradesmen's plate-glass windows by apparently organised action in order to call attention to their cause and attain their object. For this the actual offenders have been promptly and very properly punished, while the leaders are being prosecuted for conspiracy, and their funds and papers seized. No doubt this will satisfy our public sense of justice. But at the same time it is impossible to deny the plaintive force of Mrs. Pankhurst's logic, that while errant Suffragettes and their leaders who have no Parliamentary vote are promptly punished, the Government go cap in hand to the Federation leaders, who have been similarly endeavouring to attain their own selfish class desires by means of destructive violence—for this is what in effect the strike amounts to—organised on an infinitely larger and more dangerous scale than anything the Suffragettes have ever attempted.

Surely it would seem to the law-abiding citizen that Mr. Asquith has lost a unique and magnificent opportunity for an act of practical statesmanship that would have secured for him full Unionist support, and discounted the sixty-four arguments of the

Labour party. Let the 115,000 coal-getters who voted against the strike, as well as the 200,000 who were so indifferent to it as not to vote at all, be assured of adequate protection in their desire to work, and there can be no reasonable doubt that numerous pits would at once re-open. Had such protection, in fact, been publicly proclaimed in good time, it is highly probable that many pits would never have closed at all. Is this protection for willing industry, which is an elemental right of citizenship, beyond the resources of our latter-day civilisation? If coupled with vote by secret ballot of the men without Union official supervision, as the Bishop of St. Asaph, writing with local knowledge, has so clearly pointed out (see the *Times* of the 21st of March), it would make a general coal strike impossible.

It is clear, then, that there *was* a way to prevent the strike before it actually occurred. It is also clear that there always has been a way rapidly to terminate it, if the Government possessed the courage and determination necessary for the occasion. We ask ourselves, Do a Coalition majority and a Labour vote constitute an insuperable bar to measures required for our national safety? Are the miseries of a prolonged general strike the price we have to pay for our present log-rolling Party system? If this is really the case, then the more thoroughly the lesson is learnt, the greater and more lasting will be the inevitable reaction.

The Minimum Wage Bill was hastily introduced while the strike was still going on. Calm and deliberate discussion of its provisions was, under the circumstances, unlikely. In ordinary warfare, hostilities are usually suspended while terms of peace are being discussed. The Government have attempted the extraordinarily difficult task of introducing a remedial measure, containing an unprecedented and far-reaching principle, while industrial strife was in actual progress throughout the country.

But the remarkable feature of the Bill was that it, necessarily, accomplished nothing, and, to say the least of it, has not been fervently supported by either of the disputant parties. It was avowedly a stop-gap measure, intended only for the special emergency, and yet it contained no guarantees or compulsory powers for the enforcement of its provisions. The owners, we know, are always prepared to submit to the authority of Parliament, whatever they may think of its wisdom or its partisanship. After a month's strike without definite result, what the Federation leaders urgently required was some means providing them with a more or less dignified retreat from an impossible position, and so, for the time being, enabling them to 'save their face' with the general body of miners in whose pay they are, whom they have so grievously misled, and to whom they must eventually justify their own existence.

On the other hand, it does not follow, as a result of this kind of legislation, that owners will open their collieries if economic conditions remain impossible, or that the men will be allowed by their leaders to return to work until exhaustion and necessity compel.

On the 21st of March, in the second-reading debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Balfour, at the request of Mr. Bonar Law, moved the rejection of the measure in a masterly and telling speech well worthy of the occasion. The general grounds for this Unionist opposition were that while the Bill was an ostensible concession to those who 'were holding up society,' and possessed no element of finality, it also contained a far-reaching and unprecedented industrial principle whose consequences no man could foresee. The fact that the second reading was carried by a Coalition majority of 123 votes merely emphasises the administrative weakness of the present political position, and of the Coalition Government, which has already been alluded to. The Irish Nationalists, who have no direct interest in the coal dispute, and whose political power is out of all proportion to the population they represent, voted solid for the Bill, not on its merits, but because they wished to maintain in office a Government pledged to Home Rule; while the representatives of thirty-five millions of English people showed a united and homogeneous majority against the Bill. The refusal by the Government to insert day-rates in the Bill has been the first—possibly unexpected—intimation to Federation leaders that the Mother of Parliaments has not yet become a mere machine for enacting Trade Union decrees.

The final alternative is a fight to a finish outside the House of Commons between the Miners' Federation and Great Britain's industrial prosperity. But at the time of writing there are some hopeful signs visible, some pacifying agencies at work behind the scenes. The men have clearly been getting restless. The strike has lasted far longer than they anticipated or were led to believe. Many of them—and this number is probably increasing daily—want to get back to work, and may any day throw their leaders over. Union funds are being depleted; nor should the distress in other trades fail to have its due effect on the colliers, and bring home to them the dire results of their selfish action.

By the time the collieries are all re-opened, furnaces, works, shipping, and industries of all kinds re-started—and these things are not done in a day—an appreciable time will have elapsed, a few more millions of money will have been lost in wages to our industrial population, a little more British trade will have been driven abroad, thousands of innocent women and children will have gone through a further period of bitter hardship and starvation, and the community at large will also, let us hope,

One thing is certain—the Minimum Wage Bill is not the end, but only the beginning, of the matter. There could be no finality in a measure so hastily and rapidly brought forward during a time of strain and stress. 'The Government,' says Mr. D. A. Thomas, in his able and convincing letter on the Coal Crisis appearing in the *Times* of the 19th of March, are attempting to cure the cancer with sticking-plaster. . . . The surgeon's knife is what is wanted.'

What, then, shall we have gained, as a business and industrial nation, by it all? If we have gained more knowledge of ourselves, of the forces at work amongst us; of the weaknesses and mistakes of Democratic institutions and how to remedy them; of the folly of permitting Federation leaders or any other class of ardent and irresponsible citizens too much organising freedom, particularly where the necessaries of life and trade are concerned; if, let me repeat, we gain more true insight, as a nation, into such matters as these, then the coal strike, with all its damage and its folly and its danger, will not have been endured in vain.

But when industrial peace is again restored, and we are able calmly to take stock of the situation, the reasoning, unbiassed, common-sense portion of our nation, that large bulk of our people whose views constitute public opinion, and from whose verdict, once thoroughly aroused and expressed, there can be no appeal, will doubtless arrive at some clear-cut and fundamental conclusions.

I venture confidently to hope that among these conclusions will be the following: Never again shall the production of the first necessaries of our nation's life and trade, and the means of our transport, be allowed to be the instrument of organised industrial unrest. No longer shall corporate Trade Union action remain freed from the common obligations of honesty and honour, such as are inherent in and necessary to all other forms of civilised human intercourse. No longer, perhaps, shall the insane economic doctrines of Socialism and Syndicalism be allowed to be preached, unchecked, in our midst. And never again shall a Trade Union Executive be allowed arbitrarily to control individual freedom, and to usurp or to claim the functions of Government.

HENRY SETON-KARR.

March 26th, 1912.

THE COAL STRIKE—AND AFTER

The coal strike has made an impression on the country such as no previous labour dispute has ever made. Perhaps the time to take stock of its genesis and results has not yet come; but it would be a great mistake to regard it as distinct from the great upheaval of the workers of the world which is characteristic of the present moment. Things have been tending to an explosion for several years. As in a volcanic region there are earth tremors before the actual eruption takes place, so there have been threatenings and smaller disturbances before the great outburst of Syndicalism which we have just witnessed. The railway strike of last summer in this country, and its predecessor in France, the strike in South Wales directed against the group of mines known as 'the Cambrian Combine' were such premonitory symptoms. What has been the proximate cause?

Very largely industrial discontent is due to the awakening of the popular intelligence, fostered and at the same time hampered by our necessarily very imperfect system of elementary education; by the broadening of the outlook of the working man and his increased desire to participate in the pleasures as well as the obligations of life. Our system of education stops short at the point where it touches the real problems of modern civilised life. The hackneyed saying that a 'little learning is a dangerous thing' has been illustrated in a startling way. We have in teaching the masses to read opened the gates to a flood of printed matter which, if it contains much truth, is to a large extent a turbid stream of error. Just as the greatest care has to be exercised in the supply of drinking-water, and the law interposes to prevent the use of wells and tainted sources of supply, so in the intellectual sphere care is needed to see that the springs of truth are not polluted by pernicious falsehood; for to poison the mind is no less criminal than to poison the body. It is even worse when it is considered that the effect of the material poison is at once manifest; whereas the mental poison is unobserved until it breaks out in an epidemic of unreason. Education is a means to an end—not an end in itself. It is not sufficient to be able to read:

it is necessary (as Lord Bacon tells us) 'to weigh and consider,' to discern the grain from the chaff, the truth from the lie. And 'who is sufficient for these things?' 'Quis custodiet custodes ipsos?' Whatever appears in print is to the half-educated man sacrosanct. He assumes that what he reads in print is true, and he is incapable of perceiving even very gross fallacies, unless it palpably contradicts his own experience. Party politicians and party newspapers have a great deal to answer for. Their mission is to stir up discontent and to fish in troubled waters. The moderate section of the nation cannot make its voice heard among the blatant bellowings of the extremists. Above all things, the primary laws of Nature as expressed in logic and political economy are hardly ever inculcated; it may be asserted that men of education who know better assert vociferously in public the thing which is not. And as long as truth is bartered for political ends it is no wonder that the unlearned and ignorant are impelled to rush down a steep place and perish.

We are fast losing the restraints of tradition and law. The Decalogue is largely out of date; judicial decisions from the highest authorities are disparaged as being biassed by class-prejudice; and all the securities of an ancient civilisation are going into the melting-pot. The crowd can do no wrong; to employ the forces of the State against the mob is coming to be regarded as tyranny. The Government are supposed to be acting in the interests of the propertied classes, for Prudhomme is now among the prophets—Property is theft.

The coal strike has been mostly Socialistic in its origin, and Socialism appeals more quickly to the Celtic than to the Teutonic temperament; hence it has obtained a greater hold of the Welsh miners, and of the workers in the Scotch coal-mines amongst whom is a very large Celtic element from Ireland and the Highlands, than of the miners of England itself. No one can have observed the internal differences by which the Miners' National Federation have been swayed first in one direction and then in another without seeing that amongst the representatives of the English miners the old trade-union traditions still prevail, but that even amongst them a considerable movement has taken place in the direction of Socialistic ideas as compared with the comparatively conservative views held by such men as 'Mabon,' Burt, Fenwick, Haslam, Wadsworth, and Edwards, and many others who could be named, who probably regard the recent action of the Federation with considerable misgivings. Certain it is that these men would have been only too glad to have come to arrangements to avoid a strike if they could have carried with them a majority of the delegates of the National Federation. And not only so, but in spite of all that has transpired, these men probably more truly represent the feel-

ings of the working miners of middle age than do the hot-bloods who have forged their way into office, and to whose incitements the strike was due. In the first place, although the figures showed an overwhelming majority in favour of a strike when the miners were balloted, it has become abundantly evident that the real issues as to which the votes were given were never properly understood, and that even amongst the votes which were given in favour of a strike a large number were given in a loose way, with the idea that the voters might as well strengthen their executive in the hope of getting something. The issue from the point of view of the average miner has throughout been a false one. It has been fought on the principle of a minimum wage for all workmen independent of capacity, and it is ostensibly intended to remedy a grievance which is not nearly as real as it has been represented to be. The public have heard the words 'abnormal places' and 'minimum wage' bandied about until they may well be forgiven for being utterly confused as to what they mean. They read that the Welsh coal-owners are absolutely determined not to grant a minimum wage, but, in the same breath, that they are prepared to grant a fair day's pay in the case where a man is working in an abnormal place. The explanation may be well repeated once more, and it is this: That the whole scale of piece-work prices in collieries is based on normal conditions of work, and that where these normal conditions of work prevail, a collier of average capacity is able to make very excellent wages, varying from 7*s*. to 12*s*. a day—to keep within limits which cannot be called exaggerated, as there are an immense number of cases in which the higher limit is exceeded. Therefore, it follows that as long as the conditions remain normal the opportunity to earn a handsome wage exists, and if a man does not earn it, it must be by reason of some incapacity in himself. If, on the other hand, the conditions of his employment are not normal: if he has physical difficulties to contend with which make it impossible for him to do justice to his efforts: it becomes a case for special treatment. This is what is meant by guaranteeing a day's wage in abnormal places. The man has only his labour to sell, and it is right that if he gives his labour fully and freely he should be equally liberally paid. But the converse is also true, that if the pay be liberal the labour must be fully and freely given. And this is just where the guaranteed minimum wage is the stumbling-block. While there are men who are able to earn 10*s*. or 12*s*. a day, there are other men who by reason of age or debility, or it may be idleness, are not able or willing to earn even an average wage; and the proof of this is, that while the average wage of all the miners at a colliery may be 7*s*. 6*d*. or 8*s*. a day, and there are a large number of men who are

making more, there are an equal number of men who are making less.

When the Midland coalowners very reluctantly admitted the principle of the minimum wage they made this concession in the hope that it would be sufficient to prevent a strike, and their desire to prevent a strike was much more because they were fully alive to the grave injury which a general coal strike would inflict upon the country than from any selfish desire to prevent it so far as their own business was concerned. It was only conceded subject to such conditions as would secure 'a fair day's work for a fair day's wage' with regular attendance at work, and with special rates for men who were old or inefficient. Of these safeguards the Miners' Federation as a whole would have none. In the midland counties they would have been agreed to as equitable. The agitation, as the men have now discovered, was not something by which the good workman would benefit but something by which he was more likely indirectly to suffer. But it would also not be to the real advantage of the inferior workman, supposing him to be a man who was honestly doing the best of which he was capable. If the minimum is more than the value of his work he must cease to be employed, and from his point of view he undoubtedly suffers a very grievous hardship; for while at present he earns what he can, and is thankful to earn it, under a hard-and-fast minimum wage he would be precluded from earning less than the minimum. It may be that a graded scale may be arranged for the benefit of those people, mostly the older men, but it is obvious that it would be an extremely difficult thing to adjust, and a constant source of friction and dissatisfaction ever afterwards.

What the miners have not remembered and have not realised is that their prosperity is bound up in the well-being of the community of which they form a part. It is impossible for them to flourish if they are sapping the life-blood of the rest of the community. To some extent probably—and here is one of the effects of their ignorance—they look upon their employers as being persons of immense wealth, from whose profits large additional wages could be taken and still leave an adequate return on the capital invested. It has been suggested seriously by Mr. Richardson, of Newcastle, that colliery proprietors ought to be content with 3 per cent. on their capital; and the less intelligent among the miners, seeing a statement put forward by authority and being told that this is the rate at which the Government could borrow money for the purpose of working the mines, think this would be a reasonable rate of interest. It is not worth while in the pages of this Review to argue that such a contention is quite absurd, that where a business is dangerous as well as fluctuating, and in the highest

degree speculative), a return of 3 per cent. would not attract any capital at all, and that if that limit were imposed on colliery undertakings (or even 5 per cent.) the miners would soon find themselves without work, because there would be no collieries where they could be employed.

The experience of the Prussian Government at the present time is of special interest because they have embarked on a costly experiment in the direction of the nationalisation of coal mines, of which we are able to see some of the results. As is well known, the German coal trade, which in the sixties could hardly support its existence, sought salvation in syndicating its sales. They decided that every colliery should sell its output to a syndicate, and by this means avoid internecine competition. The syndicate proved a great success, largely because it was conducted on wise and statesmanlike lines, with the knowledge that its prosperity was dependent on the prosperity of the trades which it served. Prices, while leaving a margin of profit for the collieries, were not only kept on a moderate level, but were not changed oftener than once a year, or even at longer intervals, except under exceptional circumstances. The collieries earned dividends, most of them from 12 to 8 per cent., and were able to develop their mines on the most up-to-date lines. But the existence of such a powerful combination as the Rhenish-Westphalian Syndicate filled many statesmen with apprehension; and above all the State appeared to be in a false position when it was entirely dependent on the supply of fuel for its railways on a combination of private individuals. The Prussian State were already owners of collieries in the Saar district, and these had yielded fair profits, although it is very difficult to arrive at what the profits actually were, owing to the peculiar method of treating depreciation and new expenditure; but the position of the Saar mines is isolated, and they may be said to have served a market of their own. All the mines, with one or two exceptions, belonged to the Prussian Government, and they could make the price what they liked. In 1902 it was decided that an attempt should be made on the part of the Government to acquire some control of the Coal Syndicate, and with this object it was attempted to purchase certain important collieries as well as to acquire coalfields and put down new pits. A law was passed abrogating the right to bore for minerals and acquire rights of working, with a view to preventing the further extension of the monopoly in coal lands which the Syndicate were endeavouring to establish.

In the preamble of the law in 1902, three objects were set forth:—

(1) To secure an independent supply of coal for the Prussian State Railways.

(2) To exercise some influence on the Rhenish-Westphalian Coal Syndicate.

(3) To make profits which would be available for public purposes in relief of taxation.

The Prussian Government is the most practical and business-like in the world, and they already possess a very highly trained staff of mining engineers. They had the example of the private companies to guide them, and one would have supposed that they would have not been inferior in the management of their enterprises to the large private companies with whom they were about to compete. They put forth a memorandum (a *pièce justificative*) with regard to the three collieries with which they were making a beginning, and they showed in a tabulated statement the profits which it was assumed these State collieries would make. These calculations proved to be entirely wrong, and the amount which it was estimated the collieries would cost was also quite wide of the mark. As a matter of fact, the capital cost of these collieries was just twice as much per ton of annual output as the average of the privately-owned collieries in Westphalia, and three times as much as the average cost of the most modern collieries in Great Britain. The assumed profits were not made, and some seven millions of money had been expended in 1909 carrying interest at 3½ to 4 per cent. Whether any return is being earned on this large sum is very doubtful, but it has been calculated in a paper under the reliable signature of Dr. Jüngst, of Essen, that if a profit of 6*d*. a ton is being made, which is more than doubtful, the return on the capital can only be 1½ per cent. The last money borrowed was at the rate of practically 4 per cent. Therefore, instead of the State deriving any benefit from these mines, it is at present losing 2½ per cent. on a sum which now considerably exceeds 7,000,000*l*. The Government now admits its inability to conduct these mines independently of the Syndicate, and it has applied for admission into that body; and has been admitted. In this respect, the only difference between the State mines and the private mines will in future be that in the one case the money is public money earning less than the market rate of interest, and that the private mines, deprived though they are of the supply of coal for the State railways and at a disadvantage as compared with those companies who have not only collieries but ironworks, are able to make fair profits. The rates of wages at the State mines and the private mines are not very dissimilar, but it is obvious that the State mines could not afford to be generous to their employees except by a further drain upon the public purse.

So far as we in this country are concerned, we are affected by the Rhenish-Westphalian Syndicate's operations mainly in

the development of their export trade. This has been carefully fostered for many years, and the principle has been that of edging into the British markets at whatever price would secure the business, quite irrespective of the price obtainable in Germany. The losses on the exported coal are made good out of the better prices obtained at home. Thus the German consumer is for the time being subsidising the consumers in the export market: not very good business for him, but it is even more disastrous for us! Let us see something of the development of the German export trade during the past few years.

In 1907 the total quantity of coal shipped at Rotterdam (most of which went to the French Bay ports and the Mediterranean) was 577,000 tons, while for the twelve months ending the 31st of March last year the amount shipped was 2,601,000 tons. A further increased tonnage is going from the Westphalian collieries *viâ* the Port of Emden. In addition to these exports by sea, to our former markets, the Germans are exporting greatly increased quantities by rail, barge, and steamer to countries and districts which used to be supplied by British coal *viâ* the Mediterranean and other ports. The quantity so placed has increased within the last seven years from about 6,000,000 tons to 30,000,000 tons per annum. These figures show that, as things are, the Germans are rapidly gaining, and Great Britain is gradually losing ground in markets where a few years ago we had a practical monopoly.

Of our British districts, Northumberland, Fife, and South Wales depend mainly on export trade, and the Midland counties are developing this part of their business rapidly. About one-fourth of the coal produced in Great Britain is exported. It is vital that the cost of production should not be increased to an extent which would cripple our power of competition. There are, of course, economists who think that the export of our coal is all wrong, and that we ought to save it for future generations. Whether they are right or wrong, so far as the working miner is concerned it would be a fatal blow to him if any very large proportion of our export trade were lost and the coal thrown on the home market: which, of course, that market would not be able to absorb. Prices in such a case—as always when Supply exceeds Demand—would fall, the more unprofitable collieries would close, and the result would be lower wages and more unemployment. What the collier has to realise is, that the first condition of his prosperity is a market which will take the largest quantity of his product, and that if he curtails that market by making his product too dear, he is killing the goose which lays the golden eggs for him. The minimum wage will undoubtedly increase the cost of production. About that there is no dispute. The question is: To what extent will the

trade be able to stand it? The employer is in truth only the middleman, who provides for an average return of something like 5 per cent. from the mines and plant by which the collier earns his daily bread. The ultimate person who must pay for higher wages or less work for the collier is the consuming public, and the prosperity of Britain has been built up on cheap coal. Can the public pay much more than it is paying? Possibly by adopting more economical ways of utilising the heat-values of coal it may be able to get more work out of a given quantity of coal than it does at present, and in this way save itself. But by making less coal do more work, it will be *pro tanto* diminishing the demand for the collier's product, and more particularly for the higher-priced coals, since the cheaper and smaller varieties are just those which are most suitable for gasification. Thus the average price of coal from the seller's point of view may be affected in a downward direction, and the ability to pay higher wages correspondingly decreased. We have, on the one hand, a demand for increased pay, negatived in the opposite direction by a shrinking market. These can only be reconciled, if they can be reconciled, by a reduced number of men earning a higher wage, and a correspondingly larger number of men out of employment and forced to earn their living in callings where the pay is not so good.

It may be said that these are interested arguments, and, like all pessimistic views of the future, have been found to be wrong many times in the past; but the cry of 'Wolf, wolf!' was at last justified when people had ceased to believe in it. At the present moment we have to contend with the cheap coals of Japan and China in the Eastern markets; we have rapidly developing water-power and electricity taking the place of coal; and, lastly, we have the competition of mineral oil. All these things will have a prejudicial effect on the coal trade of the future. If only the miners realised the situation, their great object would be to conserve that which they at present possess, and to take every precaution not to risk losing it, like the dog in the fable dropping the bone he had in his mouth for that which he saw reflected in the water.

It is the ignorance of simple economic facts which ought to be brought home, and these facts instilled into the minds of British working-men in all the various educational institutions of the country, instead of political clap-trap for which any number of talented speakers can be found. It is doubtful, it is to be feared, whether anyone to whom the working-men would listen could be found to tell them truths on which their livelihood depends, but it seems to be the need of the time. If their leaders do not know these facts, they ought to know them, and if the blind lead the blind, they must inevitably fall into the ditch, and not the colliers only, but the whole country with them.

When all the illusions of a future of universal plenty and good will have been scattered by the stern experience of the operation of economic law, the working-man will realise that the fund out of which comes the means of his subsistence is rigidly limited, and he will realise that the present moment has been a fatal orgy of unreason.

GEORGE BLAKE WALKER.

DIPLOMACY AND PARLIAMENT

The session of 1911, notable as it was for its legislation, marks also an epoch in respect of foreign affairs. Leading dailies have expressed the view that, momentous as is the legislative record of the year, its administrative work, and particularly in the foreign sphere, is equally epoch-making, because it 'certainly denotes the awakening of the private member to the importance of real control by the House of Commons over administration.' The foreign situation is under discussion to a degree quite unique in recent years. The greater part of the Press, including the whole of the Liberal newspapers, assumes that public discussion is desirable; it is only the papers most inclined to express opinions on diplomacy themselves which are disposed to question whether Parliament has any right to an opinion in the matter, and to condemn the individuals who express one. In so doing the supercilious experts have touched the spot, for the question should certainly be fully debated—What is the function of Parliament in regard to foreign affairs?

Parliament represents the voice of the people, grudgingly admitted, after many centuries, to control of domestic interests, but, even less than in other times and other countries, allowed to touch with clumsy fingers the delicate machine of international relations. The principle, as well as the practice, of Parliamentary control is worth discussing, though, with characteristic neglect of logic, the practice of public intervention takes place first; the principle on which it should be grounded is only discussed because the need of a theory is afterwards felt. In British politics, as Professor Sidgwick observed, principles are only sought for as a justification of practice, which is not at the time of action based on principles at all. It is, therefore, typical of English life that we should be brought for the first time to ask whether Parliament should intervene, by the fact that, owing to the Moroccan crisis of 1911, it has intervened already.

The present outburst of public and Parliamentary interest is due to the Anglo-German situation, and to the discovery that this situation brought the country to the verge of war. But for this there would have been no such fever of anxiety as is evident to-day

when any opportunity presents itself for public expression. This has astonished those who have seen it at public meetings of many kinds, notably at the gatherings of the various Liberal federations, and especially at the Central Federation meeting at Bath. But Conservative organs have been almost equally insistent, and their leaders in the House scarcely veiled their criticism of the Government's treatment of Germany last July. They appeared more pacific than the pacifist Liberals themselves.

Putting then the cart before the horse, let us recall to our minds the main concerns of British foreign policy, for which Parliament has in the past intervened. These have been, apart from commercial arrangements and business matters generally, the maintenance of peace, and, secondly, the support of national rights or the promotion of prosperity among misgoverned peoples. In point of fact, the latter in recent times has occupied a large share of the time of the Foreign Office staff.

The function of Parliament is the more easily discussed, because parties are not markedly divided to-day. The negotiation of commercial treaties may induce differences of opinion, felt alike by Liberals and Conservatives, Free Traders and Protectionists, but on the strictly political side, parties follow the same general lines. Even a Radical writer, as, for instance, Mr. Gooch, in his *History of Our Time*, says 'While domestic controversy remains acute, a considerable measure of agreement has been reached in regard to external questions.' Both parties accept the Japanese Alliance and the triple entente, both support full arbitration with the United States, and the maintenance of a supreme navy. And so far as recent events are concerned, it has even been suggested that Conservative leaders are not less devoted to peaceful foreign relations than the Liberal Government, but possibly more so; while in regard to the policy of assisting misgoverned populations abroad, Lord Lansdowne is perhaps the most highly praised for his activity. As to Turkey, Morocco, Persia, China, there are no divergent views which follow party lines.

It has, indeed, been the deliberate policy of modern times to establish continuity. This idea, introduced by Lord Rosebery in the early nineties, has taken firm root, and though, by removing foreign affairs from party discussion, it has gradually decreased the public interest in them, it has led to a certain movement of views on both sides towards a common measure.

The main objects of policy being common to all parties, we are all concerned with the question: What is the way to carry them out? What is the international function of the supreme political body in this or any modern State? It is to regulate its own procedure, and to perfect its official machinery, so as to ensure a measure of harmony between governmental action and public

opinion. Sir Edward Grey, in his great speech on arbitration with America, made repeated appeal to public opinion as the true basis of action.

I.—Machinery.

First in importance is the official machine. The aim is to perfect the systems of the Foreign Office and of Diplomacy. But perfect them as you will, they will in these days be more in sympathy with one party than the other.

The upper class, which has long lost its administrative domination over home government, retains it in foreign affairs. Till recent times the admixture of Liberalism in this class, and the partial control exercised by Parliament, removed the practical objection to class domination. But both these factors have disappeared. While the upper class has become more entirely Conservative, Parliamentary control, weakened under Lord Salisbury, was not revived even after the Liberal victory of 1906, because political energy was absorbed in domestic politics. Thus at the very moment when international forces are becoming more democratic, progressive, and pacific, the inspiration of our diplomacy tends to grow more discordant with the public opinion it should represent.

But some further steps can obviously be taken to make the instrument less absolutely out of sympathy with a Liberal Government than at present it is bound to be. The Foreign Office suffers, not only from the natural infirmities of all officialism, but from the abnormal misfortune of being practically free from criticism.

It is notorious that Foreign Office opinion is out of touch even with the opinions of diplomacy. An ambassador once remarked to Lord Salisbury: 'For the first time in my experience you are doing what we ambassadors approve.' The Foreign Secretary replied: 'Then there certainly must be something wrong with the policy.' The retort was not merely a good specimen of Lord Salisbury's ironical humour; it indicates what is at all events of great interest to the public—that when a policy has been pursued which brought us close to a great war, it was probably not supported by the chief diplomats on active service.

Not content with the dangerous security of isolation, the Foreign Office adds the danger of restricted competition for places in its service. Like other offices, it has to control interests of great complexity, not only political, but in regard to trade and finance. For instance, though the Government seldom makes advances by loan itself, and does not directly control, as the French Government does, the issue of a loan by its authority over the Stock Exchange list, yet in effect its power is equally great, because a foreign loan cannot be issued without the statement that

it has the imprimatur of the Foreign Office. In a similar way the Home Office, having to cope with highly complicated interests of trade, is obliged to furnish itself with experts of equal knowledge to that of the traders. A Departmental Committee dealing, let us say, with factory regulations, is entirely subservient to the superior knowledge of the manufacturers concerned, unless the Home Office has upon its staff equally well-informed officials. In both cases, therefore, the very best available men must be induced to join the service, and above all is this essential in the Foreign Office, whose business is treated as an art so difficult as to be best shrouded in mystery. Bankers who finance foreign States deserve understanding treatment at the Foreign Office. Yet, paradoxically enough, this very office, by restricting the field of competition for places in the service, deliberately denies itself the use of the best available talent.

The same may be said in even more marked degree of the diplomatic service. In this case the candidate has not only to pass the gauntlet of nomination, which is intended to limit the profession to members of the 'upper ten,' but has to show that he has private means to the extent of not less than 400*l.* a year. It is notorious that in reality a man will be rash to enter the service without considerably more means than even this. It is no doubt desirable in many cases that he should be able to return invitations, so that by entertaining and being entertained, he can make himself acquainted with important people. To be comfortable, therefore, and to do his work thoroughly he must be worth a great deal more than 400*l.* a year, for his official pay is a negligible quantity. But this is not all. He may be moved at frequent intervals, and though the travelling allowances have been somewhat increased, it still happens that a man may be moved three times in four years, each removal costing him a round 400*l.* The pay of junior secretaries does not greatly exceed the difference between the cost of living abroad and at home.

One result of this is that the men who take up diplomacy are, in many cases, rich men who want an interest in life, or who intend to retire after a few years. These have no urgent incentive to succeed in the profession. The effect upon their activities may be foreseen.

A still more important question is that of amalgamating the Foreign Office and diplomatic services. An exclusively Foreign Office training provides only a paper knowledge of foreign countries. The diplomat, on the other hand, loses touch with English life and thought. One result of the system is the complete dependence of the foreign on the home branch, and the consequent lack of solidarity. And further, anything which increases the efficiency of the missions abroad brings them into closer touch with

the public of those countries to which they are in theory accredited. Amalgamation should be complete.

Again, in other States the diplomatic and consular services are frequently interchanged. Our own tradition is far more aristocratic. The promotion from the consular to the diplomatic corps is so rare that the cases of Sir William White and Sir Ernest Satow are conspicuous, indeed almost unique. The United States, in their Consular 'Inspection' Service, have an institution which maintains the tone of the consular corps, and provides a stepping-stone to diplomacy. In Italy, the Foreign Office is largely manned by consuls.

Now what is the sound reason for our privileged caste system? It is that a diplomatist should freely make himself acquainted with people of importance. But on this point two things may be remarked. First, if that is his duty, the best work will be obtained by paying him for it; secondly, in these days real power resides increasingly in classes outside the 'upper ten'; in hands, one might say, which, though they may be washed for dinner, do not put on dress clothes. Suppose the French Government desires its diplomats to have personal knowledge of the forces at work in England. Even though foreign affairs are under bureaucratic rather than democratic control, the French Minister would expect his men to be acquainted with many non-aristocratic political forces whose ultimate importance is worth considering. Of what use to the Minister would be a man who mainly studied the rich? He should no doubt cultivate many circles, including non-political coteries which would bring him into touch in a social way with political people, without the appearance of deliberate search for political information. But the most arduous efforts would fail, if confined to the West End. He could by far simpler means, and without any really expensive entertaining, inform his Government of the forces which count with Mr. Asquith's Government.

Can it be urged that a privileged system is more specially suited to our needs than those of other States? This will hardly be held by anyone familiar with the impression often made by Englishmen abroad. They have indeed maintained that kind of prestige which consists in being thought different from, and more exclusive than, any other nation, but possibly not different in a manner that conduces to the increase of influence. What is there peculiar in the relation of the English towards Continental peoples? In the essentials of character, of moral force and honesty, both political and private, we must own to finding ourselves, from whatever cause, greatly superior to many younger peoples; but this brings with it the natural defect of the Pharisee—the man who, not imagining, but knowing, his own nation's superiority, thinks it a ground for a genial contempt of less favoured people.

We all remember the story published by the present Under-Secretary to the Home Office. An English lady travelling abroad was asked by her companion why she never spoke to the people in their own language. She replied: 'I don't care to talk to them; it only encourages them.'

What is the moral of this? Does it favour the method of a privileged caste, and support the exclusive tradition? or does it suggest a system specially democratic, embodying the principles of sympathy and activity, in order to counteract the special dangers of our international position?

There are backward countries where European advisers are brought in to supply knowledge and skill. In two of these I have heard the comparative merits of English and other officials keenly discussed, and not with advantage to the Briton. I do not allude to the recent sneers of a well-known Russian writer at 'the typical coiffure and monocular equipment,' but rather to the preference for golf as against work, which discounts the Englishman from the point of view of utility to a needy Government; and I have heard it argued by a very clever Mahommedan, who had studied at Cambridge, that in what foreigners call 'snobbism' the Englishman attained a degree of sublimity which he had not detected in France or Germany. He said that in the lecture class to which he belonged there was one student, and one alone, of ability and interest; but in social circles, though he met all the dull ones, he never met the clever one. The explanation which he received, namely, that the clever man was not a 'gentleman,' he had never been able to understand. This was a sample of the phenomena which made him for all practical purposes anti-English. He is a Turk, wielding almost unique influence at a moment when the friendship of Turkey is not a *quantité négligeable*.

To turn to another side of the matter—the diplomat's outlook. All diplomats will recognise, in the description given in the House of Commons by Baron de Forest, something which hit the nail. 'By habit and by tradition a diplomatist is accustomed to look upon himself as perpetually engaged in a species of contest with the diplomatists of other nations, and it is essentially, if I may call it so, a game of skill' . . . 'and that issue assumes in their minds an importance derived not from the principles involved, but from the mere fact that it is an issue' . . . 'and unfortunately when the game fails, as it often does fail, and each side has stale-mated the other, and matters have come to a deadlock, then the financial resources, and unfortunately the lives of the people are called upon to achieve the successes which diplomatic methods have failed to secure.'

Is there not a final argument for reform in the just claims of

the existing members of the service? They are a small body of public officials, working under great difficulty, doing their work with the greatest ability, good nature, and tact. Why should they be denied that system of adequate pay and appointment by merit, which all other branches of the public service cherish as their best security?

II.—PARLIAMENT.

A Liberal Government is at an obvious disadvantage in attempting to carry out its policy through anti-Liberal instruments. Some counter-weight to this influence must be found, and we are brought at this point to the question with which we began: What is the function of Parliament in regard to its own procedure?

The thing to realise here is the overwhelming responsibility which rests upon a Foreign Minister. His is the point of view from which things should be judged.

Now, considering the intolerable amount of work which does occupy him, or ought to occupy him, it is clear that he must naturally seek to reduce to a minimum the amount of attention which must be given to anything beyond the study of his diplomatic task itself. Again, the indiscreet utterance of views is a positive evil in itself when it is misinterpreted abroad. Such views by private persons he cannot control; and as coming from the Press he cannot always influence. It would appear that his best opportunity for serving the needs of his position is to endeavour to regulate such expressions where alone he can efficiently regulate them, viz., in the House of Commons. The public at large is far removed from diplomatic affairs, and only discusses them when greatly alarmed or greatly angered; but the public would be satisfied by the sense that Parliament, as distinct from the nation, was officially concerned, as it is in France, with foreign things. If there is to be discussion outside the Foreign Office (and this, whether right or wrong, is inevitable), it is best, from the point of view of the Minister, that it should be centred in what might be called the semi-public field, viz. Parliament, thus effecting a kind of compromise with democracy. Such a semi-official treatment would take the place of that 'democratic control' of which it is vain to speak in this connection.

To come to concrete proposals, there is a demand for more debate in the House. We have been told more than once by Sir Edward Grey that he is perfectly ready for more debates if the House desires them; and undoubtedly it will do so. But we have occasions when, as last July, open debate would involve excessive risks. At the moment when Mr. Asquith spoke on the Agadir affair, he said: 'I would venture in the general interest to make

a strong appeal to the House not on the present occasion to enter into further details, or upon controversial ground.' It is open to argument, in view of subsequent events, whether the situation to-day might not be happier, if this appeal had not been made, or if it had been ignored. But let us freely grant that there are occasions when open debate is a mistake. What then is the moral? It is that debates, as in other countries, should take place, but should not be reported. With our existing fetish of free speech, we end in sacrificing speech altogether, and we assume also that such a treatment of the Press would not be tolerated. But why should it be assumed that men of such genuine political interest as Lord Northcliffe and Mr. Cadbury are not willing to consider the interests of their country?

If and when we adopt such a rational system, there will still be need for further systematisation because, through lack of time alone, an imperial Parliament, which is also a national Parliament, cannot spare many days.

We come, then, to the method of committees.

It must be realised that this country, except on the point of formal question and answer, has less equipment for dealing with foreign matters than other States. It might be thought that from the point of view of a Government, official committees would provide the best means of minimising debate. A minister must desire either to gag discussion or to educate those who take part in it. But it appears from a recent answer by the Prime Minister, that ministerial responsibility would find itself in danger from such a system. Governments naturally defend themselves as a whole. Ours, in self-defence, maintains the theory that if one minister falls, all must fall with him; and the facilities for criticising a minister are thought to be increased by the foreign system of sectional committees. This refusal of governments to allow criticism of individual ministers is the only ground for that attack on the party system which will possibly succeed (under the leadership of Mr. Belloc) in compelling a concession on this point. In foreign matters criticism might not be increased, but diminished, by the French system of official committees. In any case, the opposition to official committees may give way to a realisation of the solid advantage of the nation itself.

We have, however, at present, rather to consider the private (unofficial) committees. These, of course, have long prevailed informally. The men who are specially interested naturally co-operate, and innumerable committees exist—devoted, for instance, to arbitration, reform in Turkey, foreign affairs in general, Congo atrocities, or conditions of slavery, in the Empire and outside it. There are also outside committees dealing with special foreign causes, each with their affiliated committee of members of the

House on special subjects; and as critics on international matters in general there are such bodies as the New Reform Club, the National Reform Union, and the Foreign Policy Committee.

What is new is the formation, in the Liberal and Labour parties, of 'groups,' as distinct from self-appointed committees, that is to say, bodies chosen by individual communication with every member of the party. The trouble involved in forming such groups is only undertaken when the motive force is unusually strong and widespread. It is due in this case to the feeling that Parliament has abrogated its function in regard to foreign things, and that, therefore, parties should organise the vastly increased interest expressed by the public and the newspapers. The movement is not an attempt to get diplomatic negotiations made public, and it has no united opinion in regard to naval estimates. On the other hand, it is a protest against the obscurantist doctrine of diplomacy. It deprecates, as Conservatives do also, the change encouraged during the last few years—the concealment from the public of the general outlines of our foreign policy, and of the grounds for the new theory of continental entanglement. Liberals feel that this is based on an assumption, as to the designs and powers of one great continental State, which cannot be substantiated; and it is felt that the policy is virtually dictated by a very small number of permanent men at the Foreign Office, and in diplomacy. It is obvious that a Liberal Government has a difficulty in carrying out its views, and that the friction with Germany has been partly due to the private opinions of some of our diplomatists. This should be balanced by the expression of views in Parliament.

If there is to be discussion in the House it is essential to keep it well informed and practical. For this purpose an unofficial representative committee has obvious value. Such a committee would have avoided the spasmodic expressions of sympathy with other States which proved so dangerous at the time of the Turco-Greek War. It will ensure concentration upon governmental action, and no generous impulse must deter it from this guiding principle; for if no good can result from agitation, agitators should keep quiet. The advice of experts can be secured, so that the time for action may be rightly chosen, and false hopes or false fears abroad may not be raised. In any given case it can be ascertained whether the Government intends to act and whether it welcomes open support. Satisfied on this point, what an organisation can do is to provide a Foreign Minister with an argument which he can use abroad, based on the fact that public opinion demands activity. In regard to proposals for joint action by the Powers, such an argument was used by Lord Salisbury

and Lord Lansdowne. Clearly, if any such co-operation is to exist between the official and the unofficial world, Parliament is the place where it is most feasible.

In the present state of things it would appear that such a system of regularised party committees is the best available. It is customary among a section of the Conservative Press to sneer at unofficialutterances on foreign relations. But such sneers need not be noticed, coming as they do from those editors most given to censorious utterances on foreign affairs themselves. A minister may well be excused, in the chaos of work which should occupy him, for neglecting the question of the function of Parliament. But why should he not utilise for this purpose the Under-Secretary, who is intended to be a link between the Minister and the House? When resentment ceases to be shown towards interest in foreign things, such party committees may prove to be doing to Governments the good turn that they need. The Minister's convenience may be served in spite of himself. When organised interest is treated with respect, the unbalanced enthusiast, who refuses to work with others, will by a natural process be controlled, while the Government will be relieved of the temptation to crush him.

For the fact that interest has not in this way been organised in the past, perhaps the private member, too readily accepting the view that he can effect nothing except by attaining office, is most to blame. Now that public anxiety and growing political education have forced Parliamentary opinion to organise itself, such a system of party committees, failing the freedom of unreported debate, and the safety-valve of official committees, would appear to be the convenient course for Government and country alike.

But official committees in the end will be forced upon us, not *only by the growing interest of the House in policy, but by the* inevitable grant to Parliament of the control over treaties. The power of ratification has been claimed as a Parliamentary right; it will be granted rather as a necessity of efficient negotiation with other countries. Again, we find the cart before the horse. Ministers and Ambassadors will find Parliamentary control a useful weapon in bargaining, as the American Government has found the Senate Committee to be. The objection is to 'democratic' influence, but if the system was adopted by America, when in the eighteenth century she endeavoured to embody in her Constitution the power of George III., and if it is adaptable to autocratic Germany, it can hardly be over 'democratic.' The principle has been voluntarily adopted in regard to the Declaration of London and the U.S.A. Arbitration Treaty. In both cases the American Government gains, by the fuller knowledge of public

opinion, and still more by the bargaining power obtained through the need of referring to a popular body. In both cases the English Government loses from want of the same factors.

With ministerial responsibility already in force, Parliamentary influence exercised through a committee may be thought superfluous; but if ministers are well-informed enough, and strong enough to control their officials, they will not be embarrassed by it. If they are not (and being human they cannot be) perfectly informed, and perfectly powerful, they will be glad of the committee's support.

NOEL BUXTON.

THE REAL ISSUE IN IRELAND

On the eve of the introduction of the third Home Rule Bill, it is important to state succinctly the nature and the consequences of the revolution which has taken place in the conditions of the Irish problem during the past eighteen years, and to present in clear terms the choice which now lies before the two parties to this age-long conflict.

Fundamentally the issue remains the same, to govern Ireland by consent, or to govern her against the consent of the great majority of her inhabitants. The time-worn arguments for the latter course still poison the air; arguments drawn from fear, contempt, selfishness, racial prejudice, pessimism, and used from time immemorial, in spite of every successive proof of their falsity, just as freely and sincerely in the British Empire as in other parts of the world, for the justification of tyranny. The *Quarterly Review*, for example, faithful to the traditions which caused it in 1839 to describe the great Durham Report—the charter of the self-governing Colonies—as 'rank and infectious' in 1912 still pours out a stream of insult and pessimism upon Ireland in her efforts to obtain the responsible government which proved the salvation of a stagnant and rebellious Canada. The counter-plea for freedom, as a universally proved source of loyalty, harmony, and progress slowly works to counteract the poison. But in the case of Ireland, as modern facts reveal the present problem, the terms of this ancient debate are becoming almost grotesquely antiquated, irrelevant, and sterile.

The illumination comes from finance, and dates from 1896, when the Report of the Royal Commission upon Financial Relations was published, and when the annual Treasury Returns, upon which it was largely based, received public attention. The Commissioners were almost unanimous upon the main conclusion, which was, that Ireland, a very poor agricultural country, and Great Britain, a very rich industrial country, were not fit subjects for the same fiscal system. They made no unanimous recommendation, but two distinct remedies were foreshadowed by individual Commissioners. One was to give Ireland a financial autonomy of her own, with full control both over expenditure,

which in Ireland was very wasteful and extravagant, and over revenue; the other was to compensate Ireland for unjust and unsuitable taxation by spending more public money on her. The former remedy was refused; the latter, a fallacious and vicious palliative, was adopted, with all the more willingness, in that it fitted in with the mood of the Unionist statesmen who were responsible for Ireland for twenty years from 1886, with one short interval, and assisted the change of policy from determined, almost frenzied, opposition to the most elementary reforms in Ireland, whether religious or economic, at whatever cost to Ireland in the brutalisation, expatriation, and impoverishment of her people, to a policy of spontaneous paternalism.

Paternalism from without, coupled with the deliberate extinction of a sense of national responsibility within, is always, and in every country, a system which combines the maximum of cost with the minimum of efficiency.

The upshot to-day is that the expenditure upon Ireland exceeds the revenue derived from her by 2,000,000*l*. At the time of the earlier Home Rule Bills the position was reversed. Ireland then made a net contribution of about 2,000,000*l*., over and above her local State expenditure, to the Army, Navy, and other Imperial services. Now, so far from contributing, she receives what is virtually an annual subsidy of the same amount. This subsidy came into being in 1909 after the grant of old-age pensions. And its amount is steadily rising.

Ireland, regarded as a separate entity, is an insolvent burden upon the taxpayers of Great Britain. This is the outstanding fact behind the modern Home Rule issue. From the Irish point of view the Union, as a financial proposition, pays. From the British point of view it is a dead loss, and an increasing loss. The question for Ireland becomes, in a far more clear and urgent sense than before, one of self-respect and self-reliance. The question for Great Britain, moral obligation apart, is summed up in the words: 'Is the Union worth the price?'

The phenomena before us are perfectly normal, the motives behind them as old as the human race itself. There are only two ways of conducting government against the consent of the governed—namely, by pure force, or force and corruption combined. This was a commonplace with the British political philosophers of the eighteenth century, who applied it to the unreformed Constitution of their own country. The maxim was elevated into a perfect system, and openly justified as such, in the case of eighteenth-century Ireland, and it still holds good, though the application is more subtle and more plausible, in modern Ireland.

Time, the growing political strength of nationalism, the waning strength of the landed and religious ascendency, and the

growth of ordinary fairness in public life, have contributed greatly to mitigate that form of indirect persuasion which consists in making official and legal posts the monopoly of the ascendant class or creed. The grievance still exists in Ireland, but it is no longer what it was. A danger more serious and widespread, while more insidious, threatens her. It is reflected in eloquent figures in the annual Treasury Returns and in the growing deficit to which I have already referred. Twelve millions go into Ireland in the shape of local expenditure, only 10,000,000*l.* come out of her in the shape of local revenue. Even a cursory analysis of Irish expenditure shows very clearly what is taking place. Irishmen, from the highest to the humblest, but above all the humblest and poorest of both creeds and races, are, in a purely financial sense, directly interested in the maintenance and increase of this bribe. The expenditure falls into two broad categories. The first comprises old-age pensions, which account for no less than 2,600,000*l.*, more than a fifth of the total. Any serious economist must pronounce half the old-age pensions, which are given on the high scale designed for wealthy and industrial Great Britain, as charity, when distributed among a population where agricultural wages average 11*s.* a week, or 7*s.* or 8*s.* less than in England and Scotland respectively. All the rest of the expenditure passes to or through the separate quasi-colonial bureaucracy of Ireland—the swollen police force, the crowd of irresponsible boards, the hosts of officials. There is no healthy check either upon the numerical size of the bureaucracy or upon its remuneration, and all classes are tempted to join in a conspiracy to keep both unnaturally high. Productive work is penalised. The police, for example, are largely drawn from the agricultural population, and receive pay from the very start which is double what an agricultural labourer can hope to attain to in his whole life. It is a commonplace that the force is twice as numerous and costly as in Great Britain, where crime is relatively greater. But consider the economic and social forces which, under the present system, militate against reduction. The mischief pervades every branch of administration. It pervades even a valuable service like the Department of Agriculture, even those clinical institutions, the Congested Districts Board and the Land and Estates Commissions, which were tardily set up to treat forms of social and economic disease engendered by ages of misgovernment, and which account, all told, for a million pounds in the expenditure side of the balance-sheet. Every farthing in this balance-sheet is suspect as long as Ireland herself is not responsible for the expenditure and for raising the requisite money.

That her own representatives, not only Unionist but Nationalist, have been active participants in the policy which has reduced

her to the abject state of dependence she now occupies, reflects no discredit on them. It is only one more example of the effects of that immemorial statecraft which makes a conquered country the instrument of its own degradation. For forty years, since Isaac Butt, they have demanded the Home Rule which would have given their country free will, self-respect, and an honourable place in the Imperial partnership. The claim has been refused. They have had to work the Union for what it was worth. The condition of their people was wretched, and they snatched at any means of alleviating it. The one criticism they justly incur is that they have not unceasingly warned and instructed their people as to what was going on, and kept burning brightly before their eyes the light of ultimate self-reliance, whatever the sacrifices involved.

For Ireland and Great Britain three courses are open: (1) to maintain the Union with all its existing consequences, (2) to adopt a limited form of Home Rule which will perpetuate Ireland's dependency on Great Britain, and (3) to give Ireland full fiscal autonomy, with a minimum of strictly temporary assistance corresponding to the actually existing financial deficit; in other words, to throw on Ireland the responsibility of wiping out that deficit, balancing her revenue and expenditure, and resuming her interrupted contributions to the Empire.

Let us take the plans in turn.

The Maintenance of the Union

The principal reasons given for this course are four:

(1) The opposition of North-East Ulster.

(2) British fears of a hostile and disloyal Ireland.

(3) 'Ireland does not *want* Home Rule.'

(4) Ireland's 'prosperity,' said to be attributable to the Union, and especially to Unionist policy.

No. (1)—the most important of all—I shall leave to the end of this article, where it will be more appropriate.

(2) Of all emotions to which the human heart is subject the fear in a big, rich, and powerful nation of a small, poor, and helpless country, which she has bullied and beggared, is the most despicable. If it is a natural instinct to expect from a victim of tyranny an attempt at revengeful reprisals, let us at least in common decency not *fear* the victim. But in truth, as I said above, those *fears* are becoming as ludicrous as they are baseless. It is no longer a question of the 'safety' of giving Ireland Home Rule, it is rather a question of the heavy cost to England of refusing Home Rule and of the immediate sacrifice to Ireland involved in assuming the widest form of fiscal autonomy.

(3) 'Ireland does not want Home Rule.' Mr. Ian Malcolm,

in an article in the February number of this Review,[1] asserts his opinion that Ireland, in spite of the verdict of eight successive general elections, does not want Home Rule. The sums subscribed to the National Fund are not large enough to satisfy him. Our first thought is that it is waste of time to argue this point with Mr. Malcolm, because whatever the height of the National Fund, he and his party would not be converted to Home Rule. How, unless by voting, is Ireland to express her want? There is no way but a renewal of the unconstitutional action forced upon her in the past. Once more she is to be taught the terrible lesson that violence is the only road to reform. The writer in the January number of the *Quarterly Review* actually indicates to her a new Plan of Campaign, when he prophesies, in his genial way, that after Home Rule she will repudiate the annuities on purchased land, which are now paid willingly, punctually, and honestly to the last farthing. But if the 350,000 annuitants determined to repudiate now, they could do so. If Mr. Malcolm really doubts the desire for Home Rule, why does he not stand for election in a Nationalist constituency, and use the same arguments as he gives to the readers of this Review, strangely mingling the new note of sympathetic flattery of the Irish people as a peaceful, prosperous, contented folk, sick of Home Rule, with the old conventional insinuations of intolerance, disloyalty, and dishonesty? No doubt the demand for Home Rule has not the passionate vehemence it had when hunger and misery were behind it. No doubt some of the financial boons arising from the Union act to a certain extent as narcotics. But underneath there is a deep irresistible current of pride and honourable sentiment which Mr. Malcolm would understand when his arguments drew it forth.

(4) I pass to the argument, in common use now, that Ireland ought not to be given Home Rule owing to her present and growing 'prosperity,' which is represented as being the direct result of Conservative policy. Here again it may be objected that it is idle to deal with the argument: in the first place, because it does not touch the plea for government by consent; in the second place, because to disprove it would only lead to the inference from Unionists that Home Rule was still more impossible; in the third place, because it is as old as the Repeal Debate of 1834 and has survived famines, wholesale emigration, and every phase of social anarchy and economic misery.

Nevertheless, we are here in the presence of a contention, which at the present day wears a more plausible aspect than before, and which, in fact, apart from the Ulster difficulty, forms the whole of the reasonable case for the Union as put forward by writers like Mr. L. S. Amery for the *Morning Post*,

[1] 'Justice to Ireland,' *Nineteenth Century and After*, February 1912.

and the anonymous author of a recent series of articles in the *Times*; in short, by thinking men who realise that the old case against Ireland is dead, and who feel bound, not only to justify the Union, but to put forward some positive alternative policy to Home Rule.

Let us agree at once with thankfulness that Ireland is more prosperous, though the prosperity, as I shall show, is somewhat deceptive. Her condition could hardly have become worse. She is advancing, though very slowly, on the up-grade. If it were not so, an indelible stain of infamy would rest upon Great Britain, which maintains responsibility for Ireland. There is little cause for self-congratulation over the 'unexampled generosity' of Great Britain, and to do the writers just mentioned full justice they do not take this extreme and Pharisaical line. But they do ascribe too high merit and too much success to distinctively Unionist policy. In point of fact, since the passing of the cardinal reforms in the matter of religion and land, neither party has any advantage over the other, though the Tories, by the rise and fall of the party balance, have had a much longer spell of office in which to carry out a policy. Their greatest work is held rightly to have been Mr. Wyndham's Land Purchase Act of 1903, and out of this truth a legend has arisen that purchase was a distinctively Conservative policy. The fact is, that it was John Bright's policy, and that purchase clauses were inserted in the three Liberal Acts of 1869, 1870, and 1881. In 1885 came the first Tory Purchase Act—Lord Ashbourne's—and in 1886, in conjunction with his first Home Rule Bill, Mr. Gladstone proposed a vast scheme for the universal transference of land from landlord to tenant at twenty years' purchase; a scheme which, whatever its minor defects—and all schemes at this period had their minor defects—would have had the great advantage not possessed by Mr. Wyndham's Act, passed seventeen years later, of a long period of cheap public credit. The scheme was contemptuously rejected. In 1891 and 1896 extensions of the Ashbourne Act were passed; but it is common knowledge that the impetus for the Wyndham Act of 1903 came from within both parties in Ireland itself, and originated in the Land Conference of Home Rulers and Unionist Landlords. Nor, it is equally well known, could it ever have been passed without the huge bonus of twelve millions, charged on the general taxpayers, to selling landlords.

But these, after all, are minor points. The dominant fact is that without the abolition of cottier tenancy and the substitution of the Ulster Custom and judicial rents by Gladstone's Land Acts of 1870 and 1881 and by subsequent amending Acts, no constructive reforms would have been possible. These Acts struck

at the root of the most vicious and demoralising social system which has ever disgraced a country styled 'civilised,' and laid the foundation of a new order. Mr. Wyndham would be the first to admit that his scheme would have been impossible under the old system. Indeed, he founded sales upon the basis of reductions upon second-term judicial rents. Sir Horace Plunkett would be the first to admit that his valuable non-party co-operative movement initiated in 1891, like the non-party conference of Irishmen which he organised in 1895-96 to promote the Irish Department of Agriculture, and, like many other movements for regeneration within Ireland, would have been equally impossible under the old conditions. The policy of abolishing these conditions was a Liberal policy; but the main impetus came, alas! from crime in Ireland, provoked by intolerable suffering.

It seems a pity that men like Mr. Amery, Mr. Locker-Lampson, and the writer in the *Times* already mentioned, who frankly admit them, do not appreciate their full significance in the struggle for Home Rule, or realise how deeply they are burned into the consciousness of Irishmen and how immovable is the belief which springs from them, and from still worse experiences in earlier history, that England is incapable of ruling Ireland well. Mr. Amery should remember that what he writes about the 'vicious agrarian tenure' and the blessings of its abolition could never have come from a Unionist pen at the period of the former Home Rule Bills, because the whole case against Home Rule was based on the supposed criminality and depravity of Ireland in fighting for the very reforms which he admits to have been of the most elementary necessity.

The same writer and others also exaggerate the effect of Free Trade upon Ireland. Free Trade is not a serious element in the discussion of Irish prosperity. The cataclysm caused by the Great Famine, with all its appalling consequences, came at the climax of a period of high protection for agriculture. Free Trade was, in fact, hurried on by the shadow of the famine. Three-quarters of a million souls perished because the *potato crop* failed. In other words, the peasants had been living on the margin of starvation from agrarian causes perfectly well known, dating direct from the confiscations and the Penal Code, operating all through the eighteenth century, even through Grattan's Parliament, and repeatedly during the nineteenth century made the subject of inquiry and hopeless efforts for reform. Reform was not even initiated until 1870, not thoroughly undertaken until 1881, and is not nearly completed yet. Land purchase, beneficent though it is, cannot do more than mitigate the ravages of the past. It leaves the distribu-

tion of land untouched, and the congested districts still congested. Nor does it matter a pin to an Ireland anxious for Home Rule whether or no Free Trade ruined her. She answers that however ruin came, it came from England, and she can point to the patent fact that the uniform Free Trade tariff, if it hurt her, brought immense wealth and prosperity to England; only one further proof of the incompatibility of Ireland and Great Britain as partners in the same fiscal system.

We come back, then, to the point at which we started. No country can truly be said to be prosperous which does not pay for its own government, especially when the government is conducted and paid for in the manner I have described. Seeking for the constituent elements in the more prosperous life of Ireland, we are forced to recognise that some are illusory. The known reduction of rents in the Land Courts by 2,000,000*l.* since 1881, and the further reductions outside the Courts and under recent Purchase Acts, represent an enormous economic relief, especially as a large part of Irish rent has been a sheer drain of the country's wealth to absentees. But this relief is not the same thing as normal productive growth, though it indirectly encourages productive growth, especially when accompanied by the moral stimulus which peasant ownership implants in the farmer. Still more illusory is the benefit conferred by the vast increase of public expenditure in Ireland. In 1881 public expenditure was, roughly, 4,000,000*l.*, in 1891 5,000,000*l.*, in 1901 7,000,000*l.*, and at the end of the present year it will be 12,000,000*l.*, a total advance of 8,000,000*l.* The annual revenue abstracted in the same period has risen by barely 3,000,000*l.* If all the expenditure were necessary or productive the case would be different, but it is not. A large part is anti-productive, enervating. When we realise that, in addition to the relief, direct and indirect, caused by rent reduction, a net sum of 5,000,000*l.* more public money is spent in a year in Ireland than in 1880, we begin to understand that figures of increased trade and bank deposits are not altogether reliable indices of increased prosperity. Old-age pensions alone, accounting for 2,600,000*l.*, tend to swell both accounts in an obviously artificial way. Meanwhile a great source of true prosperity, a sound elementary education, and many others, are neglected, and the greatest source of all, national self-reliance, is steadily weakened.

A comparison between Ireland and Great Britain gives a truer insight into the real forces at work. The economic disparity between the partners is enormous, and is still widening. Population still falls in Ireland. Her national wealth and income *per capita* are less than half Great Britain's. Agricultural wages are

11s. 3d., as compared with 18s. 4d. for England and 19l. 7s. for Scotland. The average gross annual receipts per mile of the principal railways are in Ireland 1550l., in England and Wales 6536l., in Scotland 3414l. In the vital matter of land, between a third and a half of the 650,000 Irish agricultural holdings are so small as to be classed officially as 'uneconomic.' The habits and tastes of the peoples are still different, their standard of living different, just as the very laws under which they live vary widely. Finally, the most approved and reliable tests of relative taxable capacity, as adopted by the Royal Commission in 1894-95, when remedial policy was well under way and rents had fallen 20 per cent., were net assessment to income-tax and net assessment to death duties. By these tests, applied and corrected in precisely the same way, Ireland's taxable capacity, expressed as a fraction of Great Britain's, has sunk from the one twentieth at which they fixed it to about one twenty-seventh.

With all the exaggerated estimates of prosperity in Ireland, only one serious attempt has been made, I believe, to contest the fact that the economic disparity between Ireland and Great Britain is steadily widening. The exception is Mr. Edgar Crammond, who, in articles in this Review for October 1911 and March 1912, unfolds the startling theory that Ireland is growing in prosperity at a far greater rate than England and Scotland. He appears to be positively panic-stricken by this discovery, and vehemently urges the immediate necessity of amending the Act of Union, not for purposes of Home Rule, but for reducing the Irish representation in the House of Commons from 103 to 46, with a view to damming the tide of 'unparalleled generosity' which the exorbitant Irish representation elicits, or extorts. One would have thought, in view of Ireland's 'marvellous' progress and the inherent difficulties of violating, without annulling, the contract made in the Act of Union, that Home Rule would be the better plan; but to Mr. Crammond Home Rule is as unthinkable as the existing method of administering the Union. He sees Ireland in two lights at the same moment, as advancing economically by giant strides and as irrevocably and eternally a pauper bankrupt.

Mr. Crammond writes both as an expert statistician and as a political thinker. It is hard to decide which are the most extraordinary, his statistics, as they relate to Ireland, or his estimate of the moral forces behind and against Home Rule. He is unable to conceive of the idea that a self-respecting nation may prefer self-reliance to the receipt of alms, and he is equally unconscious, not merely of the tactical difficulties, but of the meanness—to use no other term—of using the depletion in Irish population—a depletion actually caused by the economic abuses which the Union

countenanced—as a reason for strengthening the grip of Great Britain over Ireland by reducing her representation. He sees nothing wrong in the under-representation of Ireland from the Union to 1870, when the cardinal Irish abuses were left unredressed; but he regards her over-representation now as a scandal and peril of Imperial importance.

As for Mr. Crammond's Anglo-Irish statistics, it is to be hoped that some one with space at his command will deal with them in detail. I can only give two glaring instances of error in the shape of the two reasons he adduces for regarding Ireland's growth of prosperity as far more rapid in recent years than that of Great Britain.

(1) Mr. Crammond quotes from the Report (1910-11) of the Inland Revenue Commissioners to the effect that the increase in the gross assessments to income-tax under Schedule D during the decade 1901-10 was 30.4 per cent. in the case of Ireland (3,845,021*l.*), and only 20.2 per cent. and 13.9 per cent. in the case of England and Scotland respectively. 'These figures,' comments Mr. Crammond, 'show pretty clearly that during the period named Ireland has progressed at a far more rapid rate than either of her partners'[2]—a statement which was quoted with approval by the *Times* in a leading article a few days later.

Turning to the Report itself, we find immediately beneath the table referred to a paragraph in large type, which Mr. Crammond overlooks, saying that the Irish increase is illusory as regards the total assessment to income-tax. It includes annuities (in lieu of rent) on purchased land, transferred in the accounts of the Commissioners since 1906-07 to Schedule D from Schedule A. A corresponding amount has been written off from Schedule A.

(2) 'The Irish Trade Returns,' says Mr. Crammond, 'also establish the fact that the external trade of Ireland has, in recent years at least, increased twice as rapidly as that of the United Kingdom.'[3] How he makes good this proposition it is impossible to comprehend, but the facts are as follows: There are no returns of Irish external trade from 1826 to 1904, so for comparison we have to take the years 1904-10, which show a total increase in the external trade of the United Kingdom of 30 per cent. (922,000,000*l.* to 1,212,000,000*l.*), and of Ireland, not of 60 per cent., as Mr. Crammond suggests, but of 26 per cent. (104,000,000*l.* to 131,000,000*l.*). For the rest, it ought to be needless to point out the danger and difficulty of these comparisons of 'external Irish trade' (88 per cent. of which is cross-Channel trade with Great Britain, and only 12 per cent. *direct* foreign trade) with the total statistics of the genuinely foreign trade of the United Kingdom or Great Britain, whose domestic or internal

[2] *Nineteenth Century*, March 1912, p. 425.
[3] *Ibid.* October 1911, p. 605.

trade is unknown. Mr. Crammond falls into the strangest errors in doing so. It should also be needless to point out the worthlessness of the figures of external trade per head of the population as a statistical test of relative wealth and taxable capacity; purposes to which Mr. Crammond puts them. According to this standard, Ireland is not only richer than Great Britain, but one of the richest countries in the world.

His statistical blunders apart, Mr. Crammond's view of future policy toward Ireland finds no echo in responsible Unionist quarters. So far from regarding that country as a formidable though an over-pampered competitor with Great Britain, the policy appears to be to lavish additional expenditure on her; expenditure on drainage schemes, Atlantic services, Channel ferries, huge inducements to landlords to sell their land, and on benefits to be bestowed by mysterious manipulations of a Protectionist tariff. Every concrete Unionist scheme hitherto published has this feature of additional sops and doles. Something vague is said about a 'profitable investment' of British money. We cannot take such pretexts seriously. The real significance of these schemes is that Ireland, on a more dazzling scale than ever, is to be bribed to abandon Home Rule and sell the last chance of saving her independence of character. What the subsidy to Ireland will amount to when these schemes are under way defies imagination—four, five, six, seven millions are quite reasonable figures.

Is it worth while to go on piling up these obstacles to a measure which some day or other is inevitable? Great Britain will throw up the task of pauperisation with weariness and disgust. Ireland will not abandon Home Rule. It is with her a primitive, inextinguishable instinct and a right and healthy instinct. As long as it is suppressed, we shall have the same old miserable friction and dislocation, as disastrous to the Conservative party as it is to Great Britain and Ireland, quenching wholesome political development in that unhappy country, fomenting dissension, choking regenerative movements from within, delaying reform in a score of important directions—education, poor-law, the conduct of the congested districts, temperance, land, labour—which now are wholly neglected.

Limited Home Rule

The economic divergences between the two islands, together with the stringent necessity on all grounds of co-ordinating revenue and expenditure in Ireland, seem to be fatal to any scheme which does not give Ireland control of her Customs and Excise, which together account for 70 per cent. of her tax

revenue. Indeed their retention in Imperial hands would logically lead to the retention of all Imperial taxation and the abandonment of the last hope of restoring a financial equilibrium in Ireland. Such an equilibrium Lord MacDonnell's scheme, for example, does not pretend to contemplate. Like the Unionists, he contemplates not only a large permanent subsidy, but large additional expenditure on Ireland without reference to her revenue; and on tactical grounds only it is this close approximation to Unionist policy which makes his scheme so little likely to command general acceptation. It seems necessarily to involve the denial of Irish control over important departments such as the police, old-age pensions, and Land Commission, and whittles away to very small dimensions what we know as 'responsible government.'

As for the 'Federal' proposals made by some Liberals, the designation is misleading if not meaningless. Even if the constitutional conditions of federalism existed, and they do not, no insolvent country has ever been admitted to a federation, while federal finance would inevitably stereotype Ireland's insolvency. A period of fiscal autonomy is surely an essential condition precedent to Ireland's introduction on the ordinary terms to a Federation of the British Isles. The delay need not check or hinder in any way a British Federation of Scotland, England, and Wales if such an ideal be desired. It is simply a precaution founded on business principles and common sense.

Irish Fiscal Autonomy

A scheme which throws on Ireland complete responsibility for all her own expenditure and taxation is the only one which genuinely fulfils all the required conditions. On her part this is not a greedy or aggressive claim. It is a business necessity, involving initial hardship, for an end of transcendent importance. Even so the initial deficit must be filled. Let there be an initial subsidy, diminishing, and terminable within a stated period. There can be no objection to such a course, the express object of which is to save Great Britain money and give Ireland self-respect.

Finally, fiscal autonomy solves in the natural way the thorny and otherwise insoluble question of representation at Westminster; for no representation is needed or desirable, unless—for such a compromise is quite feasible—it is purely symbolic and numerically trivial. I myself venture to think that Conference on Imperial matters, as with the Colonies, would be better than any representation, and is surely not 'separation,' for it is daily drawing closer together the Colonies and the Home Country.

Whether or no we call the scheme 'colonial' Home Rule, does not matter. It is not colonial in the sense of giving Ireland any

independent control over armaments, which she does not need, does not want, and could never afford. It is colonial in giving her what has proved the salvation of the self-governing Colonies. Her proximity and identity of commercial interest are the crowning reasons for confidence that her new rights will draw her closer to Great Britain, just as countries even in the Antipodes are being drawn closer.

Ulster

When Ulster Unionists have uttered the last word of angry and passionate repudiation of Home Rule, it is pertinent to ask them what is their sober view of the future? Nobody doubts their intense sincerity; but have they thought out this matter? Virtually, Ireland is now governed as a dependent Crown Colony. They themselves constantly style themselves a 'garrison,' and so tacitly accept the status usually only claimed by a privileged white minority in a coloured dependency of the Crown. Very well. But where is this view leading them? Crown Colonies are at least solvent fiscal entities. The Union has reduced Ireland to pauperism, and Ulstermen cannot escape the responsibility. High and low, they share in the questionable profits derived from the Union, and stand to gain from the golden promises of the future. At this moment their English friends are destroying the case for the exceptional prosperity of Ulster, and the arguments hanging upon it, by proclaiming the 'bounding' prosperity of the rest of Ireland. Whatever the truth of that view, how do Ulstermen regard the counter-proposals of English Unionists for the benefit of Ireland under *the Union?* Are they content to see Ireland plunged deeper and deeper into insolvency, costing more and more to maintain, receding further and further from the point at which she still contributed something to the Army and Navy? They are bound to consider—I say it in no spirit of sarcasm, but in sober appeal—what their loyalty to the Union is costing Great Britain in hard cash, and is going in the future to cost. What is the moral cost to their own country—Ireland? They are Irishmen first, and Unionists next: every Ulsterman admits that. They have honestly believed that the Union is best for Ireland as a whole. Is it too much to ask them to sound the foundations of that belief in the light of the modern finance and the revelations it suggests? I believe that if they did, a revulsion of feeling would ensue, and the conviction would gain ground that after all it was worth while to trust their Catholic fellow-countrymen to work with their Protestant brethren for the common good of Ireland.

What is the fundamental intention and significance of the Union? This, that Great Britain governs Ireland through the

dissensions of Irishmen. That is what her Government meant, avowedly, in the eighteenth century, and Ulstermen knew it well, and to their cost. That is what it means still. It is a shameful thing for Ireland. Ulster may seem to be dragging English Unionism behind her now. It is not so. If English statesmen could be induced to abandon the secular craving for undue domination, Irishmen would unite, like Englishmen and Frenchmen in Canada, and Englishmen and Dutchmen in South Africa, to make their countries prosperous, progressive, and loyal. Why should not Ulstermen anticipate the complete conversion of Great Britain, which is bound to come if the present system continues? Why should they not anticipate what is equally certain to come, if a Protectionist Government attains power in Great Britain, a general revolt in Ireland against a uniform tariff designed for British conditions, and therefore, like all uniform tariffs in the past, certain to hurt Ireland?

Ulster Unionists have never done justice to their fellow-countrymen. They know that their own linen industry was the solitary privileged exception to the destruction of Irish industries. They know that for more than a century they possessed a privileged racial ascendency based on religion, and they know, too, that even so their own ancestors had to wage the same demoralising social war of crime and secret conspiracy to obtain the Ulster Custom of land tenure, which placed them outside the agonies endured by their Catholic compatriots during the nineteenth century. They joined in at the last to reap the culminating benefits of the land reforms won by others. They should not join in the cheap and heartless hue and cry against the majority of Irishmen for the violence used in obtaining those reforms, and in the traditional defamation which survives from it.

What, in explicit terms, do they really fear? Not a Catholic tyranny corresponding to the extinct Protestant tyranny. How could it be enforced? What sensible layman would ever dream of inflicting it? Not an economic tyranny: the thing would be literally impossible and inherently senseless. What do they fear? Let them give precision to their doubts and then set them squarely and fairly against the consequences of the Union, and make a manly choice worthy of their character as loyal citizens of Ireland, Great Britain, and the Empire.

ERSKINE CHILDERS.

AN APPROACH BETWEEN MOSLEMS AND BUDDHISTS

PERSIA, Tripoli, Morocco!—three points from which simultaneously attacks are made upon Islam! So hard the West has never yet pressed the confessors of Mohammed's doctrine, and never before has the war of the Cross against the Crescent flamed up so dangerously as has lately been the case. What may be the cause of this strange phenomenon? Is it mere accident, or must we look upon it as the outcome of long-premeditated political designs? The answer is clear enough when we remember that this war has in reality been going on for centuries between the two culturally opposed worlds; and that the issues of it, dependent as they have been all along upon the political conditions of interested neighbouring States, and upon the enthusiasm displayed by the contending parties, have now, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, decidedly turned in favour of the West. The more pronounced was the cultural and material progress of the modern world, the deeper sank the courage of the antagonistic Islam community. Although fully convinced of the necessity of reform, and knowing that ultimately the same means by which western lands accomplished their success would have to be adopted, Islam has thus far not been able to effect the mental metamorphosis and rouse itself so as to face its opponents on a footing of equality. Bashfully and reluctantly the Moslem world has sat upon the school-bench of western education. There has been no lack of zeal nor of capability, but, just as the individual has to pass through gradual stages of learning to obtain his object in view, so it is with a nation; only the process is slower still, and especially when, as is the case with the community here in question, it has not only to fit itself into a new world of ideas, but also has to unlearn and forget many things born and bred in the flesh. In this difficult task the Moslem world has now been engaged for more than a century. The nations of the West act the part of impartial spectators, but their Governments show a lively interest in the cultural movements and evolutions of their Asiatic neighbours, and in measure as these latter rise, or would rise, out of the slough of antiquated

nations, in that same measure the aggressive politics of the former increase. The fear of losing the booty, or of seeing it snatched away by another, is at the root of all the diplomatic scheming of our several Cabinets. The ostensible purpose to be the standard-bearers of western culture, the propagators of modern civilisation and humanisation, is either an empty shibboleth or else a matter of quite secondary importance. The chief object is, and remains: the acquisition of colonies, the extension of territory, the founding of new markets for home industries and commerce, and, by the subjugation of foreign nations, to exalt and to increase the power and importance of the mother country.

Under these circumstances it is easy to see why those of our Governments who have not yet acquired colonies, as well as those who would increase their colonial possessions, are always on the look-out for opportunities which may lead to the acquisition of territory, without considering whether the steps they are taking are strictly just, or whether these actually meet the object they have in view. Hitherto it has been the commendable custom of most of the assailants of the Moslem world to put forward at least some plausible pretext in justification of their aggression and ultimate occupation, the favourite excuse being the barbaric conditions, the absolute absence of order, security, and law in most of the Islamic lands, or else the obstruction and danger caused to international intercourse.

We do not, of course, deny that there is much truth in these statements. We have but to look at Morocco and note with sorrow how this pre-eminently rich piece of earth lies neglected, waste, desolate, although it could easily support six times its present population. Morocco possesses every kind of mineral, and a vegetation which is unparalleled. It has beautiful pasture-land, forests of oaks, cedars, and cypresses, many streams which irrigate the plains, so that, without manuring and with very little labour, crops of barley, rye, oats, and wheat could easily be grown. What French dominion has done and still can do for this country is evident enough, and the question now is whether it would have been better to let matters remain as they were or whether we must welcome the civilising interference of a foreign Power.

The recent Italian invasion in Tripoli, where the conditions are not much better than in Morocco, has been universally condemned as a violation of the law and as downright robbery. We grant the possibility that in course of time through the steadily improving organisation of constitutional Turkey the affairs of Tripoli would be ameliorated; but still the question remains whether the old-established sovereignty of Italy will not

introduce the blessings of modern culture quicker, and more effectually, and carry out the reforms with more ability than could be expected of the Turkish Government, which is not thoroughly settled itself yet. Let us bear in mind what was the condition of North Africa in the days of Rome, as regards its economic, commercial, and political standing, and what it is to-day! Where once flourishing cities arose, keeping up a brisk intercourse with distant portions of the East, we now walk among ruins. Desolation stares us in the face wherever we go, and we are justified in asking if it would not be better to cut short as quickly as possible the wild fanaticism and horrible barbarism of the Arabs.

And what of Persia? In that unhappy land—the early cultural monuments of which arouse our admiration—anarchy and lawlessness have now been rampant for centuries, and the native Government, if it deserves that name, has done all it could to corrupt and desolate the country, and to bring the inhabitants, the most gifted of all Moslems, to poverty and misery. Everywhere the eye meets the heaped-up ruins of former cities, caravanseries, bazaars, palaces, high roads, bridges, hospitals, and houses of refuge, while the subterranean canals which should bring moisture to the thirsting land have long since collapsed and fallen into decay. Villages and settlements are hidden away in hollows far from the beaten track, so as not to be seen, and pillaged by the passing agents of the Government; for all officials, the high as well as the low, are in this land looked upon as the instruments of divine wrath, plundering, robbing, murdering, but never rendering help.

This terrible picture of his native land, given by Ibraham Bey,[1] is, as a matter of fact, mildly drawn as compared with the staggering reality of Iranian conditions, now and in the recent past. I still shudder to think of some of the scenes I witnessed on my travels, and of the pictures given by Melkom Khan, formerly Persian Ambassador in London and Paris, in his paper *Kanun* (Law).

In the face of these, and many similar revelations, one cannot but justify the aggressive politics of Europe in these lands, for emissaries from the West, even if in the accoutrements of war, always herald improvement. The appearance of western power in these lands signifies the introduction of order and law; it means that downtrodden humanity can breathe freely again, that it can rise and begin to look forward to a happier future. All the obstructions of deep-rooted fanaticism and prejudice being cleared away, nothing will hinder the process of transformation,

[1] German by Walter Schulz, Leipzig, 1903.

for then all existing evils will disappear under the energetic and persevering influence of European rule.

Acting upon this principle, our rulers have for more than a century been forcing their way into Islam, gradually depriving the followers of the Prophet of their political independence. At the present time not one Mohammedan State is entirely independent, for even the Ottoman Empire has to submit to the irksome bonds incumbent on capitulations, and its precarious existence is only made bearable by the punctilious observance of diplomatic formalities. As regards the Afghan vassal of the British Crown, Emir Habib ul Ullah fully realises that the title of "Majesty," lately bestowed upon him, is merely a complimentary distinction without any real meaning. With it he may deceive his surroundings, but he cannot deceive himself.

It is not surprising that the argument propounded above is not in the least convincing to the Mohammedans themselves, and that they show themselves in no wise eager to accept the recipe for the preparation of the elixir of European culture, offered to them at the point of the bayonet; that they will, in fact, have none of the new order of things as long as it savours of foreign rule. The terrors of the despotic government of Abdul Hamid have, in this respect, created no change in the minds of the Young Turks, and even the most enraged democrats among them have declared that they would rather suffer under the oppression of home tyranny than live happily under the liberal *régime* of foreign rulers.

This view is intelligible enough when we consider that this society has grown up under the influence of a 'religio militans,' which for centuries has reigned over many heterogeneous subjects, and is not likely to give up its commanding position without an effort. One may construe the Gaza precept (religious war) as one likes, and allow that some of the decrees of the Koran have been made to fit in with the requirements of the times; but it is impossible to accuse the Mohammedans of voluntarily forsaking and renouncing the principles which in past ages secured for them so prominent a place in the history of the world, and enabled them to exercise so great an influence over the fate of humanity. No, such a thing is not conceivable, and, looked at in this light, can we wonder that the growing hold of Christianity upon the lands of Islam is creating a very marked unrest among the followers of Mohammed? Is it strange that their proverbial apathy and indifference is giving way to nervous irritability, and that, in their feverish search for a means of escape, they cast their eyes in a direction which not one of them ever thought of before, and which, in their innermost soul, they have always detested.

Looking without prejudice at the relations of Asia as they ow present themselves, one cannot fail to be struck by the tartling fact that Mohammedans and Buddhists no longer reard one another with that furious hatred and ill-will which ormerly marked the intercourse between these two large bodies i the ancient world. This remarkable phenomenon is particnlarly noticeable among the Moslems, who divide humanity ito two great sections, mere idol-worshippers (*Medjusi*) and look-possessors (*Ehli Kitab*). These latter are subdivided ito people who do not acknowledge the Arab Prophet, and hence re *Kafir*—unbelieving, and those who, because they possess one f the four books (Tora, Bible, Psalms, and Koran) can be olerated, and are not reckoned as savage and irreclaimable. While the *Ehli Kitab*, after the enforcement of the *Djizie*, *i.e.* ersonal taxation, had to be tolerated, and even protected, the *fedjusi* had no claim even to humane treatment; their life and leir goods were forfeited, and only in cases where the *Medjusi* ere superior in numbers to the Moslem population has the *'heriat* (religious law) seen fit to shut its eyes, as was the case 1 India in the days of the Mogul rule, when the sultans disnguished themselves by their vast tolerance. In other places, s, for instance, in what was called Central Asia, the *Multani* Indian money-brokers) were subject to the grossest insults and i-treatment, and it was only by much and constant bribery that ey managed to make a living.

Through this fanatical interpretation of the Koran laws, 'ersia has lost an industrious and gifted portion of its populaon—namely, the *Parsi*, who, being persecuted by their Moslem ountrymen, found a home in India, and have there become usel subjects of the British Crown. In a word, the *Medjusi* was object of abhorrence to the faithful Mohammedan, much more), indeed, than the inveterate *Ghiaur*, who, as the prototype of ll that is unclean, was universally avoided and spurned. In all ıy long and varied intercourse with the people of Moslem Asia, have never come across anyone who did not entertain this unasonable hatred against the *Medjusi*.

Imagine, then, my surprise and amazement when recently, ·. after the victory of the Japanese over the Russians, I noted ie joyful excitement which prevailed throughout the length and readth of the Islamic world at the military success of the forierly detested *Medjusi*. The Latin proverb—'Doneo eris felix ıultos numerabis amicos'—could not apply here, for the victory f Japan over China called forth no such response in Islam, was, 1 fact, not taken any notice of. But what strikes one most is ie continuous and ever-growing friendliness between these two siatic nations, or rather, between these two religions, which

[illegible] so hostile to one another. In spite of the great geographical distance between them, they seek to come into touch with one another, and have, as a matter of fact, already found means to make their intellectual intercourse easier. Strangely enough, the Mohammedans made the first move. At the time of the Russo-Japanese war, when as yet there could be no question of a decisive victory, the columns of the Turkish, Persian, Arab, and Tartar newspapers were full of expressions of sympathy for the cause of the Japanese *Medjusi*. Their bravery was described in glowing terms, and in the days following the decisive battles of Mukden and Tsu-Shima the names of the Generals Oyama, Nogi, Kuroki, and of Admiral Togo were in everybody's mouth. Then suddenly the news spread that Japan had surrendered to the charms of Islam and that many Japanese had already embraced the faith.

Of course, this was nonsense, a mere fabrication; but it is true that the Japanese made attempts both officially and secretly to approach the Porte, with a view to making common cause against their joint enemy, Russia. Sultan Abdul Hamid, however, was differently minded, and did not fall into the trap of the cunning Japanese. The first attempt at an approach, *i.e.* a beginning of diplomatic relations between Stamboul and Tokio, came to a sad end when the Turkish corvette *Ertogrul* was wrecked off the Japanese coast and all on board perished. The second attempt was not much more successful, because the Porte refused to grant the Japanese certain concessions, when Japan demanded to be placed on an equality with the European Powers.

Officially, therefore, not much advance has been made, but inofficially and in secret a good deal of intercourse between the two great Asiatic religions has been carried on through private individuals, for the greater part adventurously disposed mollas, who, being sent out from Yildiz with a liberal supply of money, visited the Mohammedans in the Far East. To these they told marvellous stories about the power, the wealth, and the greatness of the Caliph, and tried to induce the native Mohammedans to use their influence with their Buddhist compatriots.

One such envoy was Molla Suleiman Shukri Effendi, a native of Anatolia, who in 1907 concluded his great Asiatic journey through the various countries of the Old World which were inhabited by Mohammedans. He gave his experiences in a book published in St. Petersburg, and entitled *Siahati Kubra* —*i.e.* Great Journey. Suleiman Shukri is an extreme fanatic who scorns everything European and represents particularly the English as the most dangerous enemies of Islam. He expresses great admiration for the heathen Chinese, and praises their tolerant government as against the cruel intolerance (?) of the

English. Of course, he is also of opinion that Chinese and Mohammedans should join forces to break the power of the overbearing, haughty Europeans.

The relations between China and Islam are certainly of a peculiar nature. The ancient fame of the Celestial Flowery Land of the Middle caused the people of Western and Central Asia from time immemorial to look upon this empire as the *ne plus ultra* of political and artistic power and greatness. *Chini* (Chinese) is an epithet for artistic and beautiful things, especially in painting and colouring, and *Fagfur*, the title of the Chinese Emperor, is an emblem of highest dignity. It is therefore no wonder that the Moslem missionaries and Arab traders at a very early date began to visit China, and spread its good report in spite of its heathen character.

In proportion as European supremacy made itself felt in the Far East, in that same proportion the sympathy between Moslems and Chinese grew stronger, for they were both in the same trying position, and stood powerless against the aggressive interference of Europe. After the victory of the Japanese over Russia, this relationship, previously always somewhat timidly kept in the background, has been freely and frankly declared, though Islam in its religious zeal has found it expedient to shut its eyes to this coquetry, and China also let it pass. Since the insurrections in Yunnan and East Turkestan the Chinese have treated the Moslem population quite differently from what they used to do, and their patriotism and military prowess has since been duly appreciated. In the Boxer insurrection Chinese Mohammedans played a conspicuous part; they have clearly shown that Moslems and Buddhists recognise a common foe in the person of the European, and are prepared, if need be, to take the field together against him.

The Chinese Government has not been able to remain quite indifferent to this *entente*, and it would even seem that the authorities, so far from opposing it, are rather inclined to support it. On the strength of this a Turkish newspaper, published at Ili and subsidised by the Government, invites the Mohammedans to make common cause with the Chinese, so that, united, they may break the power of Europe, the usurper. 'Europe,' it says in one of its leading articles, 'has grown too presumptuous. It will deprive us of our liberty; it will destroy us altogether if we do not bestir ourselves promptly and prepare for a powerful resistance. We must make ourselves familiar with the latest discoveries in the useful arts and in agriculture, so that we be not reduced to poverty by the importation of foreign industries,' and so on. But even without this encouragement, Islam in China places itself more and more at the service of Chinese national-liberal politics. No wonder, then,

that in the present revolution the Mohammedans have taken a prominent part in the overthrow of the retrograde Manchus. In acknowledgment of their support, Sun-Yat-Sen, the leader of the revolutionary movement, said lately, in an interview at Marseilles, where he took ship on his homeward journey: 'The Chinese will never forget the assistance which their Moslem compatriots have rendered them, in the interest of order and liberty.' Islam, he said, has many advantages, and it is a pity that it should be so misjudged in Europe, where, besides the spectre of the 'Yellow Peril,' the spectre of Pan-Islamism is now feared.

How far all this intriguing is a matter for serious alarm we need not here inquire. Of interest to us is the fact that even in the Buddhist world they try to frighten us with the *Wau-wau* of Pan-Islamism, without themselves being properly acquainted with the real character of this boasted danger. I have studied Pan-Islamism for years on the spot, and, in consequence of my long intercourse with Yildiz, I have become familiar with the motives and expectations of this party; but to my mind the movement is, for the present at any rate, merely platonic, and the possibility of it becoming dangerous impresses me very little. The shibboleths of Panisms only have meaning where the component parts of the united elements are so closely knitted together that they cannot be broken into or cut asunder by any foreign national bodies. An alliance as in the case of Germans and Italians one can easily realise, nor is the federation of the Slavs under the auspices of Russia an idle fancy; but in Islam, divided and interefered with by foreign national and religious elements, a crystallisation is simply impossible.

The Mohammedan Indians, seventy millions strong, might put some weight in the scales, if it were not for the overpowering counterweight of 200 million Hindus, and if the historical glamour of the Mogul rule could be easily forgotten. Moreover, the just and wise and humane politics of the English in India have so completely satisfied the followers of the Arab Prophet in those parts, that they look upon the *Pax Britannica* as a divine blessing, and will readily make the greatest sacrifices in order to keep this great gift. As regards the other Moslems living under Christian supremacy, they can, naturally enough, never become dangerous, with the exception perhaps of the ten million Egyptians, who, in the distant future, and federated with the ever-increasing number of African Mohammedans, might become a force not to be despised. Islam in Africa presents in general problems of incalculable magnitude.

As the relations stand now, Pan-Islamism is not a dangerous foe, because the still politically independent factors of this

religious community, for fear of rousing suspicion among western Powers, will have nothing to do with it, and, indeed, anxiously avoid any allusion to such a fraternisation.

When, a few years ago, the highly accomplished Ismael Gasprinski, editor of the paper *Terdjhuman*, published in Bagchhe-Sarai, proposed the idea of holding a Moslem religious congress, Cairo, which stands under the liberal *régime* of England, was the only place which offered a hospitable reception to the conference. In Constantinople they would have nothing to do with it, although it was explicitly stated that politics should be rigidly excluded, and only purely religious and cultural matters discussed. This precautionary measure, however, was quite unnecessary. Western nations are far too conscious of their material superiority to be frightened by any vague possibility of danger. If the prescribed pilgrimage to the grave of the Prophet has hitherto not been able to give more stable character to the bond of fraternity which unites the Moslems, and has failed to bring their common interests more into prominence—notwithstanding that many thousands of true believers of all colours and nationalities meet year after year in Mecca—it is fairly certain that political efforts will not accomplish it. 'Kulli muminin ihwa' (All true believers are brothers), the Prophet has said, but this brotherhood applies primarily to the province of religion. In temporal affairs the maxim is 'Tacet ecclesia,' as is the case in other religious bodies.

The followers of Mohammed have now to face the great problem how to reach that cultural and political-economic level which will secure their political future and safeguard them against further attacks. Without this all Pan-Islamic schemes are useless; they will have as little effect as the short-lived energy of Sultan Abdul Hamid, whose messengers went through all the Islamic world and brought extensive reports, which were, after all, of very little real help to the politics of the Sublime Porte. But from a moral point of view the common interests of the Islamic world can show a certain degree of progress, which is to be attributed not in the first place to the clergy, nor to the Caliph, but to the untiring zeal of the Press, newly awakened all along the line.

I believe I am not exaggerating when I say that the sudden energy of the Moslem Press is quite unequalled, and the more to be admired as the Molla-world had taken up a very decided attitude against secular literature and accused every newspaper-reader of apostasy. In Bokhara this is still the case, although the young Emir, Mir Alim, who was brought up in the Page Corps at St. Petersburg, is a zealous advocate of reforms and modern civilisation. It is therefore only the Moslem Press, more particularly

the Turkish and Persian, which binds together the most distant parts of the Moslem-Asiatic world, and does it so effectively that, for instance, the starving Tartar population of Omsk and Tobolsk receive monetary support from Cairo, Stamboul, Kazan, and Bombay!

When the Turco-Italian war broke out, not only the Ottoman, but also the Tartar, Kirghiz, Caucasian, Indian, and Arab newspapers had long columns of war intelligence, and voluntary subscriptions flowed in much more abundantly than at the time of the last Turco-Russian war, in 1877. I have compared the stated amounts collected then with those now received, and I cannot help seeing in this improvement a sign, which should not be disregarded, of the decided growth of mutual interest between the various Moslem nations. And if now in the present stage of the Pan-Islamic movement we can see no danger for the interests of western influence in Asia, we should, on the other hand, not underestimate the growing symptoms of approach between Moslems and Buddhists and between other mutually hostile elements, such as Moslems and Brahmins. The more the power and authority of the West gains ground in the Old World, the stronger becomes the bond of unity and mutual interest between the separate factions of Asiatics, and the deeper burns the fanatical hatred against Europe.

Half a century ago China, for instance, was waging war against the Mohammedans of Yunnan and East Turkestan; now China does not disdain, as already mentioned, to publish, at the expense of the State, a Turkish newspaper. The Chinese authorities repair and rebuild mosques at State cost, and the Chinese Mohammedans show their appreciation by expressions of patriotism and by making no secret of their hatred of the Christian world. This approach between the followers of different Oriental religions has become so much more pronounced of late years that already the various nationalities are known by the collective name of Asia as against Europe; and these two names will be the watchwords in the coming struggle between East and West. It may be that individual Asiatic nations do not sufficiently realise what this movement of fraternisation implies, but the eye of the unprejudiced spectator cannot fail to detect the categorical symptoms of an ever-ripening bond of unity, and in the face of this we ask, *Is it wise and expedient by useless provocation and unnecessary attacks to increase the feeling of animosity, to hurry on the struggle between the two worlds, and to nip in the bud the work of modern culture which is now going on in Asia?*

Surely it is too risky a step to take and too high a price to pay for the chance of conquest.

A. VÁMBÉRY.

Budapest University.

THE TRIAD SOCIETY AND THE RESTORATION OF THE MING DYNASTY

THE recent announcement in the English papers that an aspirant has arisen to the throne of China in the person of the Marquis Chu-Cheng-Yu, who claims to be a descendant of the Ming Emperors, makes one remember the long struggle maintained in the Middle Kingdom by the well-known Triad Society, with the avowed object of restoring the native Chinese dynasty to the ancestral throne. The Triad Society, though often alluded to, is but little understood; it has played a part in most of the revolts in China in comparatively modern times, and now that one portion of the avowed object of the league has been accomplished—namely, the fall of the Tsings or Manchus, it may be of some interest to glance at the organisation, statutes and rituals carefully arranged in order to keep alive in the popular mind, not only the expulsion of the Manchus, but the restoration of an ancient dynasty.

Secret societies, generally more or less political in their aims, but, like religious sects, differing in their tenets and objects of worship, have long been rife in China. Some of these societies are merely friendly associations, assisting their members when in sickness or distress, seeing, when necessary, to the proper disposal of the bodies of those who have died away from home, or in circumstances debarring the departed from—to the Chinese that all-important matter—burial in their native land. The Chinese hold that each individual soul is of a Trinitarian nature; after death one division or person of the soul hovering in or around the place where the body lies; a second entering the consecrated tablet placed in the ancestral hall; and the third person of the soul ascending to the region of spirits, where it is punished or rewarded according as the acts done when in the body have been bad or good. Each family of any standing has its ancestral hall, usually attached to the family dwelling-house; while the humbler classes have an ancestral hall in common for each village. It is believed that the spirits of the departed exercise influence over the fortunes of their descendants, an influence benign or the reverse, according as their relations still in the flesh pay due respect and

reverence at the tombs of their ancestors, whose well-being in the land of shades is likewise to some extent ensured by the offerings and worship paid at their graves. It is a touching sight at the great 'grave-sweeping' festival—as it may be literally rendered—to see the crowds resorting to the cemeteries and tombs where lie the parents and forefathers of each family or individual. Bent and frail old men, dainty ladies, whose feet, not more than two inches long, render the support of a waiting woman on either side not altogether a mark of useless dignity; sleek and opulent merchants, hard-working coolie women and toddling infants, plodding farmers, learned *literati*, all resort at this festival to the family tombs to do reverence and make offerings to the ancestral shades. When a man or woman leaves no descendant to perform this duty, and there is no benevolent person to undertake it, the soul of the departed is a beggar ghost hovering neglected and uncared for in the spirit land. Hence the intense anxiety of the Chinaman that his body may be laid in the family burial-place, and hence the importance that friends or relations should see that the desire is carried out.

The whole trend of feeling and usage in China fosters the tendency towards forming societies and associations. Guilds prevail all over the Empire in almost every large city; even the beggars form a guild, which has its president and its own regulations and ordinances. The clan system exists throughout the Empire, and in itself gives the people the habit and spirit of association, so that leagues and clubs spring naturally into existence, and the individual, little regarded as a unit, as is ever the case in a great democracy such as China, seeks redress for grievances and local oppression by means of the guild or league to which he belongs, which also extends him assistance in illness or distress. Societies, more or less secret, appear to have existed in China at least for the last couple of thousand years, and probably have been known there as long as the Empire has itself existed. Chinese history alludes to many such societies, known by different names. There were the Copper Horses, the Carnation Eyebrows (who, in order to render their appearance terrible in battle, coloured their eyebrows with vermilion), the Iron Shoes, and so on. The women also had societies exclusively to themselves; some of these were more or less secret associations, many were loan societies, from which the members could obtain advances when required.

An association called the White Lotus Society was first heard of about the middle of the thirteenth century, and was animated by a wave of Buddhist enthusiasm. Kublai Khan had conquered and destroyed the Chinese armies; the boy-emperor, last of the Sung dynasty, had drowned himself at the entrance

to the Canton river, and as time went on feeble rulers succeeded to the throne of the Great Kublai. The government of foolish and feeble rulers is usually the worst and most intolerable of tyrannies, and the people groaned under the rule of the degenerate Mongols, and murmured against submitting to the barbarians whom they not only feared but despised. The children in the Provinces of Hupeh and Hunan sang in high falsetto tones:

> When stirs the one-eyed man of stone,
> This dynasty will be o'erthrown.

Men and women heard the song of the children, and wondered and whispered. It was felt that something unusual was about to take place, and suspense and anxiety reigned in the land. Just then, in 1844, the banks of 'China's Sorrow,' the Yellow River, were undergoing repairs, and lo! the rumour came that at a place called Huang ling Kang, hard by the river, there had been found the stone image of a man with one eye. Immense was the excitement that spread far and wide. The sacred character attaching to the Yellow River—believed to owe its origin to the regions of spirits and genii, and whose usually turbid waters when flowing clear and bright are held to predict the approaching advent of a Sage—no doubt contributed to the enthusiasm caused by the discovery of the image, and soon the movement assumed a religious character, when the chief of the White Lotus Society burnt incense before the figure, and proclaimed the near coming of another Buddha. Multitudes flocked to the standard then raised in rebellion against the rule of the foreign dynasty; the revolt spread rapidly, and before long found a leader endowed with a genius for warfare, in the person of a young Buddhist monk, who finally defeated the ruling powers, and was raised to the imperial throne under the name of Hung Wu, and so became the founder of the Ming Dynasty. Hung Wu proved himself not only a consummate general but a wise and beneficent ruler. Imbued with the simple and frugal tastes he had acquired when a Buddhist monk, on one occasion, when one of the great men of the Court remonstrated with the monarch for restraining its magnificence in the furniture and figures of gold and silver, pointing out that such things lent *éclat* to his dignity as sovereign:

> The glory of a sovereign [replied the Emperor] does not consist in the costly and superfluous trappings of rank, but in being master of a people whom he renders happy. I have the whole empire for my domain; shall I be less wealthy for wanting these useless ornaments, and if I set an example of luxury how can I condemn it in my subjects?

Although so able as a general, Hung Wu was a lover of peace, but his desire for that blessing did not blind him to the necessity of embarking on warfare, when so doing would ensure permanent

tranquillity to his empire. As humane and far-seeing as he was courageous, Hung Wu softened defeat to his enemies by treating them when in his power with consideration. The grandson of the last Mongol Emperor having been taken prisoner by his troops, Hung Wu's councillors urged that this prince might cause trouble, and urged that, following the example set by the greatest of the Sung emperors under similar circumstances, Hung Wu should have the captive prince put to death in the ancestral hall of the Imperial family.

> I know [replied Hung Wu] that this emperor caused Wang Shechung to be put to death in the hall of the Ancestors. I doubt very much whether he would have done this had the person in question been a member of the family of Suy, his predecessors on the throne. Let the wealth brought from Tartary be put into the public treasury to defray the expenses of the suite. With regard to Prince Maetelepala, his ancestors have been masters of the empire nearly a hundred years; mine were their subjects; and even were it customary to put to death the members of a family expelled from the throne, it is a severity to which I could never yield.

The Emperor then conferred on the captive prince the title of a prince of the third rank, desired him to assume Chinese dress, and assigned him a palace in which to reside with the princesses who were his wives. Before long the Emperor sent the captive prince back to his father in Tartary, commanding the escort to treat him with all honour, and that the greatest care should be taken that no harm befell the heir of the Mongol throne on the journey; for such was the position of the captive prince.

Little is heard of the White Lotus Society during the rule of the Ming Emperors; but after the throne had again fallen into the hands of a foreign dynasty—namely, the Manchus—the White Lotus League began to cause uneasiness in high quarters, and in 1763 the Emperor Kien-lung issued an edict against it, as also against the two kindred societies of Illustrious Worthies and the White Cloud Sect. The object of these societies was the restoration of their native Ming Dynasty. The White Lotus are said still to exist in the northern portion of China, but sunk into obscurity with the increasing importance of the Hung League, known as the Heaven and Earth League, or Triad Society. Like nearly all secret societies, the Hung League lays claim to an origin of almost mystical antiquity; it probably has an ancient descent, but did not assume a position of importance till the downfall of the Ming Emperors, when its avowed object became the restoration of that dynasty and the expulsion of the Manchus.

For long it was almost impossible to obtain any accurate information about the real objects and obligations of the Triad Society; both in China and the colonies the league was proscribed by severe laws, and though the *literati* and gentry were

often members of the forbidden league, prejudice or fear made them unwilling to speak on the subject to outsiders. In 1863, however, a number of books were found by the police at Padang in Sumatra, which, on investigation, proved to contain the statutes, oaths, rites of initiation, catechism and so on of the Triad Society; and in Hong Kong from time to time similar volumes belonging to the association containing its laws, symbols, signs and so forth fell into the hands of the detective force.

The traditional account given by the Triads of their assumption of a political aim is that in the reign of the Manchu Emperor Kang-hi, the monks of a certain Buddhist monastery, which had existed for about a thousand years in a secluded and romantic spot in the hills of the Tachin prefecture, volunteered their services to the Emperor to free the empire from the incursions of a tributary prince, who had thrown off his allegiance to China. Though Buddhists, the monks had devoted a portion of their time to studying military tactics and strategy, and had become adepts in the warlike arts of the day; accordingly, when a proclamation was issued offering great rewards to 'all persons, whether noble or mean, males or females, or Buddhist or Taoist priests, who would come forward and subdue the terrible Silu State, and free China from her foe,' a certain man named Cheng Kiuntah, who had studied and taken high honours in this monastery of Shao-lin, saw the proclamation and hurried off to consult the monks on the steps he proposed they should take with regard to it. The 128 monks in the Shao-lin monastery determined unanimously to offer their services to the Emperor, and went in a body and took down the proclamation, which was the sign that they undertook the matter referred to in it. The Imperial Guard then took charge of the proclamation, and escorted the monks to the Court. The Emperor granted them an interview and inquired into their military capabilities. Having satisfied himself on this point, the Emperor gladly accepted their proffered services, and offered them whatever assistance they deemed necessary in men and money. The monks answered that they needed horses and provisions, but would not want a single soldier. Their request being granted, the Emperor conferred plenary powers on the monks, and gave them a sword and a triangular jade seal on which characters were engraved. Equipped with these marks of imperial favour, and having selected a lucky day for their start, the monks set forth on their enterprise; and having cut their way through mountains, bridged rivers, and overcome numerous obstacles, the band at length reached the territory held by the rebel prince; there they encamped and built themselves a strong stockade. Before long the Silu army appeared and attacked the entrenchment. The monks

did not long remain on the defensive, but sallying out rode through the barbarian soldiers, hacking and slashing them to pieces as easily 'as if they were splitting bamboos.' The valiant monks gained fight after fight in similar fashion, till at length the Prince of Silu, despairing of victory, sued for peace, which the monks granted on his undertaking to return to his former allegiance and tribute.

It only took three months to accomplish this feat, and amid songs of triumph from the people wherever the little band passed, the victorious monks returned to the capital.

So delighted was the Emperor at their success that he wished to bestow on them whatever offices they chose, but the monks desired no such favours; all they asked was to be allowed to retire to the seclusion of their monastery.

> Your subjects [said they] lead a pure life, and are priests who follow the doctrine of the divine Buddha. We would not have dared to transgress his pure precepts, if it had not been that the country was ruined by the soldiers of Eleuth (i.e. Silu); so we have destroyed and exterminated them; but now we ought again to obey those pure precepts, forbidding us to desire worldly happiness and accept inconsiderately of high posts. We all wish to return to our convent Shao-lin, there again to worship Buddha, to say our prayers, to sanctify our life, and to correct our minds, that we may reach perfection and enter Nigban (Nirvana). We only accept of the presents which your Majesty bestows upon us, in order to requite your divine favours.

The Emperor in person accompanied the monks to the door when they left the palace, and crowds of country-people welcomed them on their return to their beloved and beautiful monastery.

In this convent for several years they lived in peace and honour, but unhappily the Emperor Kang-hi died, and in the reign of his successor a cruel and treacherous official was given high office in the province, who, coveting the precious gifts bestowed on Shao-lin by the late Emperor, continued to inspire the mind of the ruling monarch with doubts as to the loyalty of the monks, hoping to destroy them and himself obtain possession of the treasures guarded in the monastery. This treacherous official insinuated to the Emperor that it would be easy for monks who had conquered the Silu army to subdue the Empire itself, and pointed out that the fate of the country was in the power of these men, who might overthrow the dynasty 'as easily as they turned round their heads.' Unhappily this villain so wrought upon the mind of the Emperor that he became alarmed, and asked, if the monks were indeed so unassailable, what could be done against them. The treacherous official answered that if his Majesty would give him command of three or four hundred

men of the Imperial Guards, he would himself destroy the monks of Shao-lin.

At first the Emperor ridiculed the idea of so small a force being of any avail against such formidable warriors, whereupon the cunning official assured the monarch that it was his intention secretly to set the monastery on fire and blow it up with gunpowder. Convinced at last of the feasibility of the plan, the Emperor placed some hundreds of his guards at the disposal of the traitor, and as soon as it was possible the expedition started, but so secluded was the position of the monastery that in vain they attempted to discover it. While reconnoitring the forest, however, they came upon a renegade monk who had been expelled from Shao-lin on the discovery being made by the brethren that their erring companion was carrying on an intrigue with the wife and the sister of Cheng-Kiun-tah. This disreputable monk had ranked seventh in the brotherhood, and had been flogged and ignominiously driven from the convent on the discovery of the scandal, and he was still burning with rage and hatred against his former companions; so on learning the object of the expedition, he gladly volunteered as the tool for carrying out the terrible work on hand. In the silence and darkness of the night he guided them to the ill-fated monastery. Silently they stole up to the surrounding wall, piled gunpowder against it, heaped up inflammable materials, and when the soldiers set the trains on fire the buildings were speedily enveloped in flames. The greater number of the monks perished in the conflagration, eighteen of them succeeded in escaping from the burning building, but of these, thirteen were so terribly burnt and injured that they died on the road while flying from their ruined monastery; hence the saying of the members of the Triad Society: 'They died on the Huang-chun road, and though a myriad years pass, they shall be avenged.' The number seven is tabooed by the society, and the word Kat, meaning 'good luck,' substituted for it, owing to the fact of the traitor who betrayed the brotherhood having been seventh amongst the monks.

After many hardships, many narrow escapes, and several miraculous interpositions saving them from capture, the five surviving monks were wandering one day along the banks of a river, when their attention was arrested by something drifting along in the current. On dragging it out they were surprised to find it was a large tripod-shaped incense burner, on which was inscribed the sentence, 'Subvert Tsing, restore Ming.' Greatly marvelling, the monks placed the incense burner on a stone to serve as an altar, and being destitute of the proper materials to use in worship, they substituted guava twigs for candles and blades of grass for incense, and offered libations of water, not

having any wine. Amazed at the wonderful recovery of the tripod, they knelt and prayed that the destruction of their monastery by a Tsing Emperor might be avenged by a Ming ruler. As they knelt another wonder occurred, for behold, the twigs and grass burst into flames and began to burn of their own accord! Three times they had prayed for a sign; three times had thrown the divining blocks, and every time the blocks had turned favourably, so they knew their prayer would be granted. They returned to the Red Flower pavilion where they had found refuge, and related the wonderful things that had happened to their host, who said: 'It is the will of heaven that the Tsing dynasty should be overthrown and the Ming reinstated; undoubtedly the time for vengeance is fixed.'

Then they all agreed to unite themselves before heaven and earth, like the three famous ones of old, who swore in the Peach Garden to remain friends for life and death. They all pricked their fingers and mingled the blood with wine, they drank of it, and swore an oath to be like brethren, and go all over the world, to buy horses, raise braves, and enlist men for the cause. It was agreed that those already of the society should be termed elder brothers, those who came later to be styled younger brothers, and all were to take the oath in the Red Flower Pavilion. That night as they gazed heavenward they saw the southern sky open, and brilliant stars form the words: 'Heaven's manifestation to the country,' a motto afterwards inscribed on the banner of the brotherhood. The night was one of portents, for a bright red light gleamed in the eastern sky, and caused them to adopt the name of Hung as that of the brotherhood; Hung (meaning red) when pronounced has the same sound as the characters in Chinese 3—8—20—and 1, which represent heaven and earth, the odd numbers 3 and 1 standing for heaven, the 8 and 20 representing earth; therefore the word Hung was adopted as meaning both red, and heaven and earth, as the designation of the society. These mystic numbers are thus alluded to in the following lines used as one of their numerous watchwords, or rather verses, by the Triad Society, as the Hung brotherhood is usually called amongst Europeans:

> The third month sees the pearl tree blossoming;
> The eight immortals come to fix the date,
> The twentieth day we go to fight with Tsing;
> By one word, through all time is known our fate.

After the formation of the Heaven and Earth League on political lines, the revolts and disturbances which broke out in China from time to time were often due to the influence of the Society, and the brethren were active participators in such rebellions.

The terrible Taiping rebellion broke out in 1854. Its leaders were at first affiliated with the Hung League, but their chief, Hung-sin-tsien, having obtained a veneer of Christianity, before long assumed the title of 'King of the Heavenly Kingdom of Universal Peace,' and arrogated to himself the function of worshipping in person 'Shangti,' Creator of all things. In China the adoration of the 'Supreme Ruler' is a function reserved to the Emperor alone, who annually offers in the Temple of Heaven adoration and sacrifice on behalf of his people and empire. To usurp this function is tantamount to high treason; and the Taiping leader and his followers were consequently proclaimed traitors and rebels by the government.

'The King of the Heavenly Kingdom of Universal Peace,' unfortunately for China and for himself, aimed at making his kingdom 'of this world.' Before long the Taiping dogmas merged into excesses and extravagances, which separated their adherents more and more from Christianity, and from the views of the Heaven and Earth Society. The latter seems to have realised that the Taipings would prove rivals rather than allies, and an open rupture took place when it was discovered that their funds, which the 'Heavenly King' had persuaded them to place for safety in his military chest, had been embezzled by one of the Taiping religious teachers. The fact that the 'Long-haired Rebels' (as the Taipings were designated) had made Nanking—the old seat of government of the Ming dynasty—their headquarters, may have led the Triads to imagine that the Taipings' aims were identical with theirs; but in spite of the execution of the thief who had taken their treasure, the Heaven and Earth Association not only withdrew from the cause of the Taipings, but actually allied themselves for the time being with the Imperialists, whereupon 'the Heavenly King' denounced his former allies, and declared that anyone joining his standard must sever all connexion with the Hung League.

To trace the history of the League through its political windings would be impossible within restricted limits, but it may be of some interest to glance at the aims and aspirations of the association, as far as they can be gathered from its ritual, symbols, and statutes.

The aims professed by the League are in most respects laudable, as is generally the case with similar societies. Unfortunately, however, in practice it has degenerated into a dangerous association, identifying itself with pirates, robbers, and murderers. When the great Confucian axiom 'The doctrine of the mean' is forgotten, and aspirations aim at the impossible, the enthusiast who so aspires too often becomes a fanatic; when a society is actively animated by anxiety to attain the impos-

sible, however lofty and alluring its ideals, the result of attemp ing to carry them into practice is apt to produce confusion an disaster. The Taipings preached the advent of a 'Heavenl Kingdom of Universal Peace,' and produced an earthly pande monium. The Hung League aimed at a universal brotherhoo and degenerated into an association of robbers and pirates.

Many designations have been attached to the Hung League most of which arose from watchwords in use by it; the onl three names accurately applying to it are the Incense-Burners the Heaven and Earth League, and the Three United League from the latter of which comes the name, usually employed b Europeans, of the Triad Society. The Incense-Burners wa probably a name in popular use, and is employed in an Imperia edict referring to the Society; the Hung or Heaven and Eart League was what they called themselves, and the name of th Three United League is based on the bonds existing betwee heaven, earth, and man.

The date when the Hung League assumed a political com plexion may be fairly accurately settled, but the society lay claim to a far higher antiquity, and states in its catechism (thirt second answer), 'Since the time of the foundation of the worl was laid we all use the name of Hung.' It seems not improb able that at its first inception the Society was a mystical or esoteri sect, and may in this form claim high antiquity. Besides th meaning already given, the Chinese character denoting 'Hung is composed of signs signifying water and money, which, whe combined in the character for 'Hung,' mean *inundation*, imply ing that the League desires to inundate the world with th blessings flowing from the exercise of the primary virtues, an that all who desire to liberate their fellows from tyranny an immorality are in reality members of a league whose influenc consequently is boundless as is an inundation.

'Obey heaven and act righteously' is a fundamental adage o the Society, and is inscribed on the walls of their Lodge. Rigi morality is inculcated in their writings and rituals.

> Make righteous profits and gains, and fulfil your duties;
> Do not act wrongly, and confuse right and wrong.
>
> Drink pure and clear water, but do not touch the wine of brothels. Commune with virtuous friends and renounce heartless companions. If people insult you, abuse you—how ought you to take it? You ought to bear it, suffer it, endure it, and forgive it. Don't ask immoral peopl to drink wine with you. Don't believe those who are righteous with thei mouths and unrighteous in their hearts. Do not frequent people who turn you a cold shoulder and are without heart or faith.
>
> Do not despise people whose fortune has turned; for you will only b for a few years a lamb and an inferior. Always remember in your action the fundamental principles of Heaven, Earth, and of yourself. Let you

name be Hung. The statutes and concerns of the Hung League are handed down from man to man, and in the red flower pavilion you have bound yourself by an oath.

The ritual contains many Buddhist and Taoist symbols and allusions. On the diplomas of the brethren is depicted the mysterious 'Yang and Yin,' representing 'Heaven and Earth'; 'Darkness and Light'; 'Sun and Moon'; 'Heat and Cold'; 'Motion and Rest'; 'Positive and Negative'; 'Male and Female.' This symbol is common all over China, and, strange to say, is found depicted in early Celtic art. The 'Yang and Yin,' united, denote 'harmony,' and produce Man, the only visible creature, according to old Chinese philosophy, 'endowed with intellect, and who is able to do actions worthy of praise or blame, of reward or punishment, according as he is virtuous or depraved.' The intimate union between Heaven, earth, and man is symbolised by the triangle, described as 'three united in one.' A jade triangular seal, it may be remembered, was one of the gifts bestowed by the Emperor on the monks who came to his assistance, and was used by them on official documents. The symbol is of Taoist origin. 'The Tao,' wrote Laotze, the old philosopher and founder of the sect, 'produced *one*; *one* produced *two*; *two* produced *three*; *three* produced all things.' 'The great Tao,' explains the same sage, 'is very even, but the people like the paths. The Tao may be looked upon as the mother of the Universe. I don't know its name; I call it the *Tao* or the *Road*.' Confucius denominated the *Tao* the 'right medium.' This seems synonymous with the great First Cause or *Shang-ti*, the Being we denominate the Heavenly Father, whom, as has been stated, the Emperor alone might worship in person. In ancient times this worship was performed on the tops of five high mountains, to whose summit the Emperor ascended alone, while the people remained standing at the foot of the peak. Later on, the inconvenience and loss of time occasioned by journeys to these heights are said to have been the cause of the creation of a temple for the celebration of the worship. It was called 'the temple erected by the dynasty of Hia, in honour of Him who made the ages and generations.' In 1122 B.C. this temple was named 'Ming-thang,' *i.e.* 'temple erected in honour of Him who is the source of all light,' or simply 'The Temple of Light.' In Chinese the character for *ming*, light, is composed of two parts, which denote 'Sun and Moon.' Later on the temple was divided into two, the Temple of the Sun, and the Temple of the Moon, or, more literally, the altar of the sun and that of the moon. It is considered possible that the expression often used in the Hung ritual, 'Ming-thang,' 'Hall of the Ming or Bright Dynasty,' otherwise Temple of Light, may refer to this ancient Light or Sun Temple,

and that the aim of the Society is not only the restoration of the Ming dynasty, but that deeper down in an esoteric sense is the idea of diffusing light throughout the Middle Kingdom. Just as in Christianity, we see the teachings of its Founder degraded and twisted by Socialists and syndicalists into authorisations for robbery, lawlessness, and outrages, so in the Hung League the creed inculcating temperance, purity, honesty, morality, and other virtues, has been used to sanction their very opposites.

The ceremonies and ritual of initiation into the Hung League are long and elaborate, and, if carried out in full, a Triad Lodge would almost present the appearance of a regular camp, but a proscribed society has to adapt its ceremonial to circumstances, and the rites are usually carried out in a modified form, paper representations being substituted for the actual objects necessary, and many persons, especially women, are privately initiated, without actually entering a lodge. When constructed in due form, the Triad Lodge should be square (the world in China being represented by a square), and ought to be surrounded by a wall with a gate at each of the cardinal points. Over each gate is hoisted the flag of the General who guards the gate. Each flag has its motto, such as 'Covenant of the golden orchid,' which means the 'swearing of fraternal friendship'; 'To the East and West it is difficult to go'; 'Sun, moon, mountains, and streams come from the Eastern Sea'; and so forth.

On the walls of the lodge are depicted squares, a square being the old emblem of the State, and the mystical triangle, symbol of union, the two combined denoting 'a State enjoying universal peace.' Over the principal entrance gate is written 'The City of Willows,' and the pavilion at the top is surmounted by the famous gourd or calabash, with a twig inserted at each side.

The interior of the lodge is divided into three apartments, in the last of which, the Hall of Fidelity and Loyalty, are kept the tablets of the Founders, and in the centre of the room stands the 'precious nine-storied pagoda,' containing images of the same Founders. A correctly constructed lodge ought to have this hall surrounded by a moat with water in it, and a stone bridge spanning the moat. Occasionally Triad lodges are concealed in the recesses of forests and constructed of bamboo or tree trunks. In towns, the dwelling of the President of the local league is often fitted up as far as practicable so as to conduct the ceremonies in it. In Hong-Kong, in quarries and out-of-the-way places, stages, some fifty feet square, are sometimes erected to serve as lodges, and are partitioned into three parts to represent the outer, inner, and centre walls of a city. When initiations take place, a bamboo hoop, representing a gateway, is held by two men at the entrance

to each division. They are armed with swords, and candidates have to go through the hoops on their knees. As many as fifty candidates are sometimes received at a meeting. Initiations usually take place at night, and, when the entire ritual is gone through, are lengthy proceedings lasting several hours. When a novice is privately received, the principal officers of the lodge go to the appointed place (generally a private house), and, after explaining the objects of the League to the candidate, administer the oath to the man or woman, as the case may be—then and there, calling later on to give the novice instruction in the signs, passwords, and phrases used for recognition amongst the members.

An ancient Triad poem, entitled 'Binding the Righteous Brethren,' invites 'the rich, the honourable, the honest vagrants, soldiers, officials of State, lawyers, scholars, thieves, mendicants, merchants, farmers, and all others who are loyal and patriotic, *to join the Hung Brethren in bringing back the Mings*,' from which it would seem that very few people are ineligible for membership in the Society; nevertheless, each candidate must be proposed by an officer of the association, who guarantees his fitness for affiliation, and who instructs the candidate beforehand how to act, and what to say, during the initiation ceremony. On the appointed night, the lodge officers arrange their hair in Ming fashion, wearing red turbans, and, if possible, Ming official robes, and open the proceedings by lifting the peck or bushel (indispensable on such occasions), and placing it on a table in front of the principal shrine, meantime reciting an appropriate verse. The bushel contains fire-coloured cloth, fire-coloured silk thread, incense, fasting vegetables, red wood, plums, long cash, a metal mirror, an abacus, steelyard, a foot measure, all of which have a symbolic meaning, which it would be tedious to go into here. At either side of the bushel are placed a fir and a cedar (symbols of never-dying and ever-regenerating life), ink, and pencil; the yellow silk State canopy, red rice, the Hung Lamp, and many other objects too numerous to mention, all emblematic, and with ritual allusions, pointing to the original source whence the League sprung.

The usual verse accompanies the arranging of these articles:

Within the lodge the granaries are filled with provisions;
The precious swords, both flashing, stand in the bushel.
Like two Phœnixes looking towards the sun, the brethren stand around it.
On the golden steps they are assembled to establish the bonds and virtues.

After a club and other symbolic articles have been laid on the table, or more properly the altar, the incense-burner is placed there with much ceremony, and five large incense sticks are

placed in it in honour of the five monks of Shao-lin, called the five patriarchs of the League. A long poem is recited, beginning:

> Let this incense rise to Heaven's height,
> While we swear opposition to the Tsings,
> We will the wrong of Shao-lin's fire requite,
> The Mongols slaughter and restore the Mings, etc.

These appropriate poems at each ceremonial act are monotonous and lengthy, in one instance the verses run to no fewer than one hundred and eight stanzas. No candidate may wear silk garments at his initiation, in preparation for which his queue is partly unplaited, his shoes are removed, and the lappet of his coat is unfastened so as to hang open. He is made to repeat verses expressive of his faith and loyalty, and remembrance 'of the affair of the five founders,' and declares:

> In the tenth month the peach flowers are everywhere fragrant;
> I have heard since long and found that the Hung are faithful and good;
> Each of them is a faithful and excellent officer——
> In the peach garden Lin, Kwan, and Chung have pledged fraternity.
> The heroes are assembled together this night
> To assist the dynasty of Ming with sincere and faithful hearts.
> To-night I have succeeded in seeing the face of the Master;
> This is better than to approach the Emperor in his imperial palace.

The peach is the symbol of long life and immortality, and is constantly used in Chinese embroideries, carvings, porcelain and literature in this emblematic sense.

The novice next swears to his birth certificate, and gives his names at length, so that all the brethren may hear. These particulars are entered in a book kept for the purpose. This having been done the applicant for admission is tested in the genuineness of his preparation for that favour; if the master extends one finger, the candidate must not open his fingers; neither if the master stretches out three or four fingers; but if five fingers are held out the novice must open his hand in response. These preliminaries over, the candidate enters the first Hung gate, the master having granted his permission for the entrance of the novice, who is received in the inner division of the lodge by all the brethren drawn up in a double row and crossing their swords so as to form an arch under which the novice passes. Wooden swords, or a piece of red cloth, are often used in this ceremony, which is termed 'Passing the bridge.'

In the phraseology of the Society candidates are termed New Horses; when these, after various ceremonies, at length reach the 'Hall of Fidelity and Loyalty,' the objects of the League are more fully explained to them; the grievances against the Tartar dynasty enlarged on; fearful threats uttered against such as withdraw from the lodge; and rewards promised to those

who perform their duties and hold to their obligations. A very long catechism next takes place between the master and the 'Vanguard,' or Introducer, who answers on behalf of the novice. In this catechism are contained many of the signs and passwords, most of which are allusions to the experiences of the five monks on their escape from the monastery. The following is a sample of the catechism :

Q. Whence do you come?
A. I come from the East.
Q. How can you prove that?
A. I can prove it by a verse.
Q. How does this verse run?
A. When sun and moon rise together, the East is bright.
A million of warriors are the heroes of Hung.
When Tsing is overturned, the true lord of Ming restored,
The faithful and loyal will be made grandees.
Q. At what time did you come hither?
A. I went at sunrise when the East was light.
Q. Why did you not come earlier or later, but just at sunrise? How can you prove this?
A. I can prove it by a verse.
Q. How does this verse run?
A. As I was roaming over the mountains, the sun was still obscured;
The heart of man on earth turns to the east.
When the cock crowed at dawn I wished to help my native country;
The bright pearl rose [*i.e.* the sun] and reddened myriads of miles around.

The long catechism continues, full of mystical references to the tenets and purposes of the Society, the history of its founders, and replete with mysterious numbers, fables, and symbols, the true meaning of which is probably little understood by the brethren themselves, and which are full of astrological and emblematical lore. After a string of questions and answers of portentous length, the catechism ends by the master saying :

I have examined you in everything, and there is no doubt about your being Thian-yu-hung. Rise and prostrate yourself three times before our true Lord. I have a precious sword and a warrant to give you. All who are in truth faithful and loyal you may bring hither to pledge themselves; but those who are untruthful and disloyal you ought to bring without the gates, cut off their heads and expose them.

Whereupon the 'Vanguard' chimes in :

The sword and warrant of the commander are now given to Thian-yu-hung, and now I can go to all the lodges in the world, according to my wishes.

So far the ceremonies have been of a preliminary nature, the novice has not as yet bound himself by oath to the League; however, he has not much option in the matter, for at this stage comes the grim direction that, in the event of the candidate

refusing to go through the ceremony of full adoption into the Society, he is to be 'led by an executioner without the west gate' and decapitated. Probably in view of such a contingency, refusal to persist in going to the end of the affiliation ceremony is extremely rare. The steadfast candidate is now conducted by the 'Vanguard' into the 'Red Flower Pavilion,' where an 'Elder Brother' stands beside each novice (there are generally several) and answers in his name. The new member is then shorn of his queue and his hair is cut in Ming fashion. Cutting off the queue, amounting to an act of treason under Manchu rule, is either performed symbolically or a false queue substituted.

The candidate's face is now washed, as an emblematic purification.

Wash clean the dust of Tsing, and the colour of your face will appear;
Do away with your corruptness and perversity—to sit in the temple of Ming.

The upper garments of the new brother, being made in Manchu fashion, are now removed, and he is clothed in a long white robe and a red handkerchief folded round his head.

In my hand I hold a white cloth, happier than an immortal;
Wound around my body, I go to call together troops;
When, on another day, our Lord shall have ascended the Imperial throne,
I shall take off my mourning dress, and follow the Emperor's army.

White is the colour of deep mourning in China; the red handkerchief is also symbolic according to the appropriate verse on donning it:

The red sun above our heads mounts to the nine heavenly regions;
Gradually he marches till within the City of Willows;
Conceal the secrets and don't let them leak out.
For from the beginning till the end the brethren must all be called Hung.

Straw shoes, of the kind worn by mourners, are now given to the novice, and thus clad he is led before the altar, on which stands the sacred white incense-burner; all present take nine blades of grass in lieu of incense, and the formulary of the oath, written on large sheets of yellow paper, is laid on the censer. Incense is offered, and the brethren each stick their nine blades of grass into the censer, one by one, repeating stanzas while so doing.

Two small torches, and a red candle, are now lighted, the brethren prostrate themselves and reverence Heaven and Earth, renew their obligation to restore the Mings, and pour three libations of wine out of cups of jade. Next the seven-starred lamp is lighted, and finally the 'precious, imperial lamp.'

The glowing brightness of the precious lamp reaches the nine regions
of Heaven.
In Heaven alone are clearly seen the traitors and the faithful;
If it is predestined we'll go together to the precious imperial palace,
Where the glittering star Thing encircles the eight points.

The lamps having all been lighted, the incense glowing in the censer, and the room suffused with perfume, the divinities are implored to accept the offerings:

Solemnly we now burn incense and make this prayer to Swan-Ku, who first sundered Heaven and Earth. Revering the Heavenly doctrine of being united in one, we fervently wish to overthrow Tsing, and restore Ming, in order to obey the will of Heaven (desiring that Heaven and Earth shall roll on together) . . . We now burn incense here and make this prayer; we pray that it may reach the Supreme Ruler of the August Heaven; the first heavenly one; the three lights—sun, moon (and stars); the five planets and seven rulers; the divine Prince Wu-tae [name of a constellation], that it may reach the Heavenly Ruler who bestows happiness, and the supreme Lao-Kim.

'The Buddha of the Western Heaven,' the 'divine Buddha,' 'the Supreme Ruler of the dark Heaven of the North Pole,' the 'Queen of Heaven, the golden flowery, blessing-bestowing lady,' 'the seventy-two stars of Earth,' 'the Lord of the Winds, the Ruler of the Rain, the God of Thunder,' the 'Mother of Lightning,' 'the courtly Snow Spirit,' and 'all the angels and star-princes,' 'the gods and Buddhas who swerve through the void,' 'spirits of rivers, and mountains, and of the land and the grain,' and many other occult powers, are likewise invoked and besought to descend on the altar:

As we are assembled this night to pledge by our oath fraternity with all the brethren, so help us that we may all be enlightened, so that we may get the desire to obey Heaven and act righteously.

After enumerating other powerful spiritual influences, the invocation concludes:

All the benevolents in the two capitals and thirteen provinces have now come together to beseech Father Heaven and Mother Earth; the three lights, sun, moon [and stars]; all the gods, saints, Genii and Buddhas, and all the star-princes, to help them all to be enlightened. This night we pledge ourselves, and vow this promise before Heaven, that the brethren in the whole universe shall be as from one womb; as if born from one father, as if nourished by one mother, and as if they were of one stock and origin; that we will obey Heaven and act righteously; that our faithful hearts shall not alter and shall never change. If August Heaven assists us to restore the dynasty of Ming—then happiness will have a place to return to.

The prayer being ended, the brethren rise from their knees to make eight salutations for Heaven, Earth, sun, moon, and stars, the five Founders, etc. The written oath, which has remained on the censer during the performance of the above ceremonies, is now taken down and read by one of the members to the novices, who remain kneeling while the oath is read. The oath consists of thirty-six articles, too long to quote, but of which the following are taken as specimens:

ARTICLE 1.

From the moment that you have entered the Hung League you must quietly fulfil your duties and keep in your own business. It has always been said that filial love is the first of all virtues; therefore, you must respect and obey both your parents, and obey and venerate your superiors. Do not resist your father and mother and so violate the laws of the Hung League. He who does not keep this command, most surely will not be suffered by Heaven and Earth, but he shall be crushed by five thunderbolts! Each of you ought to obey this.

ARTICLE 5.

After having entered the Hung League you ought to be faithful and loyal. You must consider the father of a brother as your father, his mother as your mother, his sister as your sister, his wife as your sister-in-law.

Do not lie or speak evilly!

When you marry the daughter of a brother, you ought to employ go-betweens, and marry her with the prescribed ceremonies; and it shall not be allowed you to come together unlawfully, neither shall you seduce the wife or concubine of a brother.

He who does not keep this command, may he perish in a river or lake, may his bones sink to the bottom, and his flesh float on the surface! Besides, if the brethren discover it, one of his ears will be cut off, and he will be punished with 108 blows.

These will serve as examples of the trend of the thirty-six articles of the oath, which are read over to the kneeling brethren, who confirm the oath with their blood. Tea is first drunk, then a bowl of wine is brought, and the brethren prick their middle finger with a silver needle, and allow some of their blood to mingle with the wine, which they all taste, and repeat the following oath:

We mixed the blood and unanimously worshipped the five men,
Who, at that time, made a league under the peach trees;
From the present time that we've sworn this oath we'll never change;
But we'll be more cordial than those born from the same womb, and of one flesh and bone.

Having confirmed their oath by the draught of wine and blood, a white cock is brought, and the new member chops off its head, and the following execration is pronounced:

The white cock is the token, and we have shed its blood and taken an oath;
The unfaithful and disloyal shall perish like this cock;
While the faithful and loyal shall be dukes and marquises for countless ages.
We have drunk the wine, and confirmed by an oath that we pledged ourselves to raise (the standard of) righteousness;

The traitors and intriguers shall perish by the sword;
Their body and head shall be severed, and their bones and flesh shall be in
different places.

The paper with the oath is then thrown into a furnace, as it is believed that in this manner the oath will ascend to Heaven, and punishments fall on those who break it. This concludes the initiation ceremony, and the new member is now entitled to receive the linen diploma of membership, which he is enjoined always to keep on his person in case of falling into the power of pirates or robbers who may be members of the brotherhood. The remainder of the night is passed in merry-making, and at dawn the new members assume their ordinary attire and all return homewards.

The signs, tokens, and passwords of the fraternity are so numerous that their mere enumeration would fill a volume, and to recall them to mind on appropriate occasions would require a memory Chinese in its retentiveness. If a line of a verse in use by the Society is quoted by a member to anyone he meets, the latter, if belonging to the League, reveals the fact by continuing the stanza. When travelling, a brother, if desirous of ascertaining the road, might sing or say:

I don't ask for South and North, or East and West,
For since antiquity the speck of red is dazzling bright;
My faithful heart and sun and moon [*i.e.* the Hung League] are manifest.
Why should I grieve, then, that people in the world won't stop and tell
me?

Another brother hearing these lines would at once recognise the singer and put him on the right road. If a member is asked whence he came, he replies, 'I come from the East.' If questioned as to whither going, he answers, 'I want to go to the place where I can join the myriads of brethren.' Both answers reveal him to fellow initiates.

In entering a house, if the member wishes to ascertain if any of his fellow Hungs be there, he stops a moment on the threshold and enters by the left foot; his umbrella, with a handkerchief with a knot in it tied to the point, is placed in the left corner of the room; when taking his seat on a chair, if he points the toes of his shoes towards each other, he lets those who are enlightened see that he too is 'one who has done the eight salutations.'

If the owner of the house be absent, a pair of shoes left at the threshold with toes pointing towards each other will indicate that a brother has called. The position of shoes lying with soles upwards or downwards, the way the hat is held, the handkerchief carried, the collar buttoned, the queue worn, and so on, all are signs of recognition, warning, and mutual understanding amongst

the brethren. Tucking up the right leg of the pantaloons, whilst the left hangs down, betokens that the wearer is a Hung brother to those who have 'eyes to see.' There are especial verses to discover the reciter to innkeepers, pirates and robbers. Drawing certain lines with an umbrella, pulling blades of grass, knocking a stone off a heap in the road, pointing to a shred of cloth lying on the ground, and asking a question as to a bridge—all are means of secret intercommunication amongst the enlightened.

Although the secrets of the League are to be kept from their families if uninitiated, certain verses may be taught to such to save them from violence if taken by Hung pirates or robbers. The wife of a member is to repeat:

> On the mountains a flower opens a speck of red.
> Don't plunder me as you would rob a stranger.
> If you, inimical foe, interrogate the wife of a Hung man—
> Three hundred and twenty-one are all Hung.

There are also verses suitable for sisters and other relations in like predicament. Chop-sticks, tea-cups, the manner of drinking wine, of smoking, of helping oneself to vegetables, of chewing betel—in short, nearly all the actions are used as tokens and signs, in some cases, such as tea-drinking, almost amounting to using a secret language. The wearing of Triad badges and amulets, another custom, would seem almost superfluous with such a multiplicity of other means of recognition at command.

The Association is governed by Five Grand Masters, who are the Masters of its five principal lodges. Each lodge has its President, two Vice-Presidents, two Introducers or Vanguards, a Fiscal, thirteen Councillors, and some minor officials.

The Statutes of the League are seventy-two in number, added to which are twenty-one Regulations and ten Prohibitory Laws on Appointing Meetings in the Hall of Obedience to Hung. The laws of the Hung League apply to the conduct of the members in their daily life; offenders are liable to blows varying in number according to the offence; to the loss of one or both ears; and in flagrant cases of guilt, the death penalty is ordained. For a member to carry on an intrigue with the wife, sister, or daughter of a brother Hung is an offence for which the punishment of death is considered due. In 1884, not far from Hong-Kong, portions of two human bodies were found floating in the sea. Inquiry was made, and the police discovered that the mutilated bodies were those of a Hakka man and woman, supposed to have been members of the Triad Society, who had been guilty of adultery. When the neighbours discovered the scandalous conduct of the couple, they tried to arrest them, but the pair took to their heels and fled. The woman was soon caught, and

the villagers continued to give chase to the man, all the time shouting 'Thief!' An Indian policeman heard the cry, and, under the impression that the man they were pursuing had really stolen something, stopped the delinquent and handed him over to the villagers, who forthwith tried the wretched man and woman before a Triad tribunal, which decreed the punishment of death and dismemberment for the erring couple; the sentence was forthwith carried out, and the pieces of the bodies flung into the sea. By the time the crime was discovered, those chiefly concerned in it—including the husband of the murdered woman—had made good their escape. Over a score of persons were arrested, charged with being concerned in the outrage, but so great was the influence of the Hung Society that it proved impossible to bring home the crime to any of them.

It has been estimated that in Hong-Kong at least a third of the Chinese men, and many of the women, are active members of the League; no estimate can be formed of the numbers belonging to it in China itself.

The Hung League has long had a saying that 'Heaven and earth and man must be favourable to the overthrow of the Manchus.' That moment has come; it remains to be seen whether the remainder of the aspiration will be fulfilled and the Ming dynasty restored. Whatever happens, it is earnestly to be desired that the reign of Light may shine in the Middle Kingdom.

EDITH BLAKE.

HORACE AND THE SOCIAL LIFE OF ROME

THERE is something quite unique about Horace. That he has his limitations we are all well aware. No one knows them better than he knew them himself. Place him side by side with the most gifted poets of his own country, and these limitations become at once apparent. In intellectual majesty, in the sonorous and solemn stateliness of his verse, in the piercing power of his imagination, Lucretius ranks far above him. We shall not find in the Venusian either the spontaneity or the burning passion of Catullus. The haunting music in which Virgil half reveals and half conceals his tenderness of heart, his mysticism, his brooding sense of tears in mortal things, belongs to a world in which the fellow-poet to whom he was so deeply attached seems never to have moved at all.

But within his limits, and as the poet of social life, Horace stands unrivalled and alone. His mediocrity is the self-imposed mediocrity of conscious genius. It is not merely that for some two thousand years he has gone on attracting to himself an increasing host of friends. What is still more worthy of note is that his most intimate friends comprise such very diverse, we had almost said divergent, types. Men, for example, so wide apart in temperament and spirit as Newman and Gibbon, Bossuet and Voltaire, Pope and Wordsworth, Thackeray and Gladstone, Rabelais and Charles Lamb, seem all to have felt in Horace a like attraction and to have made of him an intimate friend. The magnetic attraction to which such names as these collectively testify is a phenomenon of sufficient rarity to invite some attempt to explain it. And perhaps the most obvious explanation may be found in the poet's own personality. For behind the exquisite art of the Horatian lyrics, with their dexterous felicities of phrase and metre, and behind all the genial wit and wisdom of their author's social miscellanies and didactic writings, lies the spell of an irresistible personal charm.

Horace attracts us from so many different sides. A very Proteus of emotional moods, he is wholly innocent in his writings of any logical system, and belongs to no one philosophical school.

Of humble and even servile origin, we find him the pet of the patrician circle. By profession a civil servant, he is by favour a Sabine proprietor. He can laugh at the Stoic pedant and pick holes in the self-indulgent Epicurean. Intellectually a complete sceptic in his attitude towards the conventional polytheism of the day, he is by no means devoid of a sincere piety of heart, and clothes his vague sense of the divine in the forms of the popular beliefs. To-day he is all for love and wine, to-morrow for the simple life and the precepts of divine philosophy. A true Roman in his terseness, his dignity of speech, his capacity for seriousness, his pride of patriotism, he is Greek in his literary grace and culture, and Italian in his love of beauty. Full of sympathy in his own heart, he is able to see deep into the hearts of others. The easy and accessible level of thought and feeling on which he moves, the sense of companionship and intimacy which he inspires, his sterling common-sense, his close grasp of reality, his confidential friendliness of tone and manner, his frank admission of his own faults and frailties—all these familiar characteristics of our Venusian poet combine to widen his hold upon the world at large and to keep him in familiar touch with his innumerable readers. Most happily has one of his most devoted admirers, the satirist Persius, depicted him in the well-known lines of which we venture an imperfect rendering:

> Flaccus, the rogue, can always raise a smile
> On a friend's face, though probing all the while
> His every foible, and with playful art
> Winning an entrance to his inmost heart.[1]

It is important to bear in mind what manner of audience it was for whom this metrical Addison of Latin literature originally wrote. He did not address himself to the *profanum vulgus*, the mongrel rabble and 'dregs of Romulus' who had no higher interests than their daily *panem et circenses*, excitement and food, for he heartily despised and detested them. He was neither a Burns nor a Béranger. Nor did he write for the new plutocracy, though he carefully studied them as models for those life-like sketches of character which help to make his satires so attractive, so amusing and so unaging. He addressed himself, primarily, to the favoured guests of what was in his time the Holland House of Rome, the brilliant circle of men of affairs and men of letters, the quick-witted, well-educated, pleasure-loving Roman gentlemen, who met round the table of Augustus' great home-minister, Maecenas.[2]

In Horace, never pedantic and never dull, a bon-vivant who was probably the most agreeable table-talker, story-teller, and

[1] Persius, *Sat.* 1 116.

[2] [illegible]

diner-out of his time, a genial companion whose aim it was to be both *amicus sibi* and *dulcis amicis*, on good terms with himself and a joy to his friends, they found a man after their own heart, a man who knew how to amuse and interest them without ever degenerating into a bore. Hence it is that with this realistic writer, familiar as he was with every phase of contemporary society, we are never moving in a world of lay figures. There is no sensible gap in Horace between literature and life. As we read the satires or the epistles, we can only echo the words with which Mme. de Sévigné put down the *Essays* of Montaigne, 'Mon Dieu, que ce livre est plein de bon sens!' We feel that, had we but chanced to have a Horace amongst us, much of his portraiture might well have been painted yesterday. For he deals, for the most part, not with those comparatively few characteristics in which men differ, but with mankind in the mass, with that central and elemental human nature which is the joint inheritance of us all.

Horace is no idealist. He is at the very opposite pole to a poet like Shelley. He does not belong to the company of those rare creative spirits who see visions and dream dreams. He has not 'hitched his wagon to a star.' No ode of his has the clarion ring of the great sonnet, nor do we hear in him what we are taught to call the lyric cry. An easy-going Epicurean in temperament, and moving, in respect of thought and feeling, within relatively narrow boundaries, he attempts neither to scale the heights nor to sound the depths of the human soul. He had never known the transfiguring power of a great love, or the purifying power of a great sorrow. In his early manhood he had his share of climbing to do. But the critical years of probation were soon over, and once Maecenas had taken him up his future was assured and his pecuniary anxieties at an end. In his ideal of conduct he bears some resemblance to Goethe. It is an ideal of orderliness and sobriety, a nice balance of moral and bodily healthfulness, a golden mean between asceticism and hedonism. With a cheerful smile upon his face, Horace stands, as it were, in the middle of life's highway, and invites the average man, or the exceptional man in his average moments, to come and look in his glass. A very human, a very unheroic, a very lovable man, his sketches can never fade or lose their freshness, for they recall types in our Vanity Fair which stand fast through all the changes of time and circumstance. His moral axioms, which in school-days may have seemed to us somewhat trite and stale, tend to maintain and strengthen their hold upon us both because they are so delightfully presented and because, as the years pass on, we are made to learn in the school of experience how well they fit

in with the everyday realities of life.* And if to this large-hearted and kindly humanity we add our poet's ironical yet genial humour, with its attendant shadow of pensiveness, the absence in him of all pretentiousness, his self-reliance and independence of spirit,[4] his transparent honesty and candour, his instinctive tactfulness and good breeding, his calm, shrewd sanity of judgment, his wholesome teaching of the pure heart and the well-stocked contented mind as the master-keys to life, and the secret of real happiness,[5] we shall be catching something of that personal attraction which is felt, by those who know him best, to be quite distinct from his artistic gifts and from his literary talent.

There was nothing, not even the study of Greek and Latin literature, in which this many-sided Italian genius took such unflagging interest as in human nature, including his own. He was as familiar with books as with the world around him. An omnivorous reader, he was also a man of introspective and meditative habit, and yet at times the most sociable of companions. Always a keen and shrewd observer, he grew up to manhood in an age when Rome's long career of conquest, with its resulting interfusion of nationalities and races, had brought about a general anarchy of thought and feeling. Opulence, luxury, idleness, and slavery had poisoned the springs of life. By the lawless violence of the civil wars all this confusion was made worse confounded. The old landmarks of religion and morality had been torn up, and a swollen tide of demoralisation and corruption was threatening wholly to submerge what remained of the ancient commonwealth. Living for many years at the very centre of affairs, himself an important agent in a great intellectual, aesthetic, and religious reformation, the intimate and trusted friend of men who held his country's destiny in their hands, Horace had exceptional opportunities, as he had also an exceptional aptitude, for watching and noting the manners and morals of his day. It is in these circumstances that his writings present us at once with the best picture that we could have of contemporary Rome, and with a companion-picture, no less lifelike, of the writer himself.

Our poet was born under a lucky star. His boyhood was passed in close contact with social surroundings that were representative of the purest and the most wholesome traditions of Italian country life. Like Burns and Carlyle, he was thrice blessed with a father to whom his warm tributes of love and gratitude form some of the most delightful passages in literature. He received an excellent education. As the personal references in his compositions abundantly indicate, he formed congenial and enduring

* See a striking passage to this effect in Newman's *Grammar of Assent*, 4th edit. p. 78.

[4] 'Qui sibi fidet dux reget examen.' I. *Epis.* xix. 23.

[5] 'Quod petis hic est.' I. *Epis.* xi. 29.

friendships with the foremost men of the day. He was endowed with exceptional gifts and with a strongly marked individuality. Except for some minor ailments, such as blear eyes and a weak digestion, he enjoyed, up to an early middle-age, sound if not robust health. As a writer and critic he attained the highest eminence, and basked in the sunshine of success. Upon the whole, and as mortals count happiness and good fortune, he lived and died a fortunate and happy man.

The elder Horace, though he won his freedom before his son was born to him, had begun life as a public slave in the military colony of Venusia. After his enfranchisement he contrived to make and to save enough money to buy a small neighbouring farm. His daily business was to collect the dues arising out of the sales of property by auction, and, owing to the constant expropriation of owners during the civil wars, he seems to have made this business a success. It is easy, however, to understand that, in the circumstances, young Horace, who was apparently an only child, and a child, moreover, whose mother had not long survived his birth, must have been left a good deal to his own devices and to the indulgence of his own tastes. Readers of the odes will remember the lovely lines* in which the poet idealises some real adventure of his infancy, when he had slipped through his nurse's fingers and in one of his solitary rambles had lost himself upon Mount Voltur. Knowing, as we do, his genius for friendship, it seems a natural inference that in his young days he would make the most of the society of his country neighbours. A glance at the second satire of the second book will show, for example, how sincere was his admiration for one Ofellus, a farmer near Venusia, a 'sage without rules' (*abnormis sapiens*), and, in his own humble way, a sort of Roger de Coverley among his people. As sketched for us in the satire referred to he stands out as an attractive specimen of the independent, self-relying spirit, the homely and rugged virtues, of the Sabellian husbandman. The time was not very far distant when Horace would have to breathe the relaxing air of a dissolute and licentious capital, and his father's watchful training, supported and strengthened by the wholesome influences of these Sabine uplands, must have done much to brace and fortify his character against that day. But his old home did even more for him than this. While it familiarised him with a mode of life austere in its simplicity, active in its daily industries, pure in its domestic integrity, and religious in its untutored piety, it served also to awaken the sleeping poet in him.

Born, as Horace was born, with a full share of the Italian sensitiveness to joy and beauty, what could have been more stimulating to him than the varied and picturesque scenery of the southern

* *Odes* III. iv.

Apennines? Twenty years and more had passed when he composed the odes in which the memories of the old homestead, with its familiar haunts, its favourite landscapes, its varied charms of hill and wood and river, dwell immortally enshrined. Yet, so deep had been their first impressions upon his mind that as he recalls them to his imagination he seems to be actually back in the old familiar places once again. The distant roar of impetuous Aufidus is still echoing in his ears. The wooded slopes of Voltore, the glens of Bantia, the low-lying pastures of Forentum, the crystal spring of Bandusia, Acherontia 'like an eagle's nest upon the crest of purple Apennine'—all seem to be actually mirrored in the poet's soul, and to be steeping his senses in the same delight as when they had been the loved companions of his boyhood. Assuredly it was not for nothing that the country had been his nursing mother and not the town.

When the time came to decide upon his son's educational future, considerations of convenience may naturally have inclined the elder Horace to send him to the school close at hand in Venusia which enjoyed the patronage of the local aristocracy. But to such a course there were serious drawbacks. The curriculum was narrow, uninspiring, severely utilitarian. The spirit which it reflected was that commercial spirit of the main chance which so well suited the Roman type of character, and which Horace, in one of his latest epistles, has contemptuously contrasted with the free artistic spirit of Greek culture.[7] Moreover, the social atmosphere of the school was not likely to prove congenial to a boy who was by nature shy. The 'great strapping sons of great strapping centurions' who frequented it[8] would be certain to look down upon a mere freedman's son, and to ruin all his chances of intellectual expansion by the blight of their arrogant contempt.

The father was not a man to hesitate where he thought that a future so dear to him was at stake. Whatever the fates might have in store, his lad should at any rate be given the advantage of as good an education as if he had been of knightly or of senatorial descent. Not content to entrust him, in such a city as Rome, to the care of any casual slave, this most unselfish and self-denying of parents turned his back on the claims of his local business, and himself accompanied Horace, then perhaps some twelve years of age, to the capital, so that he might keep him under his own eye, and supplement his school work with the informal lessons of practical everyday experience.

These early lessons Horace never forgot, and later on, as he told his critics, he found in them the source and inspiration of his satires. They accustomed him, once for all, to look at life

[7] *Ars Poet.* 323.

[8] I. *Sat.* vi. 72.

in the concrete, life as it might be watched at work in the Via Sacra, or the Suburra, in the Circus, or in the Forum: life as teaching by example, and mirrored in the fortunes of the Roman notables to whom his attention was daily directed as they passed along.* Good and evil, success and failure, forethought and folly, miserliness and prodigality, good breeding and vulgarity, were illustrated and exemplified for the boy week by week and year by year, not by associating them with maxims in books, or with lay sermons in his private ear, but with life itself as it was actually being lived in the Rome of that day, and with the patterns that he saw running off its loom.

So passed the five or six years of his early education. Somewhere about his eighteenth year, or perhaps a little later, after studying there under Orbilius, the rod-loving Dr. Busby of his period, a man of some note as a teacher, Horace left the capital to complete his education at Athens in company with the young bloods of the Roman aristocracy. It is only natural to wish that he had told us more about this formative part of his history, but, though Horace in his own way is as self-revealing as Montaigne or as Samuel Pepys, he unfortunately failed to forestall the latter in keeping a full diary of his days. From the tone of affection, however, in which he refers to the university, it may be safely inferred that he most heartily enjoyed the opportunities which Athens afforded. From this time forward we hear no more of his devoted guardian. Probably he had died before his son's school-days were quite over. Nor have we any information as to how the necessary funds for a university course were raised, seeing that Athens was an expensive place, and the undergraduates from Rome, or at any rate the majority of them, had deep purses, long, dry throats, and convivial proclivities. It redounds greatly to Horace's credit, and prepares us also for the strong fibre of moral independence which runs through all his subsequent career and which is so conspicuous in his relations with Maecenas and with Augustus, that, in such a society, he was able to hold his own, to make many lasting friendships, to avoid debt, and, what proved to be of such vital importance later on, to study the doctrines of the rival schools of Greek philosophy as well as the rich and varied treasures of Greek literature.

Quite an interesting side-light is thrown on the extravagance and also on the moral pitfalls, of undergraduate life at Athens at this time by what we chance to know of the younger Cicero. He had served as a cavalry officer on Pompey's staff before he went up to matriculate. Of intellectual interests he was wholly devoid. His father seems to have declined to keep a horse for him, though he made him a generous allowance of no less than

* I. *Sat.* iv. 103.

800l. a year. But he had fallen into bad hands. His guide, philosopher and friend, a 'professor' named Gorgias, was one of the lecturers in the Gymnasium. This man turned out to be a debauched scoundrel, and Cicero, whose habits were predominantly of a festive nature, was promptly removed from his demoralising influence.

We have now, perhaps, been able to form some idea of the associations and training which helped to mould young Horace for any future he might have to face. All in a moment there came a great crisis in his fortunes. In March B.C. 44 Julius Caesar was murdered. Some months later Marcus Brutus appeared in Athens. Ostensibly he had come for purposes of study, but his real business there was to hunt up Roman officers for the command of his new levies. The patrician youth of the capital were all aglow to prove themselves worthy emulators of Pericles and Demosthenes, of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. That liberty was long since dead in all but name, they were hardly yet of an age to realise. Attracted no doubt by what he saw in Horace, with whose literary tastes he had much in common, Brutus offered this lad of two-and-twenty, short in inches, inclined to corpulence, ignorant of drill, innocent of the art of war, the high post of military tribune with the command of a legion. The offer was accepted, and the undergraduate blossomed suddenly into what we may picture to ourselves as a Brigadier-General. With our poet's career as an officer in the army we are not here concerned, but it is not without interest to note that it was during Brutus' campaign in Asia, and shortly before the battle of Philippi, that he fired off his first literary squib for the amusement of his brother officers on the staff. This somewhat feeble skit was included in the earliest of his published collections, and forms now the seventh satire of Book I.

The defeat at Philippi sealed the fate of the Republic. It was already consumed with internal decay. In five hundred years the City-state had conquered the world, but it lacked the political capacity to rule it, and to adapt its old time-worn institutions to new and altogether different conditions. During the winter of B.C. 42, and under cover probably of an amnesty extended to those surviving combatants who were ready to make their submission to the Triumvirs, Horace found his way back to Rome.

It was probably during the year B.C. 39 that our poet was introduced by Virgil and Varius to Maecenas. With respect to his life between his return to the capital and this red-letter day in his checkered fortunes we know little except by inference. He tells us that he was so poor that he was driven to make a living by writing verses. What verses they were he leaves us to guess.

From the brief biography of him which is attributed to Suetonius we learn further that he became a 'scribe' in the Quaestor's office, or, to use more modern language, a salaried clerk in the Roman Treasury, and this statement, it may be added, is confirmed in his satires. It is not likely that Horace, the most fastidious of critics, included all the firstlings of his poetic flock in his published collections, but his earliest extant compositions raise two interesting problems. (1) How did an unknown adventurer in Rome attract the notice of the literary magnates whom Maecenas had gathered round his table? And (2) what had Horace been writing to become so unpopular as it is evident that he had in fact become, especially among the Grub Street coteries of Roman society? Let us first briefly note the circumstances in which the defeat at Philippi had placed him.

When Horace found himself again in Rome, the cause in defence of which he had so eagerly joined the Regicide was lost. Victory rested with the three conspirators against the Republic, and their hands were red with the blood of many of his personal friends. The father who with equal wisdom and devotion had piloted him through the perils of youth was no more. The old Venusian home had just been confiscated and sold up. Buried in the grim and depressing solitude of a great city, a disillusioned Pompeian, a soured patriot, a political renegade, he was left without position, without prospects, and without money.

Never, probably, did Horace utter a truer word than when in one of his letters he described himself as 'solibus aptum,' one made for the warm sunshine. The shock of a sudden reverse of fortune, falling upon a constitution at no time very robust, and now somewhat impaired by a campaign on Asiatic soil, seems to have made havoc of his native friendliness and geniality, and to have left him irritable, bitter, resentful, and reckless. Looking back in the epodes and epistles on this dark winter of his discontent, Horace has compared himself to a sleuth-hound running down his quarry, to a bull with threatening horns, to a fierce wolf with hungry fangs.[10] To translate these images into humbler prose, our lampooner was in the very temper for what he calls the swift iambics of Archilochus, the literary vitriol of his trade. The society around him, honeycombed as it was with scandals and personal animosities, offered an attractive field to a ready pen and a mordant wit, and it would seem that he was not slow to seize the opportunity which was thus afforded him.

But the epodes, even the earliest of them, are evidence that if Horace could write personal lampoons he could produce work of a higher grade as well. Compositions, for example, like the seventh or the sixteenth epode could hardly be recited without

[10] *Epode* vi.—II. *Epis.* ii. 29.

compelling those who listened to them to recognise the great poetical promise of which they gave evidence. At any rate the recitation of some lyric, or lyrics, that he had composed made a favourable impression on no less a personage than Virgil, who may accordingly be said to have discovered Horace in much the same sense that Coleridge discovered Wordsworth.

That Maecenas should have taken as long as nine months to think matters over before he finally decided on taking the young literary recruit under his wing is a fact of some significance. So shrewd a man of affairs, with a recommendation before him from great poetical celebrities such as Virgil and Varius, must have had good reason for his hesitation. It may be that, while they looked only to the poet in Horace, Maecenas looked deeper. Where they saw only talent, he saw a disappointed republican, a lampooner whose bitter personalities were making him many enemies, and the master of a literary weapon which might endanger the all-important cause of peace and order. But it is evident that what most impressed him, and what really determined the day in Horace's favour, was the rare attractiveness of his character on its moral and social side. Be this as it may, we can now discern an answer to our inquiries. Obviously there were already two markedly distinct qualities in Horace's recitations. There was the genuine poetic quality which so attracted Virgil, and in virtue of which the epodes were one day to ripen and mellow into the odes, and there was also the critical and satiric quality which made its early victims so resentful, but which in due time passed out of the Archilochian iambic and became wedded to the dactylic hexameter, a measure which Horace learnt to mould with such wonderful success, and to make a vehicle for the expression both of his social sketches and of his talks with absent friends.

Satire, it should be remembered, is a term suggestive to our English ears of something caustic and severe. We instinctively associate it with invective. It sends our thoughts back to writers like Dryden, Swift, and Carlyle. But this is to travel far away from our Latin satirist.[11] The term which Horace himself prefers for the compositions in question is not satires at all, but *sermones*; that is to say, conversational discourses. In his day political satire was out of the question, and a thing far too dangerous for him to touch. He fell back, therefore, on these 'talks,' or social and moral miscellanies. It was a field for which he felt himself well suited, and a field, too, in which he had no living rival to fear in the race for popularity and fame. These satires, in fact, are just familiar talks to the world in general about social types

[11] *Satura*, in Latin, means a mixture. The term was transferred from the stage, where it denoted variety-performances, to literature.

and incidents in which it would be likely to feel lively interest, and they are full of biographical portraiture, as were the satires of Lucilius.[18] They were intended to give readers the same kind of pleasure that we ourselves derive from a good comedy, a good novel, or a witty article. They present their author to us as in close personal contact with the social life of the day. Mainly in Rome, but occasionally in his new country home, Horace is at once an amused spectator, a light-hearted actor in the human drama, and a genial critic of infirmities, follies, and vices, not a few of which become distressingly apparent to him as he turns to glance at his own picture in the glass. So far are these social sketches from being a vehicle for moral indignation, that, as anyone will testify who is familiar with Horace's rich gallery of caricatures, they bubble over with raillery and fun. For it is not by the intrinsic wickedness of vice that their author is moved to mild reproof. It is by its coarse vulgarity, its short-sightedness, its woeful lack of sense. The appeal of the satirist is not to men's consciences, but to the external standard set by honour and 'good form' as embodied in the ideal *urbanus* or well-bred man of the world. This point of view may not be that of our own day. But we may doubt if it be possible to enjoy Horace quite as he meant to be enjoyed, unless we are content to measure his morality by the Roman standard of his age. And we do that age no grave injustice when we limit its normal ideas of virtue, at any rate in the capital itself, to the exercise of a prudent moderation in vice.

Some five years intervened between the publication of the first ten satires, in about B.C. 35, and of the eight others which succeeded them. The two sets enable us to follow Horace in his literary progress, and they reveal to us an illuminating contrast. In the earlier set the writer is already the publicly recognised friend of Maecenas, whom he had been invited to accompany on his mission to Brundusium, but he has not yet received from him the gift which was to prove the delight and joy of his life, namely, the farm on the Sabine hills. We see him as still a literary aspirant, forging his way amid a host of enemies, rivals, and detractors, whom he is anxious to conciliate and smooth down. Outside his great patron's circle few people seem to have a good word for him. To some he is a malicious lampooner, to others an impudent belittler of his famous forerunner and professed model, Lucilius; to all a slave-born upstart, a literary adventurer who has now by some incomprehensible freak of fortune found or forced his way into the most exclusive house in Rome.

And already there may be seen emerging into light the two sides of Horace's character. He loves good society, and, at the

[18] II. *Sat.* i. 30.

same time, he loves solitary meditation. After a light breakfast he lies in his room till past nine reading, writing, thinking. He is master of his own time. He strolls about Rome looking at the shops, asking prices, listening, not without real curiosity and interest, to the quack fortune-tellers of the market-place. He is poor, but not in actual want. He can afford, for example, to humour his fancy for a change of air by jogging off on his bob-tailed mule to Tibur or to Tarentum. For the attractions of birth, wealth, place, or title he does not greatly care. The things that he does value are character, moral independence, friendships with prominent men, and sound health. For all vulgar pushing snobs, social limpets, and literary impostors he feels the most profound contempt. Free from the baser vices, and anxious to correct the more venial ones to which he so unreservedly pleads guilty, he is continually taking counsel with himself, reviewing his life, studying books, taking his moral temperature, listening to the 'candid friend,' trying to win the affection and approbation of those whose reputation and standing make their affection and approbation worth the winning.[13]

In the later set of satires we find that there has been a great advance all along the line. Horace is getting on for five-and-thirty. His probationary period is now over. To use a familiar colloquialism, he has 'arrived.' He writes and criticises with a tone of authority, and as one who occupies a recognised literary position. A devout believer in the gospel of facts, he is coming round to a loyal confidence in the head of the State, and even wishes himself an epic poet that he might the more worthily sing Caesar's praises. Always eager to conciliate, he has dropped the personalities of his early style, and has thrown his compositions into a semi-dramatic mould. Years of study—including a study of the great Greek comedians—the sunshine of success, the sense of pecuniary independence, the mellowing and refining influence of surroundings both socially and intellectually congenial, have combined to bring about a great change in him, and have raised to an extraordinary degree the level of his literary art. On the other hand, his increasing intimacy with Maecenas has proved to be in some ways a real and serious hindrance to his work. He has become a power in Rome, an envied and much-pestered man.[14] What with gossip-mongers teasing him for confidential information, sycophants waylaying him for favours, and place-hunters for the use of his growing influence, he can no longer call his soul his own. He has lost all that privacy and leisure which his sensitive nature needed for meditation, study, and composition. His patron, Maecenas, appreciating to the full the significance of these vexations, has behaved with his accustomed generosity. Less than

thirty miles from Rome, on the banks of the Digentia, crowned by Mount Lucretilis, in the heart of the quiet Sabine uplands, and within easy access of his beloved Tibur, he has found for his friend a delightful hermitage, a compact little farm, producing olives, corn and wine, where he can be alone with his books, and with his more sympathetic associates. This welcome refuge was destined to become to the poet what Rydal Mount was to Wordsworth, or what Farringford was to Tennyson. And for the future we shall find Horace combining the rôles of town-mouse and country-mouse in one.[15]

With the publication of this second book of satires in B.C. 30-29, our poet had risen to a literary position in Rome second only to that occupied by Virgil. A few years more and we shall find him returning once again to his 'discourses.' For, in respect of form, the epistles are only the satires softened down and made more graceful, and more musical in their rhythm, by the formative influence of those Greek masters of the lyre to whom he had been devoting so much time and study. The epistolatory form seems to have been an original device of Horace's later middle-age for keeping in touch with old friends away from Rome, and with the rising stars of literature. To satires and epistles alike he gives the same title, namely 'talks' or conversations.

Between the publication of the satires and of the earlier epistles there intervened a period of several years. A great national work had opened out before him, and, with all the auspices in his favour, he threw into the composition of the first three books of his odes the full strength of his maturing genius and all the joyousness of his mountain home.[16]

While our genial satirist had been living as a man-about-town and ministering to the enjoyment of his aristocratic audience, Octavian had been busying himself with the suppression of his rivals in the momentous struggle for supreme power. Bent upon consolidating his grip upon the West, he had confided to Maecenas, his confidential minister, the part of temporary watch-dog in the capital. There remained the Eastern peril, the inevitable collision with Antony. At the time, however, when Horace, in the quiet of the Sabine hills, was setting vigorously to work to become the Laureate of Rome and 'minstrel of the Latin lyre,' the battle of Actium and the fall of Alexandria (B.C. 31-30) had brought the long and terrible years of suspense and misery to an end, and there was now a universal yearning for peace and quiet. The dread spectre of Cleopatra, of an Orientalised West with an Egyptian Queen offering incense to Isis on the Capitol, was laid, and laid for ever. The ninth epode, and the thirty-seventh ode

[15] II. *Sat.* vi. 79.

[16] I. *Odes* i. 30; III. iv. 21.

of the first book, were written, the one in anticipation and the other in celebration of a victory which had sent a thrill of joy and thankfulness through Italy. At last there seemed to be an end to turbulence and faction and cold-blooded murders. It was with the glow in his veins of the reformation—moral, religious, legal, and aesthetic—which Augustus and Maecenas had long designed, and were now free to inaugurate, that Horace embarked upon his great work. It was Greece which had drawn him long ago from Rome to Athens. It was the early fascination for him of Greek literature which in Athens had, as he tells us, all but made of him a fifth-rate Greek poet. At the meridian of his powers he now returned to his early love. He had learnt to recognise in Augustus a ruler of supreme political genius, and the only possible saviour of society. He was eager, therefore, to play the part which Augustus pressed upon him, and to give a poet's advocacy to his policy. He would be the Alcaeus of Rome. He would be the first to sing lyric odes to her in her own native tongue, and so to handle the intractable ore of the Latin language that it might run freely in the metrical moulds framed by the splendid inspiration of a Sappho, a Pindar, or an Anacreon. The world knows well with what amazing skill he overcame the inherent technical difficulties of his task. But on this great 'monument more imperishable than bronze' we have not now the space to dwell.

The precise date at which the first three books of the odes were published is uncertain. But inasmuch as the first of the epistles, dedicated to Maecenas, indicates a considerable interval between the appearance of the odes and of the collection at whose head it stands, it is safe to assume that Horace devoted, at the very least, some seven years to his lyrical labours. It remains now to indicate briefly the distribution of his later works over the remaining period of his literary life.

Our poet was well over forty years of age when Maecenas, to whom he had addressed no fewer than eight of his odes, four of his epodes, and two of his satires, appears to have pressed him to take up poetry once more, and to give the world a fresh series of lyrics. The dedicatory Epistle[11] which introduces the first book is Horace's reply. He must beg off. The years are passing; his mood has changed; his singing days lie behind him. 'I am putting away poetry,' he says, 'with my other playthings, "caetera ludicra," and devoting myself wholly to the study of the principles of moral action.' Inspiration and imagination have begun to flag with him. He is feeling weary of the long strain involved in the imitation of Greek models and the wrestling with metrical difficulties. It is time to take life more seriously. He wants not to sing, but to think. Here, as elsewhere, Horace

may probably be half concealing himself behind the irony which is part and parcel of his nature.[18] It is all very well for him to dismiss his odes as just so much playful trifling. But they include some of his most earnest and loftiest utterances. They had cost him the best and happiest years of his life. He was justly content to base upon them his proud assurance of immortality. Nothing, for example, can be less fanciful or more genuine than are his songs of friendship, or than the noble odes of Book III., which have for their theme those moral excellences that had made Rome great in the brave days of old. On the other hand, it is no doubt true that the odes, as a whole, are the offspring of an imaginative inspiration which Horace describes as the spirit of play (*ludere*). He aims less in them at any deep philosophy of life than at literary loveliness and charm. So frequent is their change of key, so studied the modulation in their arrangement, 'from grave to gay, from lively to severe,' that the one object which their composer seems always to have before him is to catch all humours and to charm them all.

Dipping at random into his earlier lyrics, we find ourselves translated into a kind of fairy paradise of gaiety and unreason. 'Of temper amorous as the first of May,' 'luting and fluting' fantastic tendernesses, our poet hymns in them the praises of Falernian revelry, of rose-wreaths and lovely nymphs, and feasts our senses with all the rich wonderland of Pan.

> Wer nicht liebt Wein, Weib und Gesang,
> Der bleibt ein Narr sein Leben lang.[19]

But this muse of jollity and frolic is with Horace only one muse among many, and as we read on we become conscious in each of the successive books of his odes of an increasing gravity and dignity, a growing and public-spirited seriousness of purpose, not unmingled even in Book I. with an undertone of sadness. The truth is that the two sides of Horace's emotional temperament, his gaiety and his seriousness, exercise their joint influence over almost all his writings, and any attempt to portion them off into water-tight literary compartments and periods, each labelled with its appropriate date and legend, is apt to lead into a complete misapprehension of him.

To say this, however, is not to say that in his excuses to Maecenas he was deliberately and consciously insincere, for from the outset of his literary career he had never been without his thoughtful and reflective side. When he began to devote himself to lyric poetry he was already a middle-aged man. In the loftiest sense of inspiration he had never been an inspired and spontaneous singer, for his lack of enthusiasm and his unemotional

[18] II. *Sat.* vi. 54. 'Ut tu semper eris derisor.'
[19] From lines ascribed to Luther.

temperament were alien to any high poetic passion. Nor was the materialistic age in which he lived one to set a singer's heart on fire, or to kindle in his breast the splendid aspirations of religion, love, or patriotism. Horace knows quite well that the eagle-flights of a Pindar are beyond him. His genius is not creative. He is a highly gifted artist, a busy Matine bee, moulding and fashioning his material by strenuous work.[30] It is not, therefore, surprising that after several years of such work, and hampered by the increasing failure of his health, he should begin to tire of it all, and should be minded to put his lyre away and to go back, with a matured experience of men and things, to those old problems in which, ever since his university days, he had felt an abiding interest—the problems of human life and conduct.

But the Horace of the epistles is still at heart the Horace of the satires. The difference arises from the fact that he is an older man, no longer in the exuberant spirits of past years, riper in thought and feeling, more perfect in literary grace and ease, more kindly, more refined, more persistently purposeful. It is in the epistles that we get the most faithful revelation of Horace himself as distinct from Horace the onlooker and the author; and where else can so pleasing a picture be found? It is in the epistles, too, that we pass beyond a mere external reformation of manners to a call for an inner purification of the heart. This, as Horace saw clearly enough, was what the age so urgently and desperately needed. Rome had been built up on character. 'Moribus antiquis stat res Romana virisque'—thus ran the famous line of Ennius, one of the oldest of her poets. With the degeneration of character had come moral ruin. The old robustness and virility which had marked the great days of the Republic had been undermined by prosperity and self-indulgence. In the renovation of character lay the one hope of her salvation.

But where was the needful moral leverage to be found? Whence was to come the impetus of a new enthusiasm and of a new life? Horace, who, though justly proud of his intellectual gifts, had no great opinion of his strength of character, made a brave show of finding a moral fulcrum in philosophy, in the 'verba et voces' of the best and wisest writers, and in the teaching of life by example. But, when it came to curing himself with his own prescriptions, he makes no pretence of concealing his deep disappointment.[31] Philosophy might convince the head. It could neither capture the heart nor brace the vacillating and wayward will. To teach the world that common-sense is on the side of virtue is doubtless very comfortable doctrine for the easy-going man of average morals, but it avails nothing in the hour of

[30] IV. *Od.* ii. 25. [31] I. *Ep.* viii. and xv. ad finem.

temptation. It is powerless to reclaim the drunkard or to reform the thief. For the real secret of life is neither pleasure, nor the golden mean, nor any form of intellectual or moral equipoise and serenity, but self-surrender and service. The Roman society in which Horace lived so much of his life, about which he wrote, and over which he pondered, was a society on which not even a Savonarola could have made any great permanent impression. Political freedom was dead. The old religious spirit was dead. Oratory was dead also. To one who could look beneath the surface Rome had become a mere gilded cage of restless and aimless discontent. On one side were men of baulked political ambitions, men impatient of restraint and needing the moral opiate of a listless Epicureanism, while on the other side surged a host of newly enriched and pushful snobs; here a miser, there a spendthrift; at the street-corner some Stoic preacher of righteousness, and among his listeners some irredeemable debauchee; everywhere a self-indulgent materialism, a money-mad, superstition-haunted, cruel, uncharitable world: a world of mingled sadness and frivolity, indifference and earnestness, sensuality and satiety, credulity and scepticism: a world empty of hope, weary at heart, sick and loveless. Such was Horace's Rome, and it is in such terms as these that he sums it up:

> What has not cankering Time made worse?
> Viler than grandsires, sires beget
> Ourselves, yet baser, soon to curse
> The world with offspring baser yet.[22]

The first book of epistles was probably published about B.C. 20, when Horace was some forty-five years of age. The beautiful epistle to his friend Florus, an ambitious young man of letters,[23] seems intended to repeat to the rising generation the determination which, as we have already seen, the poet had recently conveyed to Maecenas. In point of date this epistle follows closely upon Book I. His resolution, however, was destined before long to give way to a pressure which even he could not resist. Some two years later, in B.C. 17, Horace, as Poet Laureate, received Caesar's commands to compose the *Carmen Seculare*, a religious ode which was to be officially sung at the celebration of the secular games in the capital. It was also under personal pressure from the Emperor that the fourth book of odes was composed, one of its chief objects being to commemorate the victories won by the Emperor's two stepsons, Drusus and Tiberius, in Raetia and Vindelicia (IV. *Odes* iv. and xiv.).

In the *Ars Poetica*, the date of which remains uncertain, and also in the *Epistle to Augustus* (B.C. 13) the writer returns to the subject which had engaged his pen in II. *Sat.* i.—namely, the

[22] III. *Od.* vi. 45 (Conington). [23] II. *Ep.* ii.

criticism of Latin literature, and offers in addition a few kindly hints to budding authors, full of his inexhaustible good sense, and of his jealousy for the high claims and dignity of Literature. If Suetonius is right the epistle in question must have been written in reply to a somewhat angry remonstrance which Augustus had sent to his laureate, with whom, nevertheless, he lived on the most friendly terms, after reading his newly published volume. 'I am much annoyed with you because in what you write of this kind you address yourself to me. Are you afraid then that intimacy with me will be set down to your discredit in years to come?'

But neither his love for Maecenas nor his respect for his political lord and master could ever induce the poet to abate one jot of his moral independence and liberty. And it redounds greatly to the Emperor's credit that he bore the poet no resentment. This letter to Augustus is very possibly the last one that Horace ever wrote, and with the one to Florus and the *Ars Poetica* it ranks, in the opinion of a judge so fastidious as Mommsen, as one of the three 'most graceful and delightful works in all Roman literature.'

With these literary epistles Horace's work as an author was ended. On the 27th of November, B.C. 8, after a sudden and brief illness, he died, and his body was buried in the grounds of the famous Esquiline mansion, near the grave of its lamented owner, his 'dear knight Maecenas.'

The prophecy of the ode addressed by Horace to his patron nearly twenty years earlier had come all but literally true:

Ah, if untimely fate should snatch thee hence,
Thee, of my soul a part,
Why should I linger on, with deadened sense
And ever aching heart,
A worthless fragment of a fallen shrine?
No, no; one day shall see thy death and mine.

Think not that I have sworn a bootless oath.
Yes, we shall go, shall go,
Hand linked in hand, whene'er thou leadest, both
The last sad road below.

Odes II. xvii. (Martin).

H. W. Hamilton-Hoare.

THE SUBMERGED SUBALTERN

During the autumn of the past year, when discussion was hot on the railway strike question, and on the use of troops in connexion with it, the British officer was described by a leading Labour politician as a representative of the capitalist class. The conceit is delightful. Flashes of humour come so rarely from the quarter where this one was generated that their effect is all the more vivid when they are discharged. The British officer a capitalist! The subaltern, indeed, with whom this paper is concerned, and who was the officer most conspicuous on strike duty, may be said to have some connexion with capital, but if so, it is through the medium of his tailor's bill, or, in bad cases, through the claims of a moneylender. For who is he, and what is his origin? The subalterns have for parents, at the time of their early service, officers, serving or retired, of the Army and Navy, Civil servants, serving or retired, professional men, clergymen, widows in poor circumstances, etc. Occasionally they have no parents, and in quite exceptional instances are the sons of men of means. They are paid at a rate which, if they belonged to a trade union, would very soon cause them to lay down tools and come out, a form of amusement denied to them, and they are saddled with unavoidable expenses which eat up their pay, and leave a margin to be made good by parents and relatives 'rom their own generally narrow resources.

How far this statement is well founded, an examination of the ubaltern's monthly budget will show. Taking as postulates 1) that we are dealing with a month of thirty days, and (2) that he officers concerned belong to the infantry, we have the follow-ng result:

On the credit side we have, according as the officer is a ieutenant or a second lieutenant, *9l. 15s.* or *7l. 17s. 6d.*, which ums represent the monthly pay. On the other side comes, first, he principal item of expenditure, the mess bill. And here it may e observed that every subscription, every regimental bill, and very sum of money collected from an officer at his station must ass through his mess bill, so that it can be generally assumed that iere should be no charges of a general or public nature which do

not appear in it. The mess bill is made up of the items which follow, most of which require in turn some little explanation.

First comes the messing charge. Every officer, unless married and allowed to live out of mess, is a dining member, and pays his share of the messing. If he is absent on duty or leave for more than three days, he does not pay during the time of his absence, but otherwise he pays, whether he is present in mess or not. The messing charge, including early tea and afternoon tea, may be taken at *4s. 6d.* per diem. It may be more; it is seldom less. It may be observed here that good and sufficient feeding is essential to the development of the young officer. Of recent years attention has been given, rightly and with satisfactory results, to the feeding of the young soldier, in order to build up his frame, to fit him for the severe physical exertion he has to undergo, and to counteract any inclination to excess in drinking or smoking. On exactly the same grounds the subaltern needs similar consideration. His messing for the month will, therefore, come to *6l. 15s.* Next come the charges for wine, etc., and for tobacco, in whatever form it is burned, in which is included the provision of these luxuries to private guests. Most young officers are very moderate in such matters, but unless they neither drink nor smoke, they do not escape without running up a small account, especially if there are several guest nights in the month. An ordinary wine bill would not be less than *2l.* Then follow such charges as extra messing (for guests or for extras obtained from the mess—*e.g.* after night operations, etc.); mess guests, *i.e.* those invited in the name of the colonel and officers, generally making a large monthly amount for division; the regulated monthly subscription graduated according to rank; any other mess maintenance subscription which may be customary in the corps; the monthly charge for newspapers and stationery; charges for cards and billiards; subscriptions to recreation funds; any other subscription the officer has put his name down for; charges made against him from the regimental workshops, for postage, etc., and for any other matter for which he has rendered himself liable. A charge of *5s.* a month will also be made for hire of mess and barrack-room furniture.

The mess bill, for the subaltern of moderate habits—and nowadays few officers are inclined to be immoderate—and of average disposition as regards economy, will amount to about *11l. 10s.* in normal months in which no special subscriptions or charges are included. It is possible for an officer to keep his bill as low as about *8l. 10s.* by great self-denial and by abstaining from drink and tobacco in every form, and also by not subscribing to anything not compulsory. It requires much character for a young officer to live in a mess in such circumstances, and

particularly to maintain his self-denial when he is assisting to entertain mess guests. It may also have a disadvantageous effect on his prospects in the Service if he does not join in sports, etc., with other officers. Anyhow, it is not very often that an officer so self-controlled is found amongst the young subalterns.

But, having paid his mess bill, whether it is 11*l.* 10*s.* or 8*l.* 10*s.*, (and there is no escaping the payment, which must be made by the fifth of the succeeding month), the young officer has still some regular monthly charges to meet. His servant is by regulation entitled to 10*s.* Most officers give more than that amount; but let us assume the charge to be that allowed. Then come washing, 1*l.*, servant's account for various sums spent during the month, say, 10*s.*, and servant's plain clothes and livery, averaging a charge of 10*s.* per mensem. These items make a total of 2*l.* 10*s.*, and with the mess bill we have accounted for a sum of 11*l.* in the case of the abstaining officer, and 14*l.* in that of the average subaltern. Comparing the expenditure with the credits shown above of 9*l.* 15*s.* or 7*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*, we find that the second lieutenant is already from 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* to 6*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, and the lieutenant from 1*l.* 5*s.* to 4*l.* 5*s.*, to the bad on his month's pay.

Considering now his finances on an annual basis, and leaving out the small difference, disadvantageous to the officer, of accounting for thirty-one-day months, we find that in the year the abstemious second lieutenant is 37*l.* 10*s.* to the bad, the lieutenant 15*l.*, whilst the average second lieutenant's deficiency is 73*l.* 10*s.* and the lieutenant's 51*l.* In arriving at this estimate I have endeavoured to be strictly fair, and not to put any fancy value on any of the items mentioned. On the other hand, the reader must understand that the figures represent normal expenditure, and that within the year it is safe to assume that one or two months will be abnormal, by which term a considerable increase in charges must be understood. Thus a regimental entertainment (a dance, 'at home,' or sports) will increase materially the monthly charge, as also will manœuvres, camps, division and brigade training, when extra expenses are thrown on the mess in the form of transport of food and of collecting it in new areas. There are also certain charges in the form of subscriptions to regimental charities, to military charities generally, to bazaars and entertainments in aid of military charitable undertakings, which occur at certain seasons of the year and are outside of the normal mess bills.

It is plain from the foregoing figures that a subaltern at home cannot live on his pay, and, indeed, that is generally understood. Practically all subalterns are in receipt of an allowance from their parents or guardians, and 100*l.* per annum may be regarded as the sum most commonly given. Some officers have more; a con-

siderable number, it is to be feared, have to strive to make two widely separated ends meet on less. Taking 100*l*. per annum as the average allowance, and applying that sum to the adverse balance brought down by our calculations above, we find that a second lieutenant is left with from 26*l*. 10*s*. to 62*l*. 10*s*., and a lieutenant with 49*l*. to 85*l*., after defraying his current monthly expenses. With this balance the subaltern must provide for not only the extra charges in abnormal months, but also all such matters as plain clothes, uniform, boots, underclothing, travelling, sports and entertainments (other than those provided for through the mess), and all the many items on account of which an officer's hand has to seek his pocket or his cheque-book. As regards clothing, a subaltern's duties are very hard upon uniform and boots. Marching, bivouacking, and camping are responsible for the wear and destruction of all articles of clothing and equipment, as well as of underclothing, and the annual training lays on every officer a material burden of expense. Officers, moreover, are expected to be well dressed, both in uniform and in plain clothes, and tailoring will be found to run away with the greater part of their available margin. It is needless to enlarge upon the calls which are made upon the small balance left. They come from every direction with an insistence which is irresistible, and before the officer has time to realise it, he finds himself under water. It should be observed that the balance remaining to an officer, after liquidating current charges, will in the vast majority of cases approximate to the lower of the sums mentioned before; for to obtain the higher margin he must practically sever himself from all the amusements and recreations of his companions, and must, moreover, risk injury to his regimental and service prospects.

The subaltern has so far been assumed to belong to a line regiment. There are, however, certain infantry regiments of a select or special character in which the expenses are considerably higher than in the average regiment. In such corps the allowances to officers must be correspondingly greater, and the net result is probably the same, an equivalent amount being added to each side of the account. In the cavalry the expenses are great, and can only be faced by those who can expect a large allowance. The artillery and engineers, on the other hand, are mostly distributed in small messes, and, contrary to all theory, the actual messing charges in small messes are generally distinctly less than in large messes, whilst the entertaining and other subscriptions are on a much lower scale. Where, however, officers of artillery and engineers are in large messes the expenses are much the same as in the line messes. The officers, however, of the engineers and of the garrison artillery are

better paid than infantry officers, though probably their allowances are less. The field-artillery subaltern is only slightly better paid than his infantry brother, and he has some considerable additional expense thrown on him on account of being mounted, and having to pay and clothe a groom.

It would be easy to enlarge upon the calls made upon officers in general, but enough has been said to make it clear that the average subaltern with an allowance of 100*l*. per annum, after he has met the claims which are compulsory, as well as those from which in practice he cannot escape, is left with, if any balance at all, one microscopically small; and that his position is very much worse than that of the private soldier, who, with proficiency pay, can count on receiving from 5*s*. to 10*s*. a week after all his expenses are paid. The officer, indeed, if of Spartan habits, may keep his head above water, but the ordinary subaltern, lively, active, untrained in habits of abstention, unaccustomed to manage a narrow income, is only too likely to fall, and, in fact, does almost consistently fall into a position from which escape is difficult and often impossible.

The subalterns of the Army serving at home and in the Mediterranean may be divided into three classes:

(1) Those with their heads above water in all weather.

(2) Those with their noses above water in calm weather, but from time to time washed by any passing storm, coming up again when the surface is calm, spluttering and exhausted.

(3) Those hopelessly immersed and beyond resuscitation from any efforts of their own.

Any attempt to assign the proportion of officers serving to each of these classes would obviously be the merest guesswork, and it is only as guesswork that I estimate that over 75 per cent. of the subalterns will be found in classes (2) and (3), and that of those in class (2) a large number require only a little extra heavy weather to qualify them for transfer to class (3); whilst every one in class (2), unless obtaining relief in one or other direction, must eventually pass to class (3). If this estimate has any claim to be even approximately correct, there must be some evidence of the state of affairs. An officer cannot remain below water in his finances without giving some indication. His liabilities must set him in motion in one direction or another. And, in effect, they do move him. There is a constant flowing tide carrying the young officers of the Army away from their corps at home. Some, the more fortunate ones, get appointments at home, in the Colonies, in the Egyptian Army or elsewhere; some go to their foreign units; many take a tour to the West Coast of Africa, that Alsatia of capitalists with an adverse balance; some go to the East Coast; some to other parts of the world; and some leave

their corps for good, to start life afresh in the Colonies or at home with little equipment, material or mental, for their new undertaking; whilst a remnant disappear altogether into a lower stratum of society. The public are ignorant of this great movement, which never comes before their notice except in the case of those gazetted out of the Service. When they read in the papers that Lieutenant Blank has been selected for appointment to some distinguished African corps, they are ignorant of the qualifications which have gained him that distinction, and that he is seeking the regions of the tropics not because he finds the British Isles too cold for him, but for exactly the opposite reason.

No doubt the greater number of the officers who thus migrate from their corps at home and in the Mediterranean are not lost to the Service, and probably return some day to the fold they have left. But they are removed for the time from the most important part of the regular army, the expeditionary force; if they return it is probably with discontented spirits and with lowered health, and, on the whole, the country is undoubtedly a loser through the misfortunes of its youngest servants. And it would be the greatest mistake to regard them as criminals or wasters, or men of no parts. They represent generally the activity, the high spirits, the initiative which go to make the best qualities in an officer. They have passed out of bounds because their environment has been found too narrow. Surely they are worth saving.

But from what direction is salvation to come? No remedies which are within reach will make the subaltern's position impregnable. The influences which affect an officer's attitude towards questions of expenditure lie too deep-rooted in regimental tradition, regimental customs and in the circumstances of his daily life to be brought under control by ordinary methods. It has been shown, for example, that an officer, if a rigid abstainer, and if he takes no part in voluntary subscriptions or in recreations, can live on his pay and a moderate allowance. Is the country prepared to see the subaltern, as we now know him, converted into such an ascetic, and if this conversion were possible, would the Service be benefited by it? It is, however, mere waste of time to contemplate a reform which it would take something like a miracle to effect. A solution of the expense question in this direction is neither possible nor is it to be desired.

The revision of the pay of the junior regimental officers is a subject upon which a vast expenditure of ink and paper has been incurred for years past without producing any result. And yet no one denies that the subaltern is inadequately paid. What he receives is not only no living wage; it is not a living wage when supplemented by such allowance as can be called reasonable.

Within the last hundred years everything has changed for him except his rate of pay. He is no longer the man of means and of leisure that he was in purchase days, and when the Army was much smaller. His expenses have increased, as well as his work and responsibilities, and at the same time the ability of parents and guardians to make large allowances has disappeared. In some way or other an improvement in the conditions of service as affecting his financial position is imperative. There is absolutely nothing to be urged against it except the cost to the country. That argument had some force when there were from five to ten candidates for every commission offered, but to-day when there is rarely more than one candidate forthcoming for every commission, and when boys have been admitted to cadetships even for the artillery and engineers without examination and without selection, it falls to the ground. A decade ago, when this matter was much before the public, some steps were taken to reduce the subaltern's expenses. He was relieved of band subscriptions, his uniform was simplified, and some of his adornments were removed (not altogether to his satisfaction nor to the benefit of his pocket), and in other ways attempts were made to curtail expenditure in messes. On the whole he benefited by the alterations carried out, but the net reduction of expenditure was small. Some of the salutary measures adopted then have gradually fallen into disuse; some have been outmanœuvred by strategical means easy of application to any regulation, and, in general, regimental expenses have recovered from the temporary check they experienced ten years ago. When the number of vacancies in the commissioned ranks exceeds the number of candidates for the Army, this question of the subaltern's expenses must be handled seriously, if it is not touched till then. Many schemes, no doubt, for helping the officer without great cost to the State will be considered. The War Office might, for example, copy the Admiralty, and make an allowance to subalterns on account of messing, as, I believe, is done in certain naval messes on shore. A subaltern might have such an allowance as would reduce his actual messing charge to 2*s*. per diem. This would diminish the mess bill by 3*l*. to 3*l*. 15*s*. in a thirty-day month, and would be a great help to the young officer. It would at the same time add no very heavy burden to the estimates, more particularly if some experts were commissioned to examine the charges for messing in all officers' messes, and to report how far value for the money expended was obtained. It is quite probable that with expert supervision the messing might be vastly improved with advantage to officers' pockets, or, in this case, to the coffers of the State. Such a concession to officers represents a very small boon, and if proffered at a time when candidates were not forth[illegible] it might [illegible]

regarded as inadequate, and a considerable increase in pay might then be the only means of stopping the gap.

But whatever means may be adopted, now or in the future, to better the subaltern's position, money alone, let it be granted in what form it may, will never rescue him from the difficulties which are at present the means of driving him from the ranks of the home army. Whatever sum may be added to his emoluments, it will be swallowed up at once by the innumerable harpies that swarm round every garrison town, into whose hands regimental tradition is only too ready to play. These harpies, it is true, deal in wares for the most part innocent and even desirable, but they come in such numbers as to produce an effect that is overwhelming. The young officer nowadays is fortunately no idle man. His duties keep him well occupied. But he has some spare time, and during that time every form of recreation, sport, and entertainment is not only offered to him, but is practically forced down his throat at the point of the bayonet. It is much to be desired that officers, to whom physical prowess is an important qualification, should be proficient in outdoor sports and recreations; but when they are encouraged to join in cricket, lawn tennis, hockey, football, racquets, squash, as well as to hunt, shoot, and fish, it is obvious that a serious attack on their finances will be the result. It is true that all these recreations and sports can be enjoyed by an officer, by means of regimental subscriptions, at a much less cost than by civilians; but therein lies a danger. They are so advantageously placed before him that he feels it is throwing away money not to make use of his opportunities. And the outfit alone probably eats up more than the remnants of his allowance.

Again, an officer is a victim to subscriptions in a way that is quite unknown to members of other professions, and all in aid of good and deserving objects. There are subscriptions to regimental charities and institutions, to the numerous great military charities, to special objects of general or local interest, and to others too numerous to detail. A mess is rarely without a subscription list of some sort. Those interested in charities and public objects of subscription regard it as a specially desirable orchard to rob. Subscriptions are collected without any trouble, and if they can only get the commanding officer to put some pressure on the subordinates, or even to head the subscription list himself, everything will go right. The fate of the subaltern is indifferent to them so long as they get their own interest benefited.

In the way of social intercourse and entertainment much is demanded of the subaltern. Every garrison is a centre of attraction, which draws to itself all the floating population not definitely

tied to other localities. No doubt the positive electricity generated by large concentrations of young men produces by induction an equivalent amount of negative electricity in female form in the immediate neighbourhood. At any rate, whatever the cause, the facts are plain. And where large numbers of residents are found, as in practically all garrison towns, the regimental mess is not unnaturally regarded as the centre round which all social functions revolve. Residents quite frankly believe that officers' messes are sent into their towns with the object of making an agreeable diversion for their benefit, and if this duty is neglected, it is obvious that the most important interests of the State are suffering. From the officers' point of view it would be churlish, unnatural, and, indeed, unwise to ignore all the offers of social intercourse and entertainment open to them. But here, again, come in calls on their pockets.

Lastly may be mentioned, among other expenses, that a subaltern may have a London club to subscribe to, and also that he may be a member of one or more of those most important institutions, the Royal United Service, the R.A., the R.E., the Royal Geographical Society, etc., all of which are of great value to him professionally; and that he will probably be expected to attend his annual regimental dinner in London.

Anyone considering this table of expenditure, which is by no means exhaustive, will understand how necessary it is that the young officer should be saved, not only from his friends, but also from himself, and at the same time how difficult it is to encompass his rescue. It will be clear also that a mere addition to his pay will effect little.

It will probably be argued that all subscriptions, except the one regulation mess subscription, all entertainments, and all games and sports are purely voluntary, and that the subaltern need not put his hand in his pocket for any of them. It is quite true that all these matters are voluntary. So is the march of the condemned criminal from his cell to the gallows voluntary. He knows what the public expect of him, and he does it. And in all matters involving expense the subaltern does what is expected of him, knowing full well that to be singular or to oppose by his action anything supported by senior officers is not only to make himself uncomfortable, but further to injure his prospects in his regiment.

If we assume that a subaltern has received such an addition to his pay as to make it possible for him to live on it when supplemented by a moderate allowance, then the first and most important requirement to keep him afloat is the active support and supervision of his commanding officer. Without such assistance his prospects are gloomy. The young officer joins his regi-

ment with no experience of the management of an income and with unbounded faith in its power to give him all that he wants. If he is not guided and checked he very early finds the water over his head. Commanding officers are men whose duties occupy fully their time, and who have little of it available for examining the mess accounts. But they cannot evade their responsibility for the future of the younger officers, towards whom they stand *in loco parentis*. It is hardly possible for any officer to get into difficulties without giving plenty of warning through his mess accounts; and it is very uncommon for an officer with a very moderate mess bill to be incurring serious liabilities outside. But even if that were the case, his action would not escape observation, if he were under the supervision of the commanding officer. When, as not uncommonly happens, a subaltern is brought up before his brigadier or division commander for reproof on account of his financial errors, and is regarded with black looks and harangued with severe words, he is generally only suffering for the neglect of his seniors, on whom the blame should really rest. If an officer who has been carefully supervised by his colonel, and subjected to all the checks which that officer has it within his power to apply, nevertheless gets himself involved in financial difficulties, then his case is indeed a bad one, and he is without the pale of those on account of whom this paper is written. The powers of the colonel in controlling young officers and in setting a good tone are very great, and when well exercised are quite equal to stopping any undue extravagance in his corps. There are colonels in the Service who fully recognise their responsibility towards the young officers, and who set a definite limit to the amount they are allowed to spend in the mess, particularly on luxuries, and at the same time encourage them to spend what they can afford in outdoor sports. In corps thus commanded the officer's lot is a happy one. He is brought up from the first in habits of economy, and he acquires a knowledge of how to manage his income which will help him throughout his career. It is perhaps as well that parents and guardians have no means of finding out the existence of these corps, or their commanding officers would be mobbed by those with sons and wards about to be commissioned. But they do exist, and in them there is no leakage produced by debt.

If this, by far the most important condition for the promotion of economy amongst subalterns, can be satisfied, a further help may be obtained through the systemization of all the irregular charges levied upon them in their mess bills, their subscriptions, sports, entertainments, etc. It has been observed that what the subaltern has to fear is heavy weather in the form of unexpected charges, and although those charges occur with

more or less regularity, yet the sanguine young officer does not look forward to them, and when they present themselves in bulk he is in danger of finding the water over him. The object should be by a regular monthly contribution to cover every form of expenditure which may be called for, so that at no time should the mess bill contain any charge in, so to speak, capital form. Taking first the subscriptions: all regimental and general military charities, which are very numerous and in many respects overlap each other, are in urgent need of co-ordination. In one or more commands a definite sum is contributed annually to the general military charities by the regimental institutes of each corps, and supplemented by officers' subscriptions. If this course were adopted by agreement throughout the Service, a very small monthly contribution would cover the subaltern's share. Another very small sum would provide for the regimental charities; and for any other subscription for local or special objects, and to find money for any purpose calling in ordinary course for contributions from officers, a third fund should be raised. The total sum under the heading of subscriptions should be graduated according to rank, and the subaltern's share would be covered by a very small monthly charge. The charge would, of course, be voluntary, and any officer not subscribing would, if he wished to support any particular object, have to do so independently.

After subscriptions come entertainments, and the charges connected with them. A dance or other large undertaking generally hits the subaltern hard, because it comes in one charge. If, however, a monthly subscription, graduated according to rank, were charged, entertainments could be provided for without any special call being made; in fact, entertainments on a large scale should only be allowed when the accumulated funds were sufficient to cover the cost. The subscription in the case of subalterns would not amount to more than two or three shillings a month. Officers not wishing to subscribe, if they took part in any entertainment, would pay their share in one sum.

Lastly come the subscriptions to recreations and sports. They would naturally be divided into two, or perhaps more, parts, one dealing with all the ordinary forms of recreation—cricket, football, hockey, lawn tennis, golf, racquets, etc., and affording officers the *entrée* to, and the right to play on, the grounds available; and the others with hunting, shooting, and any other sport available. Separate funds would be created for each form of sport, so that officers could subscribe to any one of them; but for the games one fund would probably cover all, except games of a more expensive nature, as polo, which should be worked by separate funds. Subscriptions to sports and recreations would not be

graduated, but would be the same for all ranks. They also would be voluntary.

The effect of dealing with the three great heads of a subaltern's expenditure in the way suggested would be that the average mess bill would be much lower than it now is, that it would be practically unvarying month by month, and that the officer would very soon know what he could afford to take up and what he must cut out. If, at the same time, commanding officers exercised pressure on their subalterns to keep down every item in the way of luxury, and everything unnecessary, and to devote their available funds to such matters as were likely to improve their physical efficiency and their qualifications as officers, the mess bills would be still more moderate. The subscriptions under the three headings discussed would in all amount to a very small total, and if the subaltern were encouraged by his colonel to take only those he could afford he would probably hardly feel the monthly cost.

But, I repeat once more, the important condition in all aspects of the question is the attitude of the commanding officer. If he is really interested in the matter his influence will be sufficient to ensure the success of the arrangements proposed, or of any others which may be thought better. He will soon instil into the budding officer a tone and a habit of mind towards these matters which will take root in his corps and catch all the officers, who are very quick to follow a lead, in its grip. Without his active and sympathetic support no scheme can be successful.

One difficulty remains to be considered. There are in many regiments one, or perhaps more, subalterns of considerable means, or who at least live as if they had no need to be anxious about their finances. Now, an officer living at a much higher rate than that which the others can afford is a great danger to his comrades, and in particular to the young subalterns. For the sake of the general good, it is absolutely necessary that one who can afford to do so should not spend in the mess, or in association with other officers, more than the average which they can afford; and a colonel is not only justified in insisting upon a subaltern so circumstanced limiting his mess bill, but it is his plain duty, in the interests of his officers, to do so. If an officer cannot so far control his expenditure as to comply with such restrictions, for everyone's sake it is best that he should leave. But there are many officers who have sufficient public spirit to subordinate their own inclinations to the general good of their corps, and when they appreciate the reasons for controlling their expenditure, they will, for the sake of serving in a distinguished regiment, deny themselves much to their own benefit. This, again, is a matter for the commanding officer, calling for such tact and leading as he can display.

These proposals for dealing with what is a serious evil may seem, and indeed are, trivial. But it must be remembered that the subaltern finds the water coming over his head in the first instance through trivial causes, which, if not attended to, eventually submerge him past recovery. And it is a matter of experience that where these trivial matters are attended to, as is the case in certain corps, the subalterns escape the fate which is that of so many. It is better to deal with evil by small measures at its source than to contrive large schemes for meeting it when it has taken charge.

J. K. TROTTER.

SECTARIAN UNIVERSITIES IN INDIA

An interesting and most remarkable movement has been started in India for the foundation of Hindu and Muhammadan Universities. The Muhammadans have eagerly taken up the idea of raising their college at Aligarh into a university. This college has been one of the most successful educational institutions in India, and has turned out some exceedingly useful men. I had myself, when in charge of the Central Provinces, opportunities of judging of the excellent character of some of the men produced at the Aligarh College. Especially in the time of the great famine at the end of last century, I had experience of the high character, sound training, and loyal devotion to duty which characterised the men who volunteered and were specially selected for famine work. At the same time, I cannot help feeling some regret at the proposal to form the College into a university, because this will separate it from the general educational system of the country, and tend to give it a sectarian character. There is no objection to having another good University: the objection is to its being sectarian. If the measure succeeds, and the university exercises control over a system of affiliated institutions, we cannot fail to have a narrower outlook for Muhammadan education than its best friends have hitherto endeavoured to give it.

Meantime the Hindus also have started a scheme for the foundation of a Hindu university in Benares. The objection to this is precisely the same as in the other case. There was a proposal many years ago to establish a Christian university; but it was abandoned. The principal reasons which influenced most men against the proposal were, that it was not desirable either to take students away from their own provincial surroundings and put them into a university, the whole environment of which was foreign, or to separate them in their conception of education from all those who differed with them on the subject of religion.

To have provincial universities is sound enough, but to have an Indian university seemed undesirable. It must be remembered that the provinces of India, though held together by the British Government, differ amongst themselves as much as the countries of Europe; and an Indian generally lives his life in his own province. It is surely desirable to train men in the locality

where they are to take their place in the battle of life and in the work of the world. It is neither reasonable to expect, nor is it desirable, that the student from Madras or from Bengal should go to Benares or Aligarh for a university education; and the proposal to establish a Christian university in one particular city of India was rejected for the same reason.

Another weighty argument against the proposal was that the life of the university ought not to be sectarian. It was held to be undesirable to educate in a narrow and exclusive atmosphere men who were intended to take an important place in life alongside of their fellow-countrymen. Many who had the strongest belief in the importance of religious education opposed the scheme for a Christian university on the ground that it was wrong to lead Christians to regard themselves as separate, in respect of the great interests of life, from those of other religions with whom and amongst whom they had to do their work. On the other hand, it was also considered most important to have the influence of Christianity maintained in relation to all classes of the people. It was a true-hearted faith in the worthiness of the creed that led men to reject the proposal that those already influenced by it should be segregated for education from, and prevented from meeting in their university life with, those who profess other creeds. The separatist policy was disapproved.

I do not myself believe in the wisdom of founding these sectarian institutions. By the time a man comes to university life he must know, and ought to know, something of the differences of religious belief that exist in his world, and ought at least then to begin an intelligent examination of the grounds of his own faith. Influences should undoubtedly be brought to bear upon him to maintain his religious faith and life; but it is a narrow system, and one which tends not to strength but to weakness, to segregate the young people of one religion and teach them apart. It is what one might expect from a timorous and shortsighted sectarianism.

It is, therefore, somewhat striking to see that the proposals to establish these Hindu and Muhammadan universities have been the occasion of a remarkable interchange of courtesies between the leaders on both sides. The Aga Khan, generally accepted as the Indian Muhammadan leader, telegraphed to the Maharajah Bahadur of Darbhanga congratulating him on the success which has attended the agitation in favour of a Hindu university. His Highness offered the Maharajah a donation of five thousand rupees to the scheme, and wished it success. The Maharajah, who is the great leader of orthodox Hindus and the head of the movement for the Hindu university, intimated in the name of the Hindu community their thankful acceptance of this

generous donation. He presented twenty thousand rupees as his own contribution 'to the cause of Muhammadan education,' and concluded with these words: 'Let us, both Hindus and Muhammadans, pray to God that we remain united with each other, steadfast too in our loyalty to our gracious sovereign, ever zealous in the cause of education, ever faithful to the respective creeds of our great ancestors.' To this the Aga Khan replied, 'I most sincerely and gratefully thank you for your generous donation. My greatest ambition is to see Hindus and Muslims love each other, and each help the faith of the other.'

Hinduism has always maintained a position of isolation in regard to other creeds. It has never been a proselytising creed; for Hinduism is a matter of birth or hereditary position. It is true that a tribe as a whole may be accepted into Hinduism, occupying the position of a low caste within that system; but no individual can enter into any caste except by birth and hereditary right. Muhammadanism, on the other hand, has always been recognised as a proselytising creed; and the correspondence above referred to cannot but be a matter of considerable surprise. There is no doubt whatever that the cordial co-operation it indicates is due to the strong feeling that exists among both Hindus and Muhammadans that purely secular education has been a very serious injury to the life of the rising generation in India. There is an earnest desire for religious education, which has found its expression in this demand for sectarian universities.

The religious college, though it also may be called in a sense sectarian, is not objectionable in the same way as the religious university; because, after all, it is the university that regulates the education; and while the sectarian college will bring its own religious influences to bear upon the students, it will still preserve the realisation of the fact that they have to enter into life in competition with, and have to study alongside of, students of other faiths. The breadth of the education is in this way secured. To establish a sectarian university will be a retrograde measure; and if that sectarian university aims at controlling the education of the adherents of its own creed throughout India, the result may well be expected to be disastrous to progress. It must tend to maintain narrowness of view, intolerance of character and religious antipathies.

The important point is that the university controls education in affiliated institutions. It maintains the standard of secular education. It stamps with its imprimatur what is good and successful in secular education. At the same time there is nothing in the constitution of the university system that necessarily prevents the training of students in morality and religion. The principles laid down by Government are in this respect perfectly

sound; but I believe that the demand for these sectarian universities has arisen from our failure in practice to deal effectively with the religious and moral training of the students. I do not think that the demand would ever have arisen had religious education not been so much handicapped, and in many cases rendered impossible, under the Government system of higher education as worked out in practice.

The Government system has failed, not because of its own defect, but because of defects in its application and administration. I suppose that there is no one in any country who does not realise that departmentalism can frustrate any policy if it is permitted uncontrolled to work out its own methods, and to obstruct anything that it does not accept as in accordance with its interests. This has been deplorably exemplified in the educational system of India. The Government policy has been one thing; but the departmental application of it has been far too much permitted to be something quite different. The policy laid down by the Despatch of 1854 was that Government should be entirely neutral in the matter of religion, but should assist with liberal grants-in-aid every sound educational institution without taking into account for the purposes of the grant any religious instruction given. It was a sound and suitable policy for India. Effective inspection was relied on to maintain the efficiency of these private institutions; but the inspectors were directed not to interfere with the religious instruction, not to give any grant in respect of it, and not to reduce any grant earned by secular education on account of the existence of religious instruction. The Government of India and local governments were directed to do their utmost to maintain and extend private effort in accordance with this system, and not to enter into competition with, or in any way discourage or obstruct, private institutions.

This policy was necessary, and was prescribed, on two grounds. The first is that the finances of India are inadequate to deal with the educational requirements without assistance from private liberality. I need not dwell on this here. The other is that the religious difficulty cannot otherwise be met. This policy has been again and again declared by the Government of India; and in Lord Curzon's resolution of 1904 it was anew emphasised. That resolution says: 'The progressive devolution of primary, secondary and collegiate education upon private enterprise, and the continuous withdrawal of Government from competition therewith, were recommended by the Education Commission in 1883; and the advice has been generally acted upon. But while accepting this policy, the Government at the same time recognise the extreme importance of the principle that in each branch of education Government should maintain a limited number of institutions

both as models for private enterprise to follow, and in order to uphold a high standard of education. In withdrawing from direct management, it is further essential that Government should retain a general control by means of efficient inspection over all public educational institutions.'

This is precisely the policy laid down in 1854. If it had been fully maintained, there is no doubt that the divorce of education from religion, which is now so bitterly complained of by Hindus and Muhammadans, as well as by Christians, would not have been so complete. It is often difficult for departmental officers to give full and generous recognition to the work done by agencies other than their own; and too little pressure has been brought to bear upon the Education Department to carry out fully the policy of the Government. It was the hope of many that this defect would be remedied by the appointment of a member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy in charge of education. This hope is not yet realised. There is at the present time, in certain quarters, a tendency all the other way. The Government of Madras have taken up the position that the 'limited number of institutions' to be maintained by Government means at least one for each district. They are, therefore, increasing the Government schools. Nowhere is this policy less called for than in Madras, where private effort has done more for education than perhaps in any other Province. The announcement of this intention has called forth earnest protests on behalf of many of those most interested in education in that Presidency. The non-official members of the Governor's Council have strongly protested against the change of policy, and secured from the Government a reluctant promise that no steps will be taken towards carrying it out until it has been submitted to the Member for Education in the Government of India.

The special fostering of Government institutions in India is particularly injurious to the interests of religion, which have now come to be regarded by people of all classes as of great importance. The feudatory chiefs and the great Muhammadan and Hindu associations, no less than Christians, have all combined to urge upon the Government of India the necessity for religious education. But it has been held to be impossible to provide religious education in Government institutions; and to seek to confine education mainly to them and so perpetuate a system of education which excludes religious instruction will be not only, in the opinion of most people, disastrous to the moral training and character of the rising generation, but will also be contrary to the wishes of the peoples of India themselves of all creeds and races. It is this strong sentiment in favour of religious education that has united Hindus and Muhammadans in their demand for sectarian univer-

sities. I sympathise with them; but I believe that they are not seeking the true remedy.

Let me endeavour to look at the proposal to establish a Hindu university from the Hindu point of view. This does not commit me to approval of the scheme: many Hindus oppose it. It is natural that the Brahmos, though they do not desire to be regarded as non-Hindus, should oppose a scheme, the main object of which seems to them to be to maintain those features of Hinduism which they have repudiated; and the principal Brahmo organ of Calcutta has pronounced against the scheme, as retrograde in character. Opposition is not confined, however, to such as these. Public meetings have been held, attended by orthodox Hindus, at which the proposal has been condemned. A typical resolution may be quoted: 'That this meeting is of opinion that the proposed Hindu university is not desirable in the best interests of the Indian people, as it is calculated to retard the national progress and to emphasise the present distinctions of caste.' This is the view of many influential Hindus, who believe in religious education and wish to arrange for it, but feel the necessity for a wider educational outlook than Hindu tradition and practice in themselves afford.

Some of the supporters of the scheme appeal to the patriotic and religious sentiment of the Hindus by proclaiming that they are restoring the old Indian system. But this is only to mislead. The old Tols Mutts and Sangams, in which the sacred writings and religion of the Hindus were taught, were no more like the modern university than were the monasteries of the middle ages. These Hindu institutions still exist, and can be visited with deep interest. They are certainly not at all like what the promoters of the present scheme desire, 'a Hindu university on modern lines.' It is true that we hardly know definitely the place that the Hindu religion is to have in the curriculum of the proposed university. Only one person of authority has said anything definite on the subject. He is the secretary of the Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, the great society for the maintenance and propagation of orthodox Hinduism. Of this society the president is the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga, the wealthiest and most influential of the promoters of the proposed university. The Secretary, in a letter to the *Hindu* of the 4th of December last, laid down certain general propositions regarding that university. Among these the following is significant: 'The faculty of Theology—the religious department of the university—should, of course, be under the control of Varnashrami Hindus.' That is to say, it should be controlled by those who desire to perpetuate the order and caste system of Hinduism.

If this is merely a description of a faculty separated from the rest of the life of the university, it may be regrettable, but need

not be disastrous to the influence of the progressive schools of Hindu thought. But if it is only such a faculty that is wanted, there is no necessity for a Hindu university. In Scotland we have four universities, every one of which has a faculty of theology, which in every case is Presbyterian. But the universities are not Presbyterian: they are not even Christian, in the sense of requiring the profession of Christianity, by tests or otherwise, from either professors or students. More than this, these universities do not even require attendance at the classes of this faculty for the sake of a degree in theology: other theological colleges are recognised for this purpose. A new university is not required merely for the sake of teaching theology; and if unnecessary it is undesirable. Let the student have the inestimable advantage of the broadening influence of university life; and let him have his specialised teaching in theology in another college, without sacrificing his religious convictions and beliefs.

I do not believe, however, that it is specialised theological education that is the real object of the great mass of the promoters of this scheme: the proposal has originated in the deep and wide-spread anxiety for religious education generally. Serious evils, predicted by a few thoughtful men long ago, and undoubtedly present to the minds of the great statesmen who framed the Educational Despatch of 1854, are now attributed on all hands to the neglect of religious teaching. When Lord Minto, as Viceroy, was touring among the native States, he received addresses from Indian chiefs describing 'the absence of religious instruction in the schools as a potent cause of wrong ideas.' The Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal also petitioned his Excellency 'to help us in our efforts to guide the awakening life of the Hindus throughout India by means of a spiritual religious education.' These representations, or such as they, have been made by men of all races and creeds; and they lie at the bottom of this demand for sectarian universities. I sympathise with this view, but I earnestly believe that the plan adopted will not produce the desired result.

Only just the other day (24th of January 1912) a public meeting was held in Calcutta to promote this scheme of a Hindu university. The young Maharajah of Bikaner made a fine statement of his views on the subject. This young prince is a great athlete and sportsman, and has been well educated. He has a high reputation as a ruler, has rendered specially distinguished services to the Crown, and has received many marks of the royal recognition of his services both to the Government and to the peoples of India. He has exercised full ruling powers over his State since he was invested with them at the age of eighteen, in 1898, and has manifested a sympathetic and broad spirit. His breadth of view led him at Calcutta to insist that there is no inten-

tion on the part of the promoters of the Hindu university to emphasise or perpetuate differences, but rather that 'both Musulmans and Hindus well recognise the common humanity which unites them and the common goal to which they are striving by different paths.' This is not the kind of language which one expects from a man who is advocating the establishment of a sectarian university; and it is scarcely to be hoped that the attainment of the latter object will tend to secure the fulfilment of his aspirations.

He went on to say that 'it is important to remember that both the Muhammadan and Hindu universities are to be open to students of all creeds and classes.' It cannot be forgotten how different this is from the views held by many of the influential supporters of the scheme; nor can it be hoped that a Hindu university, teaching the Hindu religion, will attract any considerable number of students of other religions. The doubt cannot fail to arise also in the mind of most Hindus whether, if it did so attract students, this would not involve something altogether different from their conception of Hinduism. Many thoughtful men will share the opinion of a Madras Hindu writer that it is at least doubtful whether sectarian universities can conduce to any spirit of unity among the various Indian communities. This writer says, 'In the case of the Muhammadans there are other facts—the social forces, for instance—which tend to unity and national cohesion. But among the Hindus institutions which have received the sanction of religion have long flourished, perpetuating social discord. These will surely receive fresh inspiration from a university calculated to keep Hindus apart, in the plastic period of their youth, from the rest of the Indian people.'

The Maharajah's address, however, is a most valuable statement of the sentiments and hopes which have led to the adoption of the scheme. I pass over what he says regarding secular instruction, especially the provision for technical instruction and research. These matters, which have been too much neglected until recently, now occupy a very prominent place in the thoughts both of the Government educational authorities and of non-officials interested in the subject. What strikes me as specially remarkable is the clear statement made regarding the importance of religious education. The Maharajah drew attention to the steady increase of the demand for religious teaching, and to the growing conviction that character can best be built up when it rests on the precepts of a great and noble religion. He admitted that 'certain difficulties may at first present themselves as regards religious instruction'; but, he added, 'no such difficulties should obscure the fact of its necessity.' 'The Hindus, as also our Muhammadan brethren,

are proud of being the heirs of a great civilisation, a great religion, and a great literature. It is to foster and conserve these that the two new Muhammadan and Hindu universities are now being promoted.' This is only one of innumerable illustrations which might be given to show that the demand for these sectarian universities arises from dissatisfaction with the Government system of education, as at present administered, in respect of the fact that it takes practically no account of the moral and religious training of the rising generation.

There is another difficulty in our present system which demands attention. It has arisen naturally through the progress of education. As education has advanced there has been a much more general resort to higher institutions. These necessarily are fewer in number than the primary schools. To attend them, therefore, means to many pupils or students that they have to leave their homes. If the system is not to be most dangerous to the moral life of these young people, it is clear that efficient arrangements must be made for the maintenance, as far as possible, of a sound and healthy home life for them. The need for this has attracted the attention of Government for a long time; and efforts have been made to provide hostels in connection with central institutions. These institutions have become to that extent residential. An efficient system of residential colleges is undoubtedly required, and ought to be provided by the united efforts of Government and of beneficent and wealthy individuals throughout the country. In these hostels, if they are private institutions, even though in connexion with Government colleges, arrangements can well be made for religious instruction; and then we should have students coming, in their hostel, under the religious influences of a good home, while in their secular work they found themselves side by side with young men of all religions, just as they will when they enter the world.

The great objection now taken in India to the Government system, as at present administered, is that it neglects this great subject of religion, but this is the opposite of the intention of the orders of 1854. There it is distinctly provided that religious instruction must be encouraged, though Government, being neutral, will not give any financial aid in respect of it; and the system devised for encouraging and maintaining the possibility of religious instruction, under a neutral Government, was the system of grants-in-aid for secular education. This has rendered possible the existence of a great number of religious institutions—Christian, Hindu and Muhammadan, existing alongside of the secular schools of the Government. The people are demanding more religious instruction in accordance with this policy; and it is deplorable to think that the answer which the Government seems

inclined to give is to go back on the old policy and to press Government institutions even where there is no evidence of failure on the part of existing private institutions. This policy has been strongly resisted by men of influence in Madras; and it is to be hoped that no change of principle will be allowed in this respect.

Another great complaint against our system of education by many thoughtful Indians is this, that it has tended to denationalise the peoples of India. No one who knows the subject can fail to recognise that there is a great deal of truth in this complaint. It has become far too general to impart education almost exclusively through the English language and to neglect the vernacular. This is entirely opposed to the system prescribed in the Dispatch of 1854. The framers of that Dispatch knew how unjust it is to the great masses of the peoples of India that their officers should not know their vernaculars. They also recognised how impossible it is to disseminate knowledge throughout the masses of the people by any other channel than through the vernacular. They therefore maintained the necessity for the study of the Indian classical languages and for the improvement of the vernaculars. They insisted that the medium by which knowledge, even of western civilisation, was to be communicated to the people of India generally, was the vernacular; and they deplored a tendency, even then existing, 'unduly to neglect the study of the vernacular languages.' They also directed the training of schoolmasters in the vernacular, and the provision of vernacular schoolbooks to provide European information for the lower classes of schools.

The Maharajah of Bikaner also mentioned as a point in favour of the Hindu and Muhammadan universities 'that much good can be done by diverting the charities and activities of the two communities towards the promotion of education by creating institutions which will appeal to them in a special degree.' Here he touches another defect in the application of the Government system. The Dispatch of 1854 directed the encouragement of private beneficence, and relied for the success of the Government system on the well-known liberality of Hindus and Muhammadans towards education; but unfortunately the narrow spirit of departmentalism has, to a very large extent, tended to choke off this important means of advancing education. It is necessary that the Government and its officers should let the people understand that they greatly value and honour beneficence in regard to education. Many Indians desire to receive guidance in the practice of that liberality which is characteristic of them; and such guidance ought not to be denied.

I am strongly of opinion that the sentiments which have led to the movement for the Hindu and Muhammadan universities in India are sentiments which are worthy of all honour. But I

do not believe that these universities will be of advantage to the cause of education, concord and progress in India. It appears probable now that these schemes may be carried through; for funds are being freely supplied. I earnestly hope, however, that the institutions will really be nothing more than colleges with the power of giving certain special degrees, and will not involve any revolution in the system of education in India. At the same time I earnestly hope that the system as prescribed will be enforced by the Government of India, and that deviation from it by departmental officers, contrary to the spirit and ideas of the peoples of India, will not be tolerated. The demand for religious education, and the protest against denationalisation by education, are too strong and too widespread to be ignored by a Government that desires to retain its place in the affection and loyalty of the peoples of India. I believe that, if we had Government giving itself, in accordance with the principles which have been formally accepted and consistently maintained, to assisting the people in obtaining good residential colleges, where religious and moral education would be effective, we should not hear of movements to establish sectarian universities. But these principles must be rigorously enforced, against departmental indifference or opposition, in accordance with the best Indian sentiment.

A. H. L. FRASER.

THE TRUE LINES OF TEMPERANCE REFORM

MORE than most causes, that of temperance has been the victim of exaggerated advocacy. So completely, indeed, has the fanatic dominated the movement that fanaticism and temperance reform have become almost synonymous terms. It will be well, therefore, to begin this outline of a policy of temperance reform by an effort to clear away the atmosphere of fanaticism which has made the temperance movement a by-word. Such a clearance was never more necessary than to-day.

At present the very word temperance is misunderstood. I do not minimise the importance of sobriety in the consumption of intoxicating beverages, and still less the evil of insobriety, but I claim, none the less, that the word temperance is too large for the particular purpose to which it is put. And it is unfortunate that a word which means so much more than self-restraint in the drinking of certain classes of beverages should have been adopted without qualification as the name of a movement designed to serve this comparatively narrow end. Temperance itself is only one of the seven capital virtues. And, though occupying this limited portion of the field of right living, it yet comprises much more than sobriety in the use of intoxicants. It is worth noting, for example, that in the list of the seven deadly sins the converse vice which corresponds to the virtue of temperance is not drunkenness at all, but gluttony. The evil of intemperance is excessive indulgence. This article is not a theological treatise, and so I need not pursue the subject into a detailed statement of the reasons why excessive indulgence in any natural good is harmful; but we may usefully remember that over-feeding is hardly less disgusting than over-drinking and, according to the doctors, is responsible for much more illness and death; it denotes, moreover, at least as great a weakening of the powers of self-restraint.

But the error in nomenclature is not concluded by the adoption of too wide a word. In so far as the great bulk of so-called temperance reformers are concerned, temperance is altogether the wrong word. The dictionaries tell us that temperance means moderation; the fanatical 'temperance' reformers tell us that

it means total abstinence; and, now that drunkenness is a waning evil, these propagandists actually declare, on the platform and in their journals, that 'the fight now is against the moderate drinker.' The name, therefore—never quite happy, because it necessarily narrowed a word of very wide meaning—has become grotesquely inappropriate as the label of a movement which has degenerated into a modern form of the old Manichean heresy, which regarded matter as evil—the hatred of matter among these neo-Manicheans being concentrated upon one particular substance—alcohol.

So topsy-turvy has it all become that one is inclined to abandon the word temperance altogether as applied to sobriety in the use of fermented beverages. But this would be a pity. The wiser course is that which is adopted by that small but useful society of which Lord Halsbury is President, whose members call themselves the True Temperance Association. For it has now become necessary, not only to uphold the virtue of temperance by proclaiming the evil of excessive indulgence in fermented liquors, but to reclaim the word from those fanatics who presume to identify it with the doctrine of total abstinence, a presumption without sanction either in Christianity or in common-sense.

I have said that the temperance movement has degenerated into fanaticism; and the statement is historically true. When it began, about a century ago, arising spontaneously, and with reason, in a state of society in which drunkenness was so wide-spread and constant as to be regarded merely as an amiable weakness, the propagandists of the movement went no farther than to counsel the temperate use of alcohol. The ravages of excessive gin-drinking among the lower classes, and to some extent of brandy-drinking in the upper classes, certainly led these early reformers to advocate the entire disuse of spirits in which the intoxicating element was so potent; but they did not preach total abstinence from the fermented drinks—wines and beers; and even to this day one may find a curious survival of this old-fashioned temperance in the North of England and in Ireland among persons who will tell you that they are pledged teetotallers, and therefore only drink port wine—in Ireland, I believe, frequently adding stout. But if one is reckless enough when opportunity arises, and one's stomach is strong enough, beers and wines may be drunk to an extent which produces intoxication. In those hard-drinking days of which I am speaking, drunkenness from excessive consumption of beers and wines was prevalent, and, seeing it, the temperance reformers took a new departure, and advocated abstention from all alcoholic beverages. Here I may say parenthetically that they were not scientifically accurate; it is still only a question of degree. Just as

wines contain about a third or a fourth of the alcohol to be found in spirits, and beer about a third of the alcohol in wine, so in the beverages favoured by the teetotallers, as they now began to call themselves, the alcoholic proportion was in some cases less only, not absent; ginger beer frequently contains nearly half as much alcohol as beer. So almost omnipresent, indeed, is the vilified substance, that we now know it to exist to the extent of half per cent. in new bread, and that it is owing to its presence that new bread is so peculiarly palatable.

This departure from temperance into teetotalism was the deplorable turning point of the movement. One can understand it; for the reformer is always in a hurry, and the temperance reformer, being only human, forgot that patience is one of the dictionary synonyms of temperance. He soon also forgot all temperance of language; and, as we all know, the temperance movement rapidly degenerated into narrow fanaticism, which has become more violent rather than less violent with that dwindling of drunkenness, the diminution of which was its original object.

Extravagant speeches, and the collection of large numbers of teetotal pledges from reformed drunkards, harmless old ladies, and little children, did not long satisfy the fanatics. In all ages the reformer in a hurry has tended to develop into a persecutor. Impatience prompts recourse to the secular arm. Conversion by precept and example is a slow and uncertain process; the heavy hand of the law is much more inviting. And so the fanatical teetotaller's mind and energies were soon turned from exhortation to compulsion; he availed himself of a group of musty medieval laws which had regulated public drinking at a time when the regulation of men's habits in general was regarded as peculiarly the province of the State; and upon this foundation he sought, and sought with success, to build a modern edifice of restriction of what he called the liquor traffic. Two things made this work more easy: the public disorder which drunkenness sometimes engenders, and the State's practice of using the liquor trade as a means of revenue. So began that long list of laws—there were no fewer than 237 of them on the Statute Book at once, until Parliament codified them a year ago—the complexities of which have been the by-word of lawyers and publicans, as their teeming absurdities have been the despair of lovers of liberty and common-sense.

But, though the fanatic may be regarded as the mainspring of this legislation, as he was of the Licensing Bill of 1908, and is of the proposal for the resuscitation of that unfortunate measure, it is not wholly due to him; he would not have met with such success had he not been aided—first, by Statecraft,

for reasons I have just given; secondly, by the sentimentalists, who count for so much in modern legislation; and, thirdly, by the class of legislator who regards restriction as the proper environment for the working man.

These various influences have built up what is generically known as the licensing system. The legislative feat is not one of which the nation can be very proud. In spite of the happy change in drinking habits of late years, it still leaves Britain a more drunken country than are Continental nations, where the public consumption of fermented beverages is left untrammelled by the law. And it has, under the plea—not a good plea at the best—of 'reducing the facilities for drinking,' turned our comfortable old inns and what should be our commodious modern refreshment houses into ugly drinking shops, whose every appointment and regulation impress upon the visitor that he enters for the disreputable purpose of gulping down the maximum amount of intoxicating liquor in the minimum time. It has produced the tied-house system, which the promoters of licensing legislation themselves denounce so vigorously; for that system has arisen solely out of the policy of restriction in the number of public-houses which began about 1869. Public-houses are the chief outlet for the products of the brewery. Relations of a more or less exclusive kind tend naturally to grow up between particular breweries and particular public-houses. It became, therefore, a matter of importance to brewers, when they saw the outlets for their productions being checked in number, to cement the most intimate relations possible with as many of such outlets as possible.

I have not space here, nor is it necessary, to analyse the various enactments for enforcing sobriety by Act of Parliament, or to show in detail how they have failed, and why they were almost bound to fail, of their intended effect; but I may just find room to remind the reader that the closing of public-houses all day on Sundays in some parts of these islands, and for most of the day in other parts, and the earlier closing on week days, inevitably tend to foster home drinking of the more dangerous kind (one bottle of spirits being more portable than half-a-dozen bottles of beer); secret drinking; rapid drinking during the final closing hours, if they are too early for the habits of the neighbourhood; and the growth of clubs, where members and friends can drink when and as long as they choose and without the surveillance of the police. I would point out, too, that the rigid discountenancing of games and ample accommodation in public-houses, which has been the stupid and insolent policy of the law and its administrators, has degraded the public-house, and therewith those who frequent it, making the house merely a

place to drink in. Again, the restriction in the number of public-houses has not only produced the tied-house system, and such evils as may be attributed thereto, but it has encouraged drunkenness in two ways: (1) By crowding the bars (their space already restricted by magistrates) of such public-houses as remain, the landlord's supervision of his customers becomes more difficult; no landlord is such a brute or such a fool as wittingly to serve with intoxicating liquor an already drunken man, but he cannot so easily distinguish such an one when wedged in a crowd. (2) The fewer public-houses there are in the town the more likely is a convivial customer to meet a considerable number of his friends in the particular house which he enters, and be subjected by a larger number, therefore, to the dangers of treating.

And, again, let me point out that the State's fiscal policy has been almost as deplorable as it is extraordinary. It is a fair estimate to say that a quarter of the price of beer is tax in one form or another, while in the case of spirits the price is almost all tax. In selecting this one class of merchandise for such amazingly heavy imposts the hand of fanaticism is easily detected. It is not all Statecraft, or even Statecraft degenerated into greed; and it is not all a puritanical penalty upon luxury, for other luxuries (save the cognate stimulant of tobacco) go untaxed, or are but lightly taxed. The adequate explanation can only be found in the assumption that heavy taxation will reduce heavy drinking—though it is a curious doctrine of public finance so to arrange your taxes that they shall defeat their proper object, which is the collection of revenue.

But no more absurd or futile effort to make people sober by Act of Parliament has ever been conceived than this of piling heavy imposts upon intoxicating liquors. Such imposts may and do restrict the consumption of a moderate man of small means, but such restriction is difficult to justify; and they may, and probably do, force the man who is not wealthy or extravagant to drink liquors of inferior quality (and here again the result of State interference is scarcely happy); but it may be doubted whether the real drunkard drinks any less. We all know that he is so weak in his will and so strong in his passions, or is so deeply afflicted with a craving arising out of mental or physical disease, that he is ready, in order to obtain drink, to make the deplorable sacrifices which the teetotal propagandists depict in such lurid colours. He is going to have his drink, whatever it costs; and the more it costs the less money will be available for the necessities of his home. When teetotal orators draw harrowing pictures of ruined homes and starving children through drink, they forget to put some of the blame upon the shoulders of

the State, and those who have induced the State to make the drink so irrationally dear.

From the standpoint, therefore, of sobriety in drink our licensing system, and the whole policy underlying it, have singularly failed; what progress has been made in recent years towards temperance has been made, I say deliberately, in spite of so-called temperance legislation and the licensing system. A simple test will prove this: Where did the movement towards temperance begin? It began among those classes of society whose members do not use the public-house, and who, except in rare cases, have not been touched by the teetotal propaganda, which has been confined to the working and lower middle classes. The movement has filtered down from the gentleman to the working man, as other movements and fashions, good and bad, have the habit of doing in this country. Neither the administrators of teetotal pledges nor the builders or administrators of licensing laws can claim any credit for the improvement which has been achieved; whereas it may well be argued that a stupid licensing system has retarded the improvement.

But we must avoid falling into the pit which most teetotal propagandists have dug for themselves—that is, of regarding sobriety in the use of fermented beverages as the one virtue worth troubling about. That is the way most heresies have arisen—by confining oneself to one particular doctrine or aspect of the doctrine, perfectly true in itself, but becoming monstrously untrue when taken out of its setting and regarded exclusively. There are other things of capital importance to our well-being besides temperance in drink. Let me name two: freedom, and the building up of character, for which a large measure of freedom is essential. Living in society, a man's freedom to do exactly as he chooses must necessarily be curtailed in some directions. It must be curtailed when a man would do something which would injure or oppress his neighbours. That is a condition, indeed, of the freedom which those neighbours are entitled to enjoy with himself. But, outside certain obviously necessary limitations of personal freedom, one needs to proceed with the utmost caution, and only the strongest case will support interference. It is desirable that men should not become chronic or public drunkards. Most men in most ages and countries are temperate enough, but there is always a minority, of varying size but usually small, of men addicted to drunkenness; and it is evidently desirable that they should cease from their vice. But when, in order that they may so cease, proposals are brought forward for State restriction of the habits and liberties of the whole population, the vast majority of which is in no need of them, restrictions which entail incon-

venience and, worse still, must necessarily act upon individual character as the tying up of an arm would act upon the muscles of that arm—then, even if it could be proved that the proposed restrictions would achieve their purpose of sobering the drunken few, would it not be paid for too dearly? Evil as drunkenness is, the absence of it is no virtue when it is produced by *vis major;* the excellent moral conduct of a prisoner is hardly a virtue worth making much of. To abolish by human force the divinely appointed area in which human free will is designed to operate is an act of blasphemy which in the early days of Christianity, in connexion with an analogous matter to which more detailed reference need not be made, was condemned by the Church. Admirably, therefore, as well as boldly, did a prelate of the Anglican Church declare some years ago, 'better England free than England sober.' And here we have the final condemnation of teetotal legislation.

'Better free than sober'—but best of all, free and sober. And that is the condition, as the Licensing and Criminal Statistics show, which we are now approaching. The question is how to help forward that desirable consummation. In other words, what is the true line of temperance reform? For some years past now I have been convinced, and my conviction grows in strength, that the true line is to be found mainly in the transformation of the public-house. The public-house is a social necessity. It is, and has long been, not only the place of refreshment for the wayfarer, but the combined club, cellar, and dining-room of the working classes. And instead of being a diminishing necessity, as the State closing of alleged superfluous public-houses would seem to indicate, it is becoming an increasing social necessity; other classes of society, even the most wealthy, are now appreciating the necessity, or at any rate the desirability, of obtaining refreshment and amusement and giving entertainment in public places designed for the purpose, instead of in their own homes. There should therefore be no question of abolishing the public-house. Our sole aim should be to transform it, in accordance with our best practicable ideals.

Let me sketch my own. The ideal public-house would be, allowing, of course, plenty of scope for local variations, a commodious and decent building, into which any passer-by might enter and call for any reasonable kind of refreshment—food or drink, the latter alcoholic or non-alcoholic. He should be able to consume these refreshments comfortably seated in a room well lit, warmed, and ventilated. He should be able not only to smoke, but if he chose, to obtain the materials for smoking also on the premises. The place should be so reputable that,

whatever his social position, he could enter it openly, and even take his wife and children with him and find suitable refreshment there for them. If he were alone he should be able to call for or purchase in the house newspapers and magazines. If he had any business to transact there should be a telephone on the premises for his use. If he had one or more friends, and the party desired amusement other than conversation, they should be able to call for cards, chess or dominoes, or quoits and bowls in the country. Or, if they desired more passive amusement, there should be music to listen to. The humblest inn could provide an hour or two a day of piano playing; the richer—the large houses in wealthy towns—could furnish a small orchestra and a vocalist or two. And there is no reason why dancing should not be permitted under due guarantees of respectability. This is the ideal public-house. Such a house as this would add to the innocent enjoyment of the people, and would be an incentive to temperance and good order. No one would misbehave himself in such surroundings by drinking to excess, or by any other form of disorder; public opinion would make such conduct impossible. Upon young people of the working and lower middle classes such a house would exercise a positive influence for good. It would improve their manners, and might improve their morals. They would be better in such a house than in prowling streets and lanes at night; and they would avoid that boredom which is the fruitful parent of all kinds of mischief.

Can this ideal be realised? It evidently can. There are difficulties in the way, of course. Has any reform ever been known that has not had to encounter difficulties? But of this I am convinced—that the difficulties in the way of the transformation of the public-house on the lines I have indicated are not insuperable.

Take the obvious practical difficulty which has been alleged—the difficulty of bringing up to a definite standard the many thousands of public-houses up and down the country which to-day not only deviate deplorably from the ideal type, but vary among themselves and in reference to the requirements they have to serve. The answer to this difficulty is that when one speaks of the ideal public-house one is gathering up into a picture a number of qualities to indicate the general type. But there will be particular types; and it is not proposed that all public-houses should conform to exactly the same standard. Let me illustrate by one or two examples.

Take first the commodious, well-appointed house in London or the near suburbs or one of the larger provincial towns—the house which tradesmen, clerks, men of business generally, and

the smaller professional men now patronise in the evening, to chat over a glass of whisky and perhaps play a game of billiards. Many of these houses have been vastly improved already in recent years, and the task of converting them into ideal public-houses would not entail very serious structural or decorative changes. The bars would be removed, or reduced to a mere service bar in a corner of the establishment; tables and easy chairs and a small bandstand would occupy the vacant space; a newspaper kiosk could be installed in one corner, and a counter for the sale of confectionery and tobacco in another; an adjoining small room would do for the telephone, and another room could be fitted with writing tables. And, just as to-day divisions are made between the various bars, so some sort of partition could be put up in the main hall to fence off the serious diners from those who only want light refreshment. Where possible a sort of conservatory should be thrown out, to give an air of lightness and coolness and to add to the pleasant and picturesque appearance of the house; and the floor would be carpeted with matting and rugs. There would be a sufficient display of programmes, setting forth the daily fare of all edibles and beverages (with prices), as well as of the music to be performed in the afternoon or evening. In most of such houses as are now contemplated it would also be practicable and desirable to provide an adjoining room where women, alone or with children, could go if they preferred it. One could instance further details, but enough has been said to indicate the transformation which could be wrought in the better-class town or suburban public-house.

But the town public-house frequented by poorer folk is even more in need of transformation. The change is not quite so easy, but it is not impossible of attainment when allowance is made for the fact that the full programme of accessories such as have been outlined in the previous paragraph would not be expected with this class of house. It is all a matter of degree. The varieties of refreshment and entertainment and decoration would be on a simpler scale—that is all. The class of customers in Whitechapel would not want (and would not pay for) such luxurious service as would be expected in Hampstead. Yet, in spite of comparative simplicity, the change would be greater than in the case of the class of house previously referred to. The light and warmth of the public-house as it is to-day in the poorer quarters of towns would be retained; but, by the abolition of the stuffy compartment system and the big space-destroying bars, fresher air would be secured, and the additional space would get rid of crowding and allow a sufficiency of comfortable seats; while inexpensive but clean and simple, well-cooked and appe-

tising food would furnish a welcome alternative to the monotonous pewter pots of beer. These and the like alterations (which in most cases could be achieved without structural extensions) would transform the average poor man's public-house out of recognition, and he and his womenfolk would quickly respond to the new conditions and improve their own appearance and manners to accord therewith. In this class of house, above all, the opportunity of resting in comfort, playing a game of draughts or dominoes, hearing the popular songs and dances on a piano and violin, eating decently cooked meals, reading a newspaper or writing a letter, would be appreciated; and the popularity of the new style of house would stimulate licensees to compete with each other in adding such comforts, adornments, and entertainments as their ingenuity could suggest, and their means render possible.

A third type of house may be mentioned—the village inn. The same sort of improvements would not be wanted here as in town public-houses, but the opportunities are almost equally great. More often than not the village inn has some ground attached which could be utilised for bowls, and other games, or a miniature rifle gallery, a dancing lawn, or an *al fresco* concert place. At the least, comfortable chairs and settees and small tables could be provided for the patronage of the public in fine weather. As to the interior, in many village inns this is picturesque enough now, and would need little more than a brightening up on lines which would be harmonious with the character of an old hostelry. A common fault at present with many of these places is that space is rather cramped in them, but the abolition of a bar, and the opening out of two or three small rooms into one large room, would usually remove this difficulty; and building out, when necessary, would not be a serious operation in a village. Where the house was of sufficient importance the adjoining courtyard could be roofed in with glass, and be floored with tiles, as I have seen done with excellent results in a Norfolk hotel.

Such attractions as musical entertainment would, of course, be both simpler and less frequent in the village than in the town, but some provision could be made for them, and they would be even more appreciated than in the town. The traveller would heartily welcome such a haven of refreshment; but the village resident, for whom it would chiefly exist, would enjoy it quite as much; for it would brighten up and dispel the monotony of village life, and the mechanical manufacture of lethargic village topers would soon die out. In the right sort of situation—the green, or the outskirts of the village street—and with the right

sort of licensee, the village inn could easily develop into one of the most charming features of English rural life.

There is no doubt of the practicability of this much to be desired transformation of the public-house. There is no doubt, either, of the popularity which would await it: Continental experience, and initial experiments at home, alike demonstrate this. All that is wanted to start the transformation is the awakening of public interest, the diversion of misplaced and miscalled 'temperance' sentiment, a broader view on licensing benches, the removal of a few useless restrictions from the Statute Book, a change in the methods and extent of taxation, and an end of confiscatory attacks upon the trade to whose enterprise the carrying out of the improvements will necessarily be entrusted. For we must not forget that the transformation would involve the owners of public-houses in some capital outlay, and though the actual work of improvement must be left to voluntary enterprise, there is this that the State can do: it can ease the fiscal burden for the purpose of encouraging enterprise and enabling the needed capital to be raised, and it can overhaul, and largely eliminate from the Statute Book, the restrictions which in times past it has imposed, and which, with the change in the character of the tavern, will become more than ever unnecessary and harmful. So much, indeed, will be only an act of reparation which the State owes to the public and the publican for its past foolishness; but in doing this rather negative work the State will, for the first time in its licensing history, be really taking a part in true temperance reform.

F. E. Smith.

A CATHOLIC LAYMAN

In Lord Tennyson's recently published *Tennyson and His Friends*, a brief chapter is devoted to Sir John Simeon, the close and chosen friend of many of the gifted and enlightened men in days when, indeed, there were giants upon the earth. I propose in the following pages to amplify the little that chapter tells of my father and his circle.

Sir John Simeon was born in 1815, the eldest son of Sir Richard Simeon, of Grazeley, Berkshire, and of St. John's in the Isle of Wight. His mother was Louisa, daughter and heiress of Sir Fitzwilliam Barrington, of Barrington Hall in Essex. His grandfather was senior Master in Chancery, and Comptroller of the private fortune and estates of George the Third during the time of his mental illness. The baronetcy goes back to an ancient date, as it was first created by James the First. At that time the Simeons lived in Oxfordshire, where they held large estates besides town property in Oxford, where 'Simeon Street' still exists. Their chief place was at Pyrton, and there Elizabeth Simeon, as may now be seen in the parish register, was married to John Hampden. The family would seem to have been always Catholic, as Sir Edward Simeon was the founder of the Mission at Oxford and of the little Church of St. Lawrence, the only Catholic Church there at the time of the Oxford Movement. The Oxfordshire property was sold in 1717, but later on, through my grandmother, the family came near to acquiring all the Barrington estates in Essex, as well as those in the Isle of Wight. Unfortunately, the want of the signature by one of the witnesses to a will upset their claim to the Essex property, but their title to the Isle of Wight estates could not be alienated, by virtue of Swainston being a royal manor, including Carisbrooke Castle and its manorial rights.[1]

King Egbert granted the Manor of Swainston to the Bishops of Winchester, who ceded it with legal forms to Edward the First, and the property has come down direct to the present owner through Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury, daughter

[1] All that now remain to the Crown are the Castle of Carisbrooke and Parkhurst Forest.

of the Duke of Clarence, of our schoolroom butt of malmsey memory. She married Sir Richard Pole, and was the mother of Henry Lord Montague, of Cardinal Pole, and of a daughter Winifred, who married Sir Francis Barrington. When her brother, Edward Earl of Warwick, was declared a traitor and had his lands forfeited, 'It pleased the King (Henry the Eighth) that she might inherit as the sister and next-of-blood to his state and dignity, and so be styled Countess of Sarum.' She carried the Princess Mary to her baptism in the Greyfriars Church at Greenwich, and was afterwards appointed Lady Governess of the Princess and her household.

Cardinal Pole had incurred Henry the Eighth's displeasure, and a price was set on his head; under these circumstances he elected to reside abroad. The King vented his anger on the remaining members of his family, and his mother, Lady Salisbury, then over seventy years of age, was imprisoned in the Tower for two years. Henry finally signed the warrant for her execution. 'Early in the morning of the 27th of May 1541 the news was brought to this venerable lady that she was to die that very day—a high-handed proceeding, as she had never been put to trial. She walked with a firm step from her prison cell to the place of execution on East Smithfield Green, which was then within the precincts of the Tower. No scaffold had been erected: there was but a low block or log of wood. The Countess devoutly commended her soul to God, and asked the bystanders to pray for the King, the Queen, Prince Edward, and the Princess Mary, her beloved god-child, to whom she sent her last blessing. She was then commanded to lay her head upon the block, which she did. The regular executioner being busy in the North a wretched and blundering youth (garçonnau) had been chosen to take his place, who literally hacked her head and shoulders to pieces in the most pitiful manner. This is Chapuys' account. Mr. Gairdner says it is evidently more trustworthy than that of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who is responsible for the well-known story, that when told to lay her head on the block the Countess replied "So should traitors do, and I am none." The executioner still insisting, she still refused, and, "turning her grey head every way, she bid him if he would have her head get it as he could, and thus she was literally hacked to death."[2] Her last words were "Blessed are they who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake." The Blessed Margaret thus wore a crown more brilliant than those of earth.

[2] Readers of Harrison Ainsworth's *Tower of London* will remember the doggerel of Mauger, the headsman, referring to the Countess of Salisbury:

> Salisbury's Countess, she would not die
> As a proud dame should, decorously.
> Lifting my axe I split her skull,
> And the edge since then has been notched and dull.

It was a grand end for a kingly race, for Margaret was the last in direct descent of the line of Plantagenet.'[3]

I now pass from my distinguished ancestress to my grandfather, Sir Richard Simeon. Educated at Eton in days very different from the present, he determined never to send his sons there. Nevertheless, Eton turned him out a sufficient scholar to educate his eldest boy entirely until he was twelve years old, when he handed him over to a private tutor. After two or three years in France my father matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1834. Three years later he took his degree, passing out with a creditable second class in Classics. In 1849 he was elected for the Isle of Wight, his father, who had become its first representative on the island being made a Parliamentary division of a county under the Reform Act of 1832, having resigned the seat in his favour.

I do not think that the disturbing influences of the Oxford Movement, or Newman's personal ascendency, had very much to do with my father's conversion. Besides, it must be remembered that the man-of-the-world Liberalism of the Church of England alarmed Newman long before he himself made the election to become a Catholic, and that for some years he exerted himself strenuously to prevent people from straggling in the direction of Rome. Anyhow, my father never referred his own change of religion to that awakening of the minds of Churchmen which is associated with *Tracts for the Times*, and of which we have just been so vividly reminded by Mr. Wilfrid Ward. Indeed, my impression is that the dialectical controversies of that period—the sometimes over-ingenious manipulations of first principles, the reservations, the hyper-meanings or hyper-whittling down of meanings, the shadings, as it were, of what seemed to him cardinal colours, can hardly have commended themselves to his type of mind or to his notions of essentials.

The ability of the controversialists: their sincerity, the keenness and closeness of their critical sword-play were abundantly recognised by intelligent people; but as one of the least extravagant and most single-hearted of Catholic laymen, my father stuck to broad issues.

His admiration of Dr. Newman's writings was not for their polemical or dogmatic skill. This was not their appeal for him any more than it was for Dean Stanley,[4] and he had little sympathy with what Mr. Ward, in an admirable preface to his absorbing book, defines as one of the Cardinal's most characteristic contentions—namely, that apparent inconsistencies may often be

[3] Dom Bede Camm's *Lives of the English Martyrs.*

[4] 'Newman's writings belong not to provincial dogma but to the literature of all time.'

justified by reasoning from special aspects or exceptional circumstances. Thus, on a celebrated occasion my father insisted upon Newman taking the full responsibility, spirit and letter, of what he had written. This is so fully treated in Mr. Ward's book that I need not refer to it further, except as an illustration of his love of the open and the straightforward.[3]

His own secession from the Anglican Church was due to quite other and simpler causes. Perhaps sub-consciously he may have dreamed dreams and seen visions of a return to the Faith and to the traditions of his predecessors, long before the *Dominus illuminatio mea* came in the Cathedral at Mayence. I dare say that Oxford and its memories of great priests and fine scholars, its beauty, its medievalism, may have had some share in the gradual insistence of new religious opinions. It may also be that, like many others, as he surveyed the troublesome jars and acrimonies of Nonconformists, Churchpeople and Persuasions, his thoughts went back to the days when one Church took charge of the souls of one united people and represented for them the authority appointed by Heaven. But be this as it may, it was not until much later, in 1847, that the cardinal point of time was reached. My father was abroad, his mother became very ill and he was summoned home. Delayed on his way at Mayence, he went into the Cathedral very early in the morning. There he experienced for the first time the dominating reality of the power, the faith and piety of the ancient worship. He always said to my mother: 'I went into that church a Protestant and came out of it a Catholic.' The intimation was distinct, and it was accepted.[4]

My father was received into the Catholic Church in the spring of 1851 under the guidance of his friend, Manning, whose conversion had only shortly preceded his own. Among other friends who like himself had found their ground of belief untenable, were my godfather, James Hope Scott, Lord Emly, and Sir Stephen De Vere and his brother Aubrey.

Inevitably this was a wrench from many ties and associations. Apart from its more solemn and spiritual aspects, a secession—or a conversion, as I prefer to call it—was in many ways a more serious step at that time than it became a little later on, or than it is now. In those days it seems to have upset one's relations to

[3] *Life of Cardinal Newman*, by Wilfrid Ward, vol. iii. p. 290.

[4] Mozley appears to have undergone a somewhat similar experience. In his *Reminiscences of Oriel and the Oxford Movement*, he says, 'Either on principle or for lack of opportunity I had never before entered a Catholic Chapel since some friends took me to Moorfields Chapel in 1821 I think. So what I now saw (in Normandy) would come upon me with all the force of novelty, and it immediately had a great fascination for me. This was truly worship. There was the sense of a Divine Presence: all hearts were moved as one. The freedom with which the people seated themselves here and there seemed to speak of a rude antiquity.'

a degree which could hardly be imagined, having regard to their own attitude and activities in matters appertaining to religion. I recall the instance of a fox-hunting country gentleman, in many ways an excellent man, but who never attended any place of worship, and whose conversation was anywhere but in heaven. His eldest son was more seriously-minded, and became a Catholic. His father excommunicated him, not exactly with bell, book, and candle, but in a thoroughly efficient manner. The father's friends were bewildered, the son much surprised; but there it was; Mr. —— had got the thing up, and he justified his action on grounds which would have commended themselves to a Dissenting minister or a Low Church Bishop. But speaking generally, Catholics at that time were imperfectly understood. We were regarded as a strange and mischievous people who worshipped images, went to church at odd hours and on incomprehensible days, practised ineffable rites, and were not sound on Sunday roast-beef and plum-pudding. In this connexion let me quote Canon Oakeley [7]:

> It must be very difficult for those who are sons of the Church, not by adoption but by inheritance, to realise, even by a strong effort of imagination, the depth and extent of the ignorance which prevailed among members of the Anglican Establishment at the beginning of the Tractarian Movement with regard to the state and feelings of the Catholic community in England. It is no exaggeration to say that many of us knew far more about the manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians or Scythians than of the characters and doings of this portion of our fellow-countrymen.
>
> I have no reason to think that I was myself at all behind the general run of my contemporaries in the advantages of education or in knowledge of the world, so that my own ideas, in early youth, of the subject in question may be received as a fair sample of the average opinions of young people at the time.
>
> I thought that the Roman Catholics of England did *not* at the most number more than about eighty or one hundred souls, who were distributed in certain great families over the midland and northern counties. I thought that each of these families lived in a large haunted house, embosomed in yew-trees, and surrounded by high brick walls. About the interior of these mansions I had also my ideas.
>
> I thought that they were made up of vast dreary apartments walled with tapestry, with state bedrooms, in which were enormous bedsteads, surmounted by plumes, and which only required horses to be put to them in order to become funeral cars. I fancied, of course, that there reigned around and within these abodes a preternatural silence, broken only by the flapping of bats, and the screeching of owls.

And he goes on to say:

> The strange thing is that although I have no reason to think that the subject was interdicted at home, somehow I never liked talking about it, or trying to clear up my notions by comparison with those of others. The subject never seemed to come up naturally or to lie in anyone's way.

[7] *Historical Notes on the Tractarian Movement*, p. 34.

These things being so, my grandfather, who, having regard to his own evangelical opinions, could hardly have been expected to be sympathetic, was exceedingly upset by the step his son had seen fit to take. There was no real loss of affection, but it must have created a rather uncomfortable state of things at Swainston, and for two years my father went abroad with his wife and children. They lived in Italy, and divided the time between Rome, Naples, and Sorrento: a lengthy sojourn which the ladies and gentlemen of that day seem to have had the fortitude to go through with, but which with their English tastes and habits must at times have become very irksome.

But other things besides English habits had to be abandoned. It was stated baldly in a preceding page that my father had been returned for Parliament in 1849. Parliament had now to be given up. Later on he was to re-enter it, but in 1851 he felt that it would not do to stay on: that the honourable course was to resign. Thus the growing interests and prospects of an active Parliamentary career had to cease. This was sad, for he was getting on. From the first he had elected to follow, and had stuck to, Sir Robert Peel, and from the time that Mr. Gladstone joined Sir Robert Peel's Administration in the room of Lord Derby, in 1846, Mr. Gladstone secured my father's unwavering support.

In 1865 Dr. Newman and many other people began to get very uneasy over Mr. Gladstone's political proceedings. Writing from the Oratory on the 4th of August 1865 to Mr. Keble, Dr. Newman says:

> A very painful separation[8]—really he does go great lengths, and I cannot help feeling that the anxiety to keep him, on the part of such persons as yourself, was quite as much on his own account as on account of the University. He has lost his tether now that the Conservatives have got rid of him, and won't he go lengths! I should have been in great perplexity had I been an Oxford man how to vote. I suppose I should certainly in the event have voted for him, but most grudgingly. None of his friends seem to trust his politics; indeed, he seems not to know, himself, what are his landmarks and his necessary limits.

But Mr. Gladstone's Churchmanship and character kept my father faithful, just as they kept Keble, himself a high Tory, and many others who felt as puzzled and ill-at-ease as Dr. Newman. My father's connexion with Mr. Gladstone, however, was not only personal. He had much at heart the question of colonisation, and was associated with Lord Richard Cavendish, Lord Lyttelton, Mr. Godley, Mr. Beresford Hope and others in the foundation of the Settlement of Canterbury in New Zealand, which was intended to be a model Anglican colony. Some of the

[8] Mr. Gladstone had just been defeated for Oxford.

land then acquired has become valuable, and furnishes a revenue to the Church in New Zealand.

In 1854 my grandfather died, and Swainston became my father's home. The quiet and remote loveliness of the island in those days can hardly be conceived now. The prospect of the Isle of Wight in the haze of a summer's morning, as Wesley viewed it from Southampton, inspired the hymn 'There is a land of pure delight,' and it was still a rural retreat eminently adapted—as advertisements would say—for poets, men of letters, and superior persons generally. Indeed, its high qualities in this respect have almost been over-treated by a flood of Tennysonian literature. Now motor vans of appreciative trippers, often accompanied by a cornet-player, enliven and enjoy its highways and byways; but in those days the wayfarer would only encounter a bell-team waggon pursuing its stately way along the Newport Road, and might bathe his soul in the simple sights and sounds of country life which Stevenson recommends to the town lady. The lines are so elegant as to be worth quoting :

> Far have you come my lady from the town,
> And far from all your sorrows if you please,
> To smell the good sea air and hear the seas,
> And in green meadows lay your body down.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Here in this sea-board land of old renown,
> In meadow grass go wading to the knees,
> Bathe your whole soul awhile in simple ease,
> There is no sorrow but the sea can drown,
> Far have you come my lady from the town.

My father all along liked London : his cultivated and agreeable friends, his clubs, the vicissitudes and surprises of the town. Its main currents, art, literature, politics, society, all these good things he enjoyed and valued to the full, but still at heart he was a country gentleman, zealous and versed in local affairs, taking a personal and active interest, which it was much easier to do in those days than it is now, in all the proceedings of his tenantry; farming in a biggish way himself, shooting a good deal, and proficiently, at home and abroad, hunting within the limits which precipitous downs and sea-mists impose, and himself keeping the hounds as long as he could afford it. At this time Tennyson wrote to him :

> It is no more than probable that I cannot be with you to see the hounds throw off, which yet I should well like to see, for though no huntsman I love all country sights and sounds.

But all this peace was to be broken by trumpet and drum. In 1859 the dread of a French invasion led to the Volunteer

Movement. The Isle of Wight did not like the look of things. Its inhabitants felt that any day they might wake up, not perhaps with their throats cut, but to find the enemy scrambling up their cliffs. *Punch*, the best serio-comic history of those or any days, does ample justice to the Volunteers. Patriotic ardour pervaded the vulnerable island, and my father threw himself with zest into the general call to arms. He used to say, but quite cheerfully, 'There might be many a worse end than to die fighting for one's country on Afton Down.'

However, quite pacific people used to come to Swainston: there were shooting friends, but he had a good many visitors who did not shoot and paid him visits for the sake of good talks about books, politics and poetry, and long walks seem to have been their chief recreation. It was the fashion of those days. Jowett, Mr. Gladstone, Leslie Stephen, the Master of Trinity, E. Bowen, Bradley, Charles Kingsley, Wordsworth and all the Lakeists appear to have been nearly always walking. Leslie Stephen, we are told, stalked like fate in a recuperative silence. Mr. Jowett did much of his Socratic and more gentle admonishing afoot. Bowen tired out two or three Harrow boys during the Christmas and Easter holidays on walking tours. Walks are responsible for at least a third of Grant Duff's copious diaries, and always with more or less eminent persons. My mother told me that she was often impressed by the grim resolution which impelled my father and his cultivated friends to face any weather, muddy roads, and long miles, without any of those special preparations in the way of dress which everybody considers necessary now. As the devoted little party mustered in the hall I even seem to remember the thin elastic-side boot popular with early Victorians, and the light, dingy grey overcoats optimistically known as waterproofs. Yes, indeed, an occasional bout of serious walking seems to have been of physical, intellectual, and moral necessity to the thinkers, poets, and men of letters of those days. Now, perhaps, it is only their writings that are pedestrian.

So much for country life. In 1857 and in 1859 my father had been invited to stand for Parliament, but declined in favour of Mr. Clifford. However, in 1865, he consented to stand, and both then and three years later he was returned. It was a great triumph, in a constituency largely Protestant and Conservative, and he was the first Catholic to represent a county in Parliament since the Reformation. To my mind a great honour. Before the election Tennyson wrote to him:

Let us hope that the greatest of all triumphs for yourself awaits you, a personal triumph, not because people agree with you, but in spite of all

disagreement. I hope we shall prove ourselves sensible that you are the man who has had the best interests of the Island most at heart, and has worked hardest to promote them.

To glance for a moment at his active interest in letters, I am pleased to see that Mr. Edmund Gosse, in his *Life of Dr. Donne*, writes: 'Serious attention to the bibliography of the poems of Donne was first called by Sir John Simeon in the treatise founded on a rather late MS. which he printed for the Philobiblon Society in 1856,' and he refers to an 'interesting find' which my father made of some manuscript poems of Donne's at Swanley. As Honorary Secretary of the Philobiblon Society he made various contributions to its records, wrote many articles himself in the *British Critic* and in the *Rambler*, ranging over various topics from ballad poetry to the philosophy of language, and kept in constant touch with polite letters. Referring to *The Ring and The Book*, Browning wrote to him (the 28th of December 1868):

I rejoice that you like my poem so far, and are prepared to encounter the rest, which is all I want, as whatever effect will be, will result from the whole, though the parts go for something, too. A critic regrets I have not enlivened what you have seen 'by a few songs or lyrics.' Did not an Irish reporter once under the impulse of a good dinner call—in the pause of Parliamentary debate—for 'a song from the Speaker'?

As a regular attendant of the Breakfast Club he was one of the party, who, meeting at Mr. Gladstone's house, found themselves without butter. Domestic interruptions of any kind were sternly forbidden on these occasions. However, the need was grave. Mr. Gladstone himself left the room to report the circumstance to Mrs. Gladstone, who, like another, but a benevolent, Jael, quickly brought forth butter in a lordly dish.

His particular friends at the Breakfast Club were George Trevelyan, Henry Bruce, Lord Dufferin, J. A. Froude, Thackeray, Mr. Grant Duff, Sir Thomas Erskine May, Henry Cowper and Lord Houghton. Edward Lear was another great ally. The name alone calls up delightful memories: indeed, this was 'a fellow of infinite jest.' I possess lots of queer drawings he made for me as a child in his best *Book of Nonsense* manner and vein. As an artist Lear perhaps errs in the direction of panorama, but he was a beautiful draughtsman, and my father, who admired his work, became the possessor of what was considered his best picture, *The Crag that Fronts the Even*.

My father's health, which for some time past had given anxiety, began to fail in 1870, and in the April of that year, when speaking in the House of Commons, he was attacked by slight hemorrhage. He was ordered complete rest, and left London immediately. After spending Easter in Paris with his friends

there, the Wynne Finchs, Montalembert, Mrs. Craven, and Père Gratry, he went to Switzerland with my mother. At Fribourg, where they were staying for a night only, he was again seized with hemorrhage, and the end came very quickly. These words from a contemporary letter [9] seem to give the impression made by his sudden and untimely death:

> I do not remember another instance of death that has left such a blank in London society and among people of the most diverse dispositions and opinions. There was something so fine and genial in his nature that every one who fell in his way was attracted, and one is quite surprised to find the most case-hardened men of the world talking of him now that he is gone with something that resembles tenderness and affection.

Loved and regretted by the friends of his London life, he was incomparably more so in his own home, for the fine gifts of his heart and intellect were enhanced by a charm of manner, an inborn courtesy, that drew all hearts to him. To this day, over forty years since his death, he is remembered in the island he loved so much and served so loyally, with a faithful and vivid affection rarely to be found in these times of hurrying unrest and indifference.

He was laid to rest beneath the beautiful old church in Calbourne village in the presence of crowds of sad friends gathered there, rich and poor, great and small. The words of the inscription on the stone above his resting-place were suggested by Dr. Newman.

Mr. George Venables [10] in a notice privately printed in the year of his death, after complimenting him on his idiomatic French, his acquaintance with the Classics, and his literary activities, was good enough to add:

> If Sir John Simeon's disposition had been pushing and actively ambitious, he might easily have achieved greater worldly success and wider notoriety, and if his life had been prolonged the appreciating esteem of his numerous friends, among whom many were themselves distinguished, would gradually have created for him a general reputation. To a certain extent his admirable moral qualities stood in the way of his intellectual and practical capacity.

This certainly savours of the pompous and stilted fashion of the time, and one cannot help thinking how differently treated would be the appreciation to-day of an intimate friend. For my part I

[9] John Ball to Sir Henry Layard.

[10] Mr. Venables was a great friend of my father's. It may be remembered that he broke Thackeray's nose in a fight at Charterhouse School, and was supposed to be the original of George Warrington in *Pendennis*. He suggested to Tennyson the line in *The Princess*: 'If that hypothesis of theirs be sound.' This has a legal smack about it; explained by the fact that Mr. Venables was at the time a leading counsel at the Parliamentary Bar, in the brilliant days of Mr. Hope Scott.

turn, with a slight sense of relief, to the beautiful sonnets of Aubrey De Vere[11] to my father's memory, which Mr. Wilfrid Ward kindly allows me to reproduce *in extenso* :

I.

This day we keep our Candlemas in snow.
Wan is the sky : a bitter wind and drere
Wrinkles the bosom of yon blackening mere.
Of these I reck not, but of thee, and oh
Of that bright Roman morn so long ago
When children new of her, that Church more dear
To liegeful hearts with each injurious year,
We watched the famed procession circling slow.
Once more I see it wind with lights upholden
On through the Sistine, on and far away ;
Once more I mark beneath its radiance golden
Thy forehead shine, and, with it kindling say :
Rehearsals dim were those, O friend : this hour
Surely God's light it is that on thee rests in power.

II.

Again we met. We trod the fields and farms
Of that fair isle, thy happy English home.
We gazed upon blue sea and snowy foam
Clipt in the jutting headland's woody arms :
The year had reached the fullness of her charms.
The Church's year from strength to strength increased
Its zenith held—that great Assumption feast,
Whose sun with annual joy the whole earth warms.
That day how swiftly rushed from thy full heart
Hope's glorying flood. How high thy fancy soared,
Knowing, though far, once more thine England's crest
A light to Christendom's old heaven restored.
'In a large room' thy heart its home had found ;
The land we trod that day to thee was holy ground.

III.

The world external knew thee but in part ;
It saw and honoured what was least in thee :
The ways so winning yet so pure from art,
The cordial reverence, keen to all desert—
All save thine own : the accost so frank and free ;
The public zeal that toiled but not for fee,
And shunned alike base praise and hirelings' mart.
These things men saw : but deeper far than these,
The under current of thy soul worked on,
Unvexed by surface-ripple beam or breeze,
And, unbeheld, its way to ocean won.
Life of thy life was still that Christian Faith,
The sophist scorns. It failed thee not in death.

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[11] Of Aubrey De Vere Mr. Wilfrid Ward writes : 'To my mind the friend of Tennyson whose saintliness most completely had his sympathy, of whom Sarah Coleridge said that he had more entirely a poet's nature even than her own father or any other of the poets she had known.'

The following verses by my father I have chosen from a set of twelve poems of which Aubrey De Vere thought highly. He wrote of these: 'They are full of the sweetness and spirituality of his nature.' The poetry of these pieces seems to me for the most part very beautiful, as well as the sentiment, and many of the poems have a completeness, stateliness, and finish about them which show with what artistic skill he would have written if he had made the art a careful object of pursuit and given time to it:

To C. D. C.

Vita Tibi.

Thou for whom alone I live,
Take the life thou didst retrieve
When 'twas shipwrecked and adrift.
Never was a worthless gift
Proffered with a heart more free,
'Vita tibi'—'Life to thee.'

Take it, dearest, 'tis thine own,
Thine for ever, thine alone;
Thou didst save it: keep it now,
Help me to complete the vow
Thou long since hast had from me
Of 'Vita tibi'—'Life to thee.'

Awful words, if lightly said;
Blessed words when heart and head,
Weighing, knowing, feeling all,
Yield themselves in willing thrall
To their self-imposed decree
Of 'Vita Tibi'—'Life to Thee.'

Take it; naught but life can pay
The debt I owe thee: day by day,
Hour by hour, each inmost thought
Tells of blessings thou hast brought
To the heart whose only plea
Is 'Vita Tibi'—'Life to Thee.'

Be it mine to watch and ward,
Mine to be thy faithful guard;
Strong in deep undying love,
Thine to rest and let me prove
How well kept the pledge shall be
Of 'Vita Tibi'—'Life to Thee.'

I have many recollections of Cardinal Newman, Cardinal Manning, and Lord Tennyson, yet they seem slight in comparison with their significance for me, when it comes to writing them down. I shall never forget my first impression of Dr. Newman. He was coming to stay with us for a day or two in London, and I had formed all kinds of conceptions of his looks and ways. The

reality far exceeded the imagined, and I told my mother, rather to her surprise, that I thought he had an angel's face. I felt, I think, the spell of 'one of that small transfigured band which the world cannot tame.'

Dr. Newman gave me his '*Apologia pro vitâ suâ*,' wrote my name in it, and the words, 'as a memorial for years to come that she may remember me in her good prayers.' From that time onward he never failed to remember my birthday or my saint's day. He had a remarkable memory and regard for anniversaries, just as Dr. Jowett had. On his own birthday he wrote in 1867, 'Birthdays are awful things now: as minute guns by night.' I heard his first sermon in London as Cardinal. His affection for Littlemore is well known. My mother took me there once, and I sent the Cardinal some little bits of the ilex from the garden. He was pleased with me, and wrote me a charming letter of thanks.

My mother and Cardinal Manning were close friends, and kept up a regular correspondence from about 1854 till his death in 1891. Not the least part of a remarkable personal charm comes out in the humour—half playful, half ironical, with a quality of making the topic interesting, sometimes as it seemed in spite of itself—which flavoured his letters. I remember well, too, a way he had of characterising his acquaintance: the comments were punctuated by a telling pause and a sort of sniff. 'Good fellow,' he would say of Mr. So-and-so; 'Excellent fellow'; then the pause and the sniff; 'mute as a fish.' One realised hidden mysteries of unseen worth in Mr. So-and-so, and he remained pinned and labelled, as it were, like a specimen in one's mind. We often went to hear him preach, but admirable as they were held to be in matter, his sermons were harassed—to my mind—by the slow delivery, and their leisurely diffuseness. He had a habit of saying 'I now digress,' which was apt to cause confusion and even dismay in the minds and souls of his congregation. It meant that he had been visited by some radiant but irrelevant and misty inspiration, and these will-o'-the-wisps often led him a long way out of his course, and landed us nowhere in particular. In the days I am thinking of people were more patient of time in the pulpit, and I often wonder how Cardinal Manning's discourses would have fared in these days of twenty or even ten minutes' sermons. As a girl I often visited him in 'his lonely and sombre rooms,' as Mr. Purcell describes them, at Archbishop's House in York Place, Westminster,[13] which now exists no more. I see him so clearly in his

[13] This was originally Cardinal Wiseman's house. The lease was purchased and presented to Cardinal Wiseman soon after his conversion by Miss Gladstone. *Purcell*, vol. vi. p. 257.

rose-coloured cassock seated in a high-backed Italian chair: books stacked around on tables, chairs, and floor, the grey light from the tall, gaunt windows on his ascetic face, which at last became so attenuated that I always believed he denied himself food and fire to give to the poor he so greatly loved, and whom he helped without ceasing in a truly Apostolic way. He certainly retained for himself but the bare necessaries of life. He never kept any accounts; he called it writing epitaphs on dead money.

My recollections of Lord Tennyson are most vivid. He was very good to me just because I was my father's daughter, and would take me wonderful walks in London. These were attended with terrifying excitements; his sight was no longer very good, but impatient of any delay he would dash into the thickest traffic, even in those days sufficiently alarming, to investigate the sooty buds inside the railings of some square gardens, or anything else that happened to take his fancy for the moment on the other side of the street. I proudly accompanied him to the first night of *The Cup*, where our pleasure was a little disturbed by his anxiety lest I should prefer *The Corsican Brothers*, which had preceded it. I was able to reassure him on this point, and I do not think he could have had a more enthusiastic companion. We went behind the scenes, after the performance, to visit Miss Ellen Terry, in her glorious robes, and to inspect the wonderful solid pillars of the Temple of Artemis—a masterpiece of stage art. I remember, too, like many others, the pleasure of his reading aloud. I never was in the least afraid of him, and I recollect his own distress at having dissolved a young lady into tears by taxing her with 'dividing her time between her baby and her looking-glass.'

This is not the place for dwelling on the close friendship which subsisted between the poet and my father, but many things at home bear witness to it. He gave my father the manuscript of *In Memoriam*. It was on his birthday in the library at Swainston that Tennyson asked him to reach him a book from a shelf. As he did so, there fell out the manuscript of *In Memoriam*, which he had put there as a surprise.

It is now the cherished possession of the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, to which it was given by my mother and Hallam Tennyson in 1897.

One day at Farringford my father came upon the beautiful lyric 'O that 't were possible,' which had appeared years before in the *Tribute*, an ephemeral publication of the time. He implored Tennyson to introduce it into a dramatic poem, and gave him no peace until he set about writing *Maud*. Swainston and its cedars claim the distinction that part of the poem was written there.[13] And it was pacing the garden walks of

[13] *Harold* was written in my schoolroom in our house in Eaton Place, which the Tennysons rented for some months.

Swainston on the morning of his friend's funeral that Tennyson composed the sonnet which shall end this paper. The sonnet is well known, but I shall surely be pardoned for quoting it at length: [14]

J. S.

Nightingales warbled without,
Within was weeping for thee:
Shadows of three dead men
Walk'd in the walks with me,
Shadows of three dead men and thou
Wast one of the three.

Nightingales sang in his woods:
The Master was far away:
Nightingales warbled and sang:
Of a passion that lasts but a day;
Still, in the house, in his coffin, the Prince
Of Courtesy lay.

Two dead men have I known
In courtesy like to thee:
Two dead men have I loved
With a love that ever will be:
Three dead men [15] have I loved and thou
Art last of the three.

At the foot of the sheet of manuscript, now my most precious possession, Lord Tennyson wrote: 'Made on the morning of the burial while I was walking in the garden.'

DOROTHEA GROSVENOR.

[14] The writer is enabled to do this by the kind permission of Messrs. Macmillan.

[15] Arthur Hallam, Henry Lushington, and John Simeon.

THE CONTROL OF BRITISH POLAR RESEARCH

According to the news received from Captain Amundsen it appears that he attained the South Pole between the 14th and the 17th of December 1911.[1] I am not going to pass any comments on his attainment of the Pole, but it would be well for my readers to bear in mind the circumstances which have led up to this achievement, and thus to judge for themselves what motives he had in view.

In December 1908 a cordial invitation appeared in the Royal Geographical Society's Journal inviting Captain Amundsen to this country, and it was followed by a gift of 100*l.*[2] This was the first step towards funds for his projected expedition into the Arctic Ocean. It enabled him to go back to his own country and report to the Storthing in Christiania what the English Geographical Society thought of him and his project. Furthermore, on the strength of his representations he received a substantial sum from his own Government, and eventually collected sufficient money to enable him to start—as was supposed—into the Arctic Ocean.

The first news of his change of plans was sent from Madeira in August 1910, and it was announced in the following April that he intended to sail south instead of north.[3] The first news of his presence in the Antarctic regions came from Captain Scott, who found the *Fram* in the Bay of Whales (or as marked on the maps, Balloon Bight) in February 1911. The preparations for his journey were evidently made before leaving Norway, and the secrecy which surrounded them, in these circumstances, to say the least of it, was not in keeping with the best sporting traditions of this country. It appears from a letter published in the *Times*[4] that Captain Amundsen had the intention of going south instead of north as far back as September 1909. In that same letter he gives his reasons for his action, which are that he had not enough money for the North Polar Expedition, and that if he could attain the South Pole his Government and people would give him enough for his projected journey north.

[1] The *Daily Chronicle*, March 8, 1912.
[2] *Geographical Journal*, December 1908.
[3] The *Times*, April 26, 1911. [4] *Ibid.*

Looking at the Antarctic regions on the map, one is impressed by the blank appearance of this supposed great continent. Here and there appears the name of some great explorer, who has penetrated into the unknown, and either sighted land or landed upon the shore. In one place in particular there is a little cluster of names, all English, and two, especially dear to the heart of an Englishman—namely, Victoria Land and King Edward the Seventh's Land.

When we come to read the account of Captain Amundsen's journey to the Pole, as it appeared in the *Daily Chronicle*, we are struck by the ease with which he appears to have accomplished his journey. There is no doubt that he has added much to our knowledge of that region, but it is only what we expected to find from the journey already made by Sir Ernest Shackleton. It might have benefited our geographical knowledge more if Captain Amundsen had landed upon some unknown part of the Antarctic Continent, and we may safely conclude that there is land in 16° east longitude. I pick out this spot because it would be directly opposite and on the same meridian as 164° west longitude. Judging from the magnificent journey he made, one is led to think he could have cut out a route for himself, from the seaboard to the Pole, and gained credit for a genuine piece of original work.

The results of Captain Amundsen's journey may be summarised by saying that he has determined the extent of the Great Ice Barrier, and explored the area between the Great Ice Barrier and the Pole, a distance of 870 statute miles from his winter quarters. It will be remembered that his winter quarters were built in latitude 78° 40′ south and longitude 164° west.

It appears, however, that Captain Amundsen has not yet achieved his chief object. If reports be true, he intends to drift the *Fram* across the Arctic Ocean. On this subject I was allowed to express my views in this Review in April 1909.

The object of the present article is to show that Great Britain has been left behind the rest of the world in Polar research, and to put before the public the reasons for such a statement.

British exploration work is mostly the result of private enterprise, but, even so, it is better that there should be at the back of the movement either an organisation under the control of a body of individuals grouped together for the special object, or one of the societies established for the purpose. In England we are accustomed to look to the Royal Geographical Society to take the lead in such matters. It has a large revenue out of which payments are made in furthering the cause of geographical research and in awards for services rendered to science, and, owing to its opportunities and connexion, it is eminently fitted for the work.

I believe that I am correct in saying that the present expert advisers of the Council in Polar matters are Sir Clements Markham, who served in the Franklin Relief Expedition in 1850-51, and the surviving members of the Nares Expedition, which was despatched to the Arctic in 1875 and returned in 1876, since which date the majority of these explorers have had no practical experience of Polar travelling. The control of the country's Polar policy may be said, therefore, to rest with a body of explorers who for over thirty years have not seen an icefield, and this body is sufficiently influential to enforce its opinions with the authority of the laws of the Medes and Persians. To leave our national interests in Polar research in the hands of such a body is much the same as if we were to place the command of our army at the present time in the hands of a man who had been distinguished as a General over thirty years ago, but has since had no practical, but only theoretical, experience. This comparison seems to me to be apt, as the last thirty years show a proportionate improvement both in Polar and military equipment and methods.

I gladly give the members of the Nares Expedition full credit for what was at that time a fine achievement, as they reached latitude 83° 20′, a distance from the North Pole of just inside 400 miles. This was done in spite of severe hardships and illness, but it is doubtful whether, even though there had been no sickness among the members of the sledge party who reached the above point, the equipment of the party was sufficient to lead one to think that it could ever have reached the Pole. Admiral Sir A. H. Markham, the Commander of the *Alert*, one of the ships engaged on that expedition, reported on his return, as follows :[5]

> I am convinced that with the very lightest equipped sledges, carrying no boats, and with all the resources of the ship concentrated in the one direction, and also supposing that perfect health might be maintained, the latitude attained by the party I had the honour and pleasure of commanding would not be exceeded by many miles, certainly not by a degree.

This view was supported by Captain Nares, and presumably it was the general opinion of the responsible members of the Expedition. Captain Nares says : [6]

> Markham's journey . . . proves that a lengthened journey over the Polar pack-ice with a sledge party equipped with a boat fit for navigable purposes is impracticable at any season of the year.

The Nares Expedition left with Great Britain the record for the Farthest North, which she had held for three centuries, having during that period continually improved her own record. As we

[5] *Voyage to the Polar Sea*, Vol. i. p. 395. [6] *Ibid.*

were within so short a distance of the Pole, it was only natural that other countries with an Arctic record should struggle to reach it first, but it seems unintelligible that we, as a nation, should suddenly have dropped out entirely from the contest and have taken no steps to regain our position, especially when the experiences of first one and then another of our rivals showed that the opinion formed by the leaders of the Nares Expedition was wrong. As a fact, the record established by the Nares Expedition has been beaten not less than five times in the space of less than a quarter of a century. The following table makes this clear:

Nares[7] . . .	British	83° 20′ 26″	May 1876
Lockwood[8] . . .	American	83° 24′	May 1882
Nansen[9] . . .	Norwegian	86° 13′	April 1895
Cagni[10] . . .	Italian	86° 34′	April 1900
Peary[11] . . .	American	87° 6′	April 1906
Peary[12] . . .	American	90°	April 1909

In spite of all the successive achievements mentioned above, the Royal Geographical Society has taken no steps to put a British Arctic Expedition into the field.

It is impossible to believe that the survivors of the Nares Expedition were lacking in patriotic desire that their successors should accomplish what they themselves had failed to do, or that the North Pole had suddenly lost its fascination after so many centuries, or that there had arisen in the country a feeling, whether induced by modesty or generosity, that we no longer wished to monopolise the record for the Farthest North; but at any rate there was a sudden termination of all British Arctic exploration, the chief reason for which appears to have been that the body of experts which ruled the Council of the Society did not or would not realise that there were other ways of attacking the Pole than along a route which they had found impracticable. The actual personal experience of the Arctic authorities in the Society formed an argument which might have carried weight with the Council until the return of Nansen's Expedition, as neither the De Long Expedition in the *Jeanette* nor the Greely Expedition (the only two of any importance between the Nares Expedition and Nansen's) gave any indication that the opinion formed by the leaders of the Nares Expedition was not justified.

Nansen's Expedition marked a new era in Polar exploration. His scheme did not find favour with the experts of the Society.

[7] *Voyage to the Polar Sea*, vol. i. p. 377.
[8] *Handbook of Polar Discoveries*, by Greely, p. 251.
[9] Nansen's *Farthest North*, vol. ii. p. 142.
[10] *On the Pole Star in the Arctic Sea*, p. 492.
[11] *Nearest the Pole*, by Peary, p. 134.
[12] *The North Pole*, by Peary, p. 257.

It was, no doubt, a bold one, and not conventional, and there was no precedent by which the chances of its success or failure could be judged, and, as every public body has to be careful not to make mistakes, there may have been some justification for the hesitation of the experts in advising the Council to give its support to such an absolutely untried experiment. When, however, on the return of the expedition, it was found that Nansen had reached a point nearly three degrees further north than the leaders of the Nares Expedition declared to be possible of attainment by even the best equipped expedition, that he had done so with only one companion and a few dogs, that the sledge journey was made over rough pack-ice such as the Nares Expedition had encountered, and that no instance of scurvy had occurred among the members of the expedition during the entire period of their sojourn in the Frozen North, surely it was full time that the Society should have moved with the view to considering the advisability of despatching another expedition to the Arctic Regions, taking advantage of the experience gained by Nansen. The latter was given a well-merited special medal of the Society, and with this graceful but not arduous duty the temporarily revived Polar enthusiasm of the Council appears to have died down again.

To show that Nansen's ice journey was not 'a flash in the pan' in Arctic travelling, we find a few years later an even longer sledge journey over the Polar pack-ice made by Captain Cagni, of the Duke of Abruzzi's Italian Expedition, who covered a distance of five degrees of latitude over the ice. Captain Cagni started on this ice journey some distance to the south of the point at which the Nares Expedition took the ice, but beat the latter's record by over three degrees. This expedition was of great value in confirming the fact that the most, if not only, practicable way of attempting to reach the North Pole was by sledge.

Finally, we come to Peary. If Nansen's Expedition created a new era in Polar exploration, Peary's exploits have created another, and his last expedition to the North Pole has brought forward more prominently than any other set of circumstances could have done the ground lost by Great Britain in Arctic work.

Extremes meet in comparing Peary's work with the Society's inactivity during the same period. I would ask the Society's advisers to note how Peary spent years in studying on the spot not only the ice problems of the Arctic Regions, but also the Eskimo, upon whose help he meant ultimately to depend for carrying out his project for reaching the North Pole, and in learning their language. His experience of the Frozen North extended from 1886 to 1909, during which period he passed eight

winters and nearly twice as many summers in the Arctic Regions. No detail which could be advantageously improved upon, whether in equipment or otherwise, appears to have been too small to take trouble about. Nobody grudges Peary his title to be the discoverer of the North Pole, for no one has devoted to the subject any appreciable part of the time and trouble that he has done; but, however much we feel that Peary genuinely deserves the honour, we cannot, in the circumstances, help feeling a keen regret that steps were not taken to gain the honour for Great Britain. Peary's telegram announcing that he had secured the North Pole for America caused a painful sensation throughout the British Empire, as the most lethargic of our countrymen knew that the English had been looked upon for centuries as the pioneers of the Arctic Regions. I believe that I represent a not inconsiderable body of public opinion, both inside and outside the Society, when I say that in the matter of Arctic work the Royal Geographical Society 'has been weighed in the balance and found wanting.'

I find the sum total of the Royal Geographical Society's active British Polar work during the last thirty years appears to be, (1) the *Discovery* Expedition to the Antarctic, the value of which seems to be out of all proportion to its cost, and (2) the expedition at present in the field under the same commander. The following list shows the grants made, since the return of the Nares Expedition, to Polar Explorers:

		£	s.	d.
1882	Eira Relief Expedition . . .	1000	0	0
1892	Dr. Nansen's Arctic Expedition . .	300	0	0
1896	Sir Martin Conway (Spitzbergen) . .	300	0	0
1901	National Antarctic Expedition . .	5000	0	0
1902	National Antarctic Expedition . .	3000	0	0
1903	Captain R. Amundsen's Arctic Expedition	100	0	0
1906	E. Mikkelsen's Arctic Expedition .	200	0	0
1906	E. Mikkelsen's Arctic Expedition .	46	0	0
1908	E. Mikkelsen's Arctic Expedition .	126	11	2
1909	Captain R. Amundsen's Arctic Expedition	100	0	0
1910	National Antarctic Expedition . .	500	0	0
1911	National Antarctic Expedition . .	1000	0	0
—	Dr. Mawson's Antarctic Expedition .	500	0	0

The grants of money, therefore, have been made as follows:—

1. To Captain Scott's two Antarctic Expeditions . £9500
2. To British Polar Explorers 1800
3. To Foreign Arctic Explorers 872

In endeavouring to arrive at a reason for the Society's inaction in the matter of Polar research, I am driven to the conclusion that their experts have the conviction that none but

their own nominees should be sent out in charge of any expedition to either Pole. If this be so, the Poles are 'close boroughs' of the experts, and I have formed the impression that the Society favours Naval men only as their nominees for this purpose.

In common with all my countrymen, I have the deepest respect for our Navy, and would as soon have the 'handy man' as anyone else with me when difficulties have to be faced, but an officer who is keen on his work and wishes to rise in his profession is not always ready to throw up his prospects to take the command of such an expedition. Assuming his safe return, covered with glory, he resumes his place in the service, and, though he has been out of touch with his profession for some years, he may return to be placed over the heads of men who have continued working and are up to every new move in the naval game. Polar work, although a fine experience for any seafaring man, can in no circumstances be considered as an assistance in the highly technical education which a naval man of the present day requires, and promotion for duties of such a character is not popular in the Navy, nor is it in the interest of the service.

As to the command of Polar expeditions being entrusted to naval men, I grant that, when a ship is despatched to either Polar Sea, the ship must be in command of a seaman, but the Royal Navy has not the monopoly of the knowledge suitable for such an expedition. I contend that in the Polar regions the men best suited for such work are captains of whaling ships, some of whom have spent their lives within the Arctic Circle, and have had opportunities of experience which Naval Officers cannot acquire. Neither Nansen nor Captain Bartlett was a member of his country's navy, though Lockwood and Cagni were, yet the work done by the former two is enough to show that, if other nations can succeed without the services of their naval men, it is worth while for us, too, to give the experiment a trial. Peary, though an engineer in the United States Navy, appears to have done but little active service in it.

In support of my 'close borough' theory I will give three illustrations.

First, Dr. W. S. Bruce went to the Antarctic before Captain Scott, and did remarkably fine work. He sailed in the *Balæna*, as naturalist, in 1892, and reached nearly 68° south latitude. An account of this voyage appeared in the *Geographical Journal*, May 1896. Moreover, he acted as zoologist to the Jackson-Harmsworth Expedition to Franz Josef Land, as well as to Major Andrew Coats' Expedition to Nova Zembla and Barent's Sea. He has received no support from the Royal Geographical

Society, unless their awards can be so termed. It must be emembered that Dr. Bruce's plan of exploration was a much etter one than Captain Scott's, and would have been a great onquest if it could have been carried out.

Dr. Bruce discovered Coats' Land in the *Scotia* Expedition, and after his return his plans, as given in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, were to establish two bases, one on Coats' Land and the other at the western end of Ross' Great Ice Barrier, and to start a party from each base which were to meet the South Pole. In this way Dr. Bruce thought it would be ossible to explore the Antarctic Continent from Coats' Land to he Ross Sea. Unfortunately, this project, like so many others, vas not considered possible by the Polar experts of this country. Vith my knowledge of Polar exploration, I am sure that such ourneys were quite possible, if attempted by Polar explorers of xperience, and we have Captain Amundsen's journey before us, hich rather tends to show that Dr. Bruce was quite right. Unfortunately, if anyone submits original plans to the expert dvisers of the Royal Geographical Society on Polar matters, he s at once subjected to objections such as were given to Dr. Nansen.

Dr. Bruce also went out in command of the Scottish Expedition on board the *Scotia* at the same time as Captain Scott went n the *Discovery*. Surely there was ample work for two expeditions from this country, and although the *Scotia* Expedition had o funds to be compared with those of the *Discovery*, it carried ut useful scientific research in the Weddell Sea.

Secondly, Sir Ernest Shackleton, who succeeded Captain Scott as a South Polar explorer, received no support from the ociety other than the loan of an instrument, and why? Preumably, because he was not one of their nominees. On his eturn the Society killed the fatted calf for him, and partook of he meat, but history does not say whether the meat was alatable.

Thirdly, no better illustration can be brought forward than hat of the late Mr. David Hanbury. It is probable that few eople have heard of Mr. David Hanbury as a Polar explorer, ut to my mind he did some of the best work of modern times. He was by nature a Polar explorer, he had learned how to use now-shoes, how to build snow houses, how to clothe himself nd how to feed himself in the Polar regions, and, above all, w to drive dogs. These appear very simple accomplishments, ut they take a long time to acquire, and every leader of a Polar xpedition should have this knowledge. The man who can onstruct snow houses easily and quickly—a most difficult accomlishment—gets his proper rest at night, because he can keep

warm, and is fit to work during the day. Dogs are the only means of locomotion really valuable in the Polar regions. They go on top of the snow, where men without snow-shoes, ponies and motor sledges sink in. I have never tried motor sledges in the Polar regions, but I should think they would be about as much use as the balloon was to the *Discovery* Expedition.

Mr. David Hanbury started away from Great Slave Lake with nothing but his rifles, his fish nets and a small canoe. He travelled through the barren lands of Northern Canada to Chesterfield Inlet, and from there to the Arctic Coast, along that coast to the Coppermine River, and then across Bear Lake to the Mackenzie. He was away for two years, and lived most of the time with the Eskimo, and undoubtedly this journey was accomplished on the knowledge he had previously gained from the Eskimo. He made many journeys into the Arctic regions and at his own expense, but he never went as far north as the survivors of the Nares Expedition, although he made journeys that none of them could have accomplished. He is well remembered in Northern Canada as a traveller, and had the makings of one of the greatest Polar explorers that England has ever produced, but the Society sent round no appeal for funds on his behalf, nor encouraged him in any way, and, probably, never took the trouble to make any inquiry about him in those parts where his records were known, with the result that he retired from Polar exploration, and died last year. He was just in his prime when Captain Scott got command of the *Discovery*, and would have been, in my opinion, a splendid man to have had such a position.

On my previous expedition to the Arctic regions I heard nothing but good of his work, and the Eskimo would have followed him implicitly. The leaders of the Nares Expedition, however, held that the Eskimo were timid, and they consequently refused to employ them on their sledge journeys over the ice on that expedition. Presumably, they also thought that their opinion of Mr. Hanbury was not worth having, nor would it be if it were only the Eskimo who thought highly of his work.

I have given only three instances, and there were many men who were well fitted by experience to take the command of the National Antarctic Expedition. Let us now look at the experience of the man nominated or chosen by the Royal Geographical Society, and we cannot do better than take his own words out of his book, *The Voyage of the Discovery*.[13]

I may as well confess at once that I had no predilection for Polar exploration, and that my story is exceedingly tame, but such as it is it shows

[13] Vol. i. p. 32.

how curiously the course of one's life may be turned. I suppose the tale really starts in 1887, when Sir Clements Markham, then the guest of his cousin, the Commodore of the Training Squadron, made himself the personal friend of every midshipman in the four ships which composed it, and when I became one of those midshipmen and first made his acquaintance. But there is a long interregnum—until 1899, in fact; in that year I was serving as first lieutenant of the *Majestic*, then flagship to the Channel Squadron. Early in June I was spending my short leave in London, and chancing one day to walk down the Buckingham Palace Road, I espied Sir Clements on the opposite pavement, and naturally crossed, and as naturally turned and accompanied him to his house. That afternoon I learned for the first time that there was such a thing as a prospective Antarctic expedition; two days later I wrote applying to command it, and a year after that I was officially appointed.

It is quite possible that Captain Scott is as good a man as could be chosen for the command of an Antarctic Expedition. He has energy, resource, and qualities of a leader of men, and he may have achieved success in his present undertaking. For aught we know, he may have attained the South Pole before Captain Amundsen, and have remained in the Polar regions to complete his scientific investigations. If such is the case Englishmen will rejoice, and no one more than the present writer. But if this happily turns out to be the case, which it seems to me is highly improbable, the happy result is due to accident rather than to any scientific selection of men on the part of the Royal Geographical Society.

In appointing leaders to uphold British prestige the Royal Geographical Society proceeds on lines which are very different from the manner of acting in other countries, and are totally at variance with the best traditions of English exploration. Other countries take up and support the men who have already shown that they are born with that love of adventure and attraction for ice work which marks the true explorer. The Royal Geographical Society passes such an independent and enthusiastic spirit by, as not being its own creation. Nay more, it actually opposes and checks the efforts of such men.

There are half a dozen men in England, as I have shown, who have displayed all the spirit and determination of the early heroes of the ice field. In the days when individual enterprise was less trammelled by bureaucracy they would have won the support of those of their countrymen who were interested in exploration, but the chances of such support are no longer available. The Royal Geographical Society, with its widespread organisation and command of resources, is able to subordinate or efface the private adventurer. The man of rough, practical manner, who is a fool before a Committee, but is at home in the wilds of the frozen North or South, has no chance of support

over, if not scorned, and some young man of equal ambition and greater influence who is anxious to win his spurs will be chosen instead, advertised, and presented to the public with all the resource and journalistic influence which the Geographical Society possesses.

It is an invidious task to point out abuses of this kind which are almost necessarily inherent, to some extent, in all societies which try to direct arduous enterprises from the comfortable atmosphere of a London clubroom. But someone must speak out. If the methods of the Royal Geographical Society are continued, the chance of Great Britain ever recovering her leading position in the world of exploration will be lost. There will be talk, advertisement, the collection of funds, and all the outward appearance of energy and effort, but the man at the helm, the pilot who is to put the British ship first in the International race, will always be the wrong man, who was not chosen by nature for the post, but by the Royal Geographical Society.

ALFRED H. HARRISON.

ORATORIO VERSUS OPERA

Musical London, or that section of London society which considers itself to be *par excellence* such, seems to have settled to its own satisfaction that Oratorio is only an entertainment for the *bourgeoisie*. The prejudice was in existence in fashionable society as long ago as the time of Handel; witness the sneering remarks of Horace Walpole, the fugleman of the *précieux* world of his day, at the oratorio performances which, he implied, no one of any consequence ever attended, and where they had 'a man with one note in his voice, and a girl with never a one,' to sing the solos. If the 'man with one note' was Beard, for whom Handel wrote the tenor solos in *Samson*, 'Horry' was certainly wrong in his facts, for a mere glance at the music is enough to show that the singer for whom it was intended must have been an executant of no ordinary powers, though probably not the equal of the Crescentinis and the Senesinos, who had been the idols of the opera audiences; not to mention Farinelli, who, even among these latter, obviously stood alone and unapproached. But Horace Walpole's sneer at Handel's oratorios was probably motived not so much by any pretence to superior musical insight as by the perception that they were not reckoned among the chosen amusements of the fashionable world to which he belonged, and were, therefore, outside of his circle of interests. They were a kind of entertainment for the vulgar who knew no better.

Not so very long ago—within the memory of people who are not very old—Oratorio had conquered a more important position than this in musical England; even in musical London. The oratorio performances at Exeter Hall in the great days of the Sacred Harmonic Society, with Costa as conductor, with a band of one hundred, and a chorus of some six hundred (about the ideal numbers for effective performance of choral works) were regarded as important events in the musical world, which might be attended without involving any confession of mediocrity in musical perception; they formed an annual series of concerts to be looked on with as much respect, in their way, as the annual series of the Philharmonic Society's concerts. Now all this has changed; the Sacred Harmonic Society has ceased to exist, for lack presumably of public support, and with the exception of the occasional and

rather unequal performances of the Handel Society, oratorios seem to be now only given as a bonus to the religious public, to provide them at Christmas and in Lent with a form of musical entertainment which may appear to them to constitute, in some sort, a part of the religious observance of the season.

We have come round again, in short, pretty much to Horace Walpole's position of regarding Oratorio as an entertainment for the middle classes; but though the resultant position is the same, the reasons at the back of it are probably not quite the same. Opera, though less of an exclusive function for the upper ten thousand than it used to be, is still, no doubt, to many, the most fashionable form of musical entertainment; it is in this country (where there are no subsidised opera houses) still an amusement within the reach of the comparatively rich only; it is a function at which beauty and her equipment can be displayed with more effect than in a concert-room. But the present indifference to or contempt for Oratorio in comparison with Opera is not the product only of what may be called fashionable fashion, it is that of musical fashion also; it is the opinion or the feeling of people who claim to be more or less specially musical, and to consider music from a critical point of view. And the question propounded here is, whether this is not altogether an æsthetic mistake; whether Oratorio, considered in the abstract, is not really a higher and more intellectual artistic form than Opera; whether some existing oratorios are not greater works than any opera that has been produced so far.

Of course it may be admitted at once that Opera is a more exciting form of musical entertainment than Oratorio. But if we consider the matter impartially, I think it will be found that this more exciting character resides in an appeal to the senses rather than to the intellect. The accompaniment of scenic effect pleases another sense besides the ear, and has sometimes the element of a surprise in it; but it has also the element in it of ocular deception, often very imperfect—objects, according to a criticism at an Oxford theatrical representation, 'too obviously in two dimensions'; whereas the suggestions and the beauties of the music, taken by itself, are genuine as far as they go, and appeal to the intellect as imitation scenery certainly does not. Grouping of beautiful and effective costumes is a genuine artistic effect, and one which we cannot generally get in real life, though the numerous pageants of late years have afforded us that form of enjoyment to some extent. As to acting, nothing in the way of acting which can be of any intellectual interest or of any real or life-like power is possible in Opera. Critics talk about the acting of this singer being good, and that of the other one bad, but the difference is a very conventional one. Sung drama, even when,

as in Wagner's operas, and those of the contemporary French school, the artificial aria form is discarded, is so far removed from anything in real life that the true function of acting in 'holding the mirror up to Nature' cannot be realised; the nearest possible approach to it can only amount to the emphasis of the vocal declamation by appropriate and effective gesture. The opportunity afforded to the singer of singing without a book in his hand and of being free to add expressive gesture to his delivery of the music is no doubt one of the advantages to be claimed by Opera, where the music itself is of a dramatic, and what may be called a personal character; there is a great difference in effect between 'Voi che sapete' sung in a drawing-room, and the same air delivered by the love-sick youth on the stage. But not in all cases can the advantage of accompanying singing by gesture be equally obvious. The higher and more serious in style is the music, and the more abstract and impersonal the sentiment, the less room is there for expression by means of gesture. 'Voi che sapete' or 'Non più andrai' may gain by gesture; 'Qui sdegno' would not; it is too abstract, and no gesture could be added to it but would be an impertinence and a weakening of its effect. The same may be said of that infinitely pathetic tenor air in *Fidelio*, the lament of the imprisoned Florestan over his wasted life. Given the situation, the full pathos of the air can be brought out in the concert-room; the sham shackles and the painted canvas walls, and the insignia of the scenic dungeon add nothing to it; in its place in the opera they are necessary to keep up the illusion of the acted story, but it is the poignant pathos of the music that goes to our hearts; the scenic accessories are but the tinsel of the stage, and are beneath the level of the music; and many other instances might be quoted to the same effect. On the other hand, take an impassioned song written for the concert-room, such as Beethoven's scena, 'Ah Perfido'; can one seriously imagine anything added to the pathos of that by its being sung in costume, with gesticulation, amid surroundings of paste-board scenery? The question answers itself.

'Do you not care for Opera, then?' the reader may be supposed to ask. Yes; I enjoy Opera keenly, as a brilliant and attractive combination of music and scenic and costume effects; I do not add 'and acting,' because, as observed above, I think acting, in the true sense in which it has any intellectual interest, is impossible in Opera. The adequate acting of such plays as *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Lear* (if indeed *Lear* ever can be adequately acted) makes a higher appeal to the intellect than anything of which Opera is capable. But, putting the acting out of the question, regarding Opera as a brilliant combination of musical and scenic effect, more exciting and attractive to the senses than any

other form of musical art, I deny that it represents the highest use to which music can be put, or the one which appeals most to the imagination. It is inferior in this sense both to Symphony and to Oratorio; but the comparison with Oratorio is the more obvious one to make, since both that and Opera depend on the spoken word as their basis; both undertake to give musical illustration, by means of vocal and instrumental music combined, to a story in which characters and situation are illustrated and partly described by music. In Oratorio we depend entirely on the characterisation given by the music; the aspect of the scenes and personages, the nature of the incidents in the narrative, is only suggested to the imagination by the music. In Opera the scenes and the personages are represented to the sense of sight by artificial means of which the artificiality is always obvious enough. In consequence, music in Opera is no longer a purely abstract art addressed to the imagination; it is clogged with the accompaniment of an inadequate and rather tawdry realism. The result, be it admitted, is brilliant and captivating to the senses, especially of those whose imaginative faculties are somewhat sluggish; but, as already suggested, the loftier the quality of the music, the less it seems to blend with or to require the pasteboard and tinsel art of the scenic setting.

And it is rather curious to consider, in this connexion, that with all the popularity of Opera in the London musical world, it does not after all appear that it is the best and finest operas, in a purely musical sense, that are wanted. If it were, their production would pay; and if it would pay, they would be produced. How is it that there are only two operas of Mozart's that we ever hear of at all, and those two, and Beethoven's one opera, only at long and uncertain intervals; that *Die Zäuberflöte* might almost as well never have been written; that *Il Seraglio*, which surprised everyone by its beauty some thirty years ago, has been shelved ever since; that Cherubini's monumental work, *Medea*, has never been attempted since about the same period of time; that no attempt is ever made at *Euryanthe* (a far greater work than *Der Freischütz*); that Rossini's *Barbière* can be produced, while *Guillaume Tell*, which, whatever we may think of its school, is in its way a great work, is almost entirely neglected; that we needed the example of the Paris Opéra to bring about a kind of grudging recognition of Gluck's *Armide*, while we see announced the frequent repetition of the lighter work of Puccini, and others of the modern school? If the great classic operas mentioned were dear to the public, they would be frequently given, for it would be profitable to give them. Obviously they are not in demand. Oratorio is thought dull. Evidently classic Opera is dull also. What is wanted is amusement and novelty. It is a perfectly

legitimate want; only it must not be mistaken for a craving for what is highest and most serious in musical art.

And, after all, can Opera best supply such a craving where it exists? The drawback to all serious Opera, professing to represent the tragedy and pathos of human life, is that feeling of unreality which is inseparable from it, arising partly from the incongruity in the representation of men and women expressing their feelings in a medium so far removed from the realities of human life; partly from the puerile suggestiveness of stage machinery. Hence the most unqualified successes of Opera, as Opera, have lain either in comedy or in supernatural legend. In comedy we are content to enjoy the humour of the musical characterisation without being called upon to take it seriously; in supernatural legend the whole thing is so far removed from real life that we cease to feel the incongruity of its terror or pathos. In *Don Giovanni*, the greatest of operas, we have both elements. Nothing in the way of humour could be more subtle and intellectual than Mozart's treatment of such scenes as that in which Leporello banters Elvira on the subject of her lover's infidelities, or that of Don Giovanni's mock serenade, with its *spirituel* contrast between the passionate beauty of the voice part and the mocking piquancy of the accompaniment (what a contrast to Wagner's elephantine attempts at humour over Beckmesser!); and in the statue scene at the close we have that kind of picturesque supernaturalism which perhaps could only be adequately treated in Opera; which at any rate presents nothing incongruous with serious musical treatment and with scenic effect. But with the musically highest class of serious Opera, dealing ostensibly with human life, it comes really to this, that we go to it for the sake of the music, and accept the costumes and the stage machinery as something incidental which does not affect us much, and which we feel in many cases to be below the level of the music. We can hardly help feeling, in some portions of Mozart's operas, as in the second *finale* in *Don Giovanni*, and in the final scene in *Figaro*, that he has lavished splendid music on situations that are not worth it, and that the divine art is, if not degraded, at any rate misplaced in connexion with them. Wagner, though he had not an ounce of humour in his composition, recognised rightly that legend was the real atmosphere for serious Opera, and his music in its stronger as well as in its weaker elements just suits his *libretti* and his stage machinery; even the vulgar blaring of the 'Ride of the Walkyrie,' which has absurdly been transferred to the concert-room, is quite good enough to accompany the passage of a string of spectacular rocking-horses. But when one hears people talking of this kind of production as if it had a

deep moral and poetic significance, one can only regard them as so many grown-up children.

When we quit legend and comedy, and come to the problem of the musical treatment, by voices and instruments combined, of epic or dramatic narrative of serious significance, it is here that Oratorio comes to the rescue, and furnishes the opportunity for the painting of incident and the expression of character, freed both from the disproportionate costliness of the operatic stage, and from the prosaic and yet incomplete realism of stage machinery and scenery in two dimensions. Oratorio, speaking not only through the lips of the 'blest pair of Sirens, Voice and Verse,' but with the added colour and emphasis derived from orchestral accompaniment, appeals far more to the imagination than any opera, provided the hearer brings imagination of his own to meet its suggestions. And it has, in a purely musical sense, this great advantage over Opera, that its conditions can allow of the full development of an air or a chorus in complete musical form, without raising that question of the logical inconsistency of checking the course of acted drama at a critical moment, in order to allow the hero or heroine to express their feelings in a lengthened solo, which has been the constant stumbling-block of the higher criticism in regard to Opera. Not that the treatment of Opera in recitative commensurate with the progress of the wording is necessarily more dramatic, in the higher sense of the word, than Opera in which characters and situations are illustrated by the interpolation of complete compositions in extended form. All Opera is a convention; the Mozart form is one convention, that of Wagner and of the contemporary French Opera composers is another; we have only to settle which convention we prefer to abide by; and dramatic power, in the characterisation of a personage by music, may be just as well shown in the one form as in the other. Mozart, as a matter of fact, is ten times more dramatic than Wagner, in that the music he writes for a character seems to be the natural and spontaneous expression of that character, as by a kind of inspiration, while Wagner's *leit-motiv* labels produce rather the impression of having been arbitrarily chosen; they do not in themselves express character, they only notify the presence or the entrance of a special personage to whom a special phrase belongs, by which he is, as it were, hall-marked. Still, the discrepancy between the assumed progress of the action, and the arresting of it at intervals for the delivery of a long musical composition, in the old school of Opera, does afford a handle for criticism, and is a stumbling-block to those who would have all art geometrically logical. Now from this dilemma the Oratorio form sets us free. Since there is no represented action, but only poetic narrative, generally speaking rather epic than dramatic in

its nature, the musician is at liberty to develop his art fully in formal composition of chorus and air, without exposing himself to the criticism that he is arresting the action in doing so, since there is no action to arrest. As to the frequent repetition of the same words in the course of an air or chorus, if any reader is really so befogged in his mind as to the respective functions of music and poetry as to think it worth while to raise a question on the subject, it would perhaps be useless to argue with him, but he had better read Matthew Arnold's *Epilogue to Lessing's Laocoön*, where the philosophy of the matter is as convincingly expressed and illustrated, in a few lines, as it well could be.

Under the head of 'Oratorio' I am including not merely the generally recognised sacred oratorios, but all compositions of considerable length, and in various movements, for chorus, solo voices, and orchestra, whether supposed to be sacred or not; cantatas, motets, etc.; and also the concert-room performance of Masses by the great composers, for these come in a musical sense under the same head, and are performed with the same object. Devout Catholics, I believe, rather object to this transference to the concert-room of music for what they regard as the most solemn rite of their worship; but as no religious rite is simulated or travestied in the performance of the music of a Mass in the concert-room, and it is listened to and regarded as sacred music, it does not seem that Catholics have any right to demonstrate against such performances, further than by declining to attend them, if their conscience is uneasy on the subject.

The fact that the class of production entitled 'Oratorio' probably first derived its name from the performances of sacred music in the oratory of a church, has rather stamped it by tradition as a form of composition dealing especially with sacred subjects, but there is no reason in its nature for such a limitation. Handel, indeed, in his *Alexander's Feast*, *Hercules*, and other works, has shown how successfully it may be used for the treatment of purely secular subjects; and *Judas Maccabeus*, in spite of its Hallelujah Chorus at the end, and its frequent references to the Almighty as the Protector of the chosen people, is rather a martial than a religious oratorio. It is, however, in the treatment of sacred subjects that Oratorio composers have risen highest. Whatever the fluctuations of religious opinion and belief in different generations, subjects which deal with religious history and with the spiritual side of human life have had the power to evoke the highest and most serious efforts of the great composers of Oratorio, just as religious enthusiasm in the Middle Ages evoked the greatest triumphs of architecture, insomuch that one may say that without religion mediæval architecture would hardly have existed. And as the cathedrals still impress us, in days of a very different

religious creed, with something of the spiritual aspiration out of which they arose, so the religious oratorios of the great composers, however out-of-date, in some sense, the creed which they illustrate, still impress us as efforts to give expression in music to the spiritual aspiration of humanity. For the greatest of these works were not written in any merely perfunctory spirit of composition. Handel, of whose genuine religious fervour there is abundant evidence, is nowhere so great as in the two oratorios taken entirely from the words of the Bible—*Israel in Egypt* and *Messiah*. Bach's St. Matthew *Passion* and St. John *Passion*, and of course his Mass (the greatest work of the three), were actually written for religious services. Mozart put the most serious and pathetic work of his life-time into the *Requiem* which he believed he was writing for him-self. Mendelssohn unquestionably wrote *Elijah* and *St. Paul* with a feeling which came from the heart, or he could never have had such inspirations as 'O great is the depth' and 'Be thou faithful' in *St. Paul*, or the 'Holy, Holy,' in *Elijah*. And religious aspiration in a new and wider form might still be the moving spirit of new productions in Oratorio:

> Why, where's the need of Temple, when the walls
> O' the world are that? What use of swells and falls
> From Levites choir, Priests' cries and trumpet-calls?
>
> That one face, far from vanish, rather grows,
> Or decomposes but to recompose,
> Become my universe that feels and knows.

There is no need, however, to regard Oratorio as necessarily dealing with sacred subjects. As already suggested, it can treat poetic narrative of a high class, whether sacred or secular, with more musical completeness and more freedom than is possible in Opera, and without the cost and the often absurd realism (or failure of realism) of the stage machinery. There is also, it must be admitted, a danger in taking too religious a view of Oratorio—that of letting the religion get the better of the music; as has been illustrated of late years in the instance of Gounod's *Redemption*, the work of a devout Catholic, who regarded the sacred significance of the sentences set as sufficient in itself to carry off a very bald and feeble musical rendering; and in consequence his oratorio is dead already. Whether the same fate may await the religious oratorios of another devout Catholic musician it is too soon at present to prophesy; but I cannot help recording the opinion I heard in regard to them from an able professional musician. It seemed to him, he said, that anyone who had mastered the diffi-culties of part-writing and orchestration, and who had very fervent religious feelings, might go and do likewise. Whether he was

right or wrong one must leave it to 'that old common arbitrator, Time,' to decide.

That Handel is the great light in Oratorio, supreme above all others, no sound criticism can deny. In his works alone of this class do we find that spontaneous power of giving appropriate expression to the feeling of the words, whether they be pathetic or triumphant, grave or gay, which one can only characterise by the word 'inspiration,' a term which serves vaguely to account for and explain a power which is unaccountable and inexplicable. In his oratorios alone do we find that melodic interest and variety in the writing for solo voices which render these portions of the composition only second, if second, in musical importance to the finest of the choruses; and that completely vocal style, that accurate knowledge of what the voice can best express and execute, in which Handel is above all other composers. In this knowledge of vocal style Mozart and Rossini come nearest to him, but even at their best they hardly equal Handel in this sense, and Rossini's moral tone (if one may use such an expression in relation to music) is of course on an altogether lower plane than Handel's. As a writer for solo voices Bach, whatever his ardent worshippers of to-day may believe, has no claim to be named with Handel. His moral tone, his intent, is indeed of the highest, but his style was all formed on the organ, and he writes for solo voices as if he were writing for a solo stop on the organ. People cannot see this at present, because they are under the influence of a fashionable cult of Bach; they will possibly find it out presently. The dramatic element in Handel's solos (as might perhaps have been expected from a composer who had passed the greater part of his life in writing operas) is more remarkable and more forcible than in any other oratorios. The idea that the St. Matthew *Passion* is more dramatic because of the introduction of the 'narrator'—because one singer sings the words, 'And Jesus answered and said,' and another goes on with the words of Jesus, is absurd; anyone may be dramatic at that rate. Dramatic character resides in the music itself, not in the distribution of the parts. There is more dramatic character in 'Why do the nations?' 'Thou shalt break them,' or 'O ruddier than the cherry,' than Bach ever dreamed of in a vocal solo. When we hear his song, 'Pan's a master, without doubt,' we find out from the words that it is intended to be humorous; we should never find it out from the music—it might be a display song in a sacred oratorio; but no one would ever make such a mistake as to Polyphemus's song. The one dramatic moment in the *Passion* is the choral shout of 'Barabbas!' on a chord of the diminished seventh; the rest is contemplative, not dramatic. It may be all the more suitable for that reason; only let us have

One cause that has no doubt militated against keeping some of Handel's oratorios before the modern public is the poor and trivial nature of the words, or of many portions of the words, to which they are composed; and it is a curious and interesting point to notice, that as a general rule (not without exceptions) the prosaic character of the words re-acted on the music; that Handel's music rises in character and force in proportion to the poetic suggestiveness of the words to which it is set. He sometimes set good music to poor words; but he never sets poor music to poetic words. Handel never properly learned our language, and it is possible that when he found such a couplet as:

> The Lord commands, and Joshua leads;
> Jericho falls, the tyrant bleeds,

put down for the words of a chorus, he was not fully aware what wretched doggerel it was. On the other hand, the explanation may be that, being driven into Oratorio-writing to get a living, after his reverses and losses over Opera, he felt that he could not afford to be fastidious, and must just take what he could get. At all events, it is unquestionable that if he was not alive to the monkey-tricks of doggerel in English verse, he was fully alive to the poetry, whenever there was any. Give Handel a single line, or even a word, embodying a really poetic idea, and he never fails to rise to it; numberless instances might be cited. And if we are to taboo Handel's oratorios for the poor character of the *libretto*, what about Opera? How many operas, at that rate, would survive? Opera is generally sung in England in a foreign language, and unless the hearer happens to be really familiar with the language, as with his own, the *niaiseries* of the words are mostly overlooked. But translate them, and what stuff they mostly are! Beaumarchais' paltry drama of household intrigue furnished situations for the display of Mozart's incomparable gift of musical humour, but without Mozart it would be almost vulgar. How absurd Wagner's *libretti* may be in the original language I am not familiar enough with German fully to realise; but such portentous clap-trap as they are in the apparently most approved English translation I never remember to have seen in print; Handel's oratorio *libretti* are mild in comparison; at the worst they are merely inane, they are not rampantly absurd. And after all, have they, even in Oratorio, a monopoly of inanity? Look at the words of the first chorus in Bach's *Passion*, where the chorus on one side ejaculates 'See Him!' the other questions 'How?' and the first chorus replies, 'Like a lamb.' Was it really worth the solemn machinery of a double chorus to give expression to such bald and naïve dialogue? The double chorus in *Israel in Egypt* is put to a better use than that, at all events.

But here and in *Messiah* Handel dealt with the noble language of the English version of the Bible, and, as usual, was proportionately noble and inspired in his music. In *Israel* the whole of the music is not his own, unfortunately for us, for it would be a greater work if it were, though some of the choruses which ignorant critics persist in referring to as spurious are in fact great music expanded by Handel out of brief hints borrowed from otherwise forgotten compositions; and it is in those which are entirely his own and written for the occasion that the true greatness of the oratorio consists; if it were not for these, no one would go to hear it. In *Messiah* we have Handel unadulterated; the one or two choruses not written, or at least not conceived in their main idea, for the words, being only happy adaptations from earlier work of his own. And here, in this work, we have unquestionably Handel's masterpiece, the treatment of a great religious epic in the subject of which the composer himself thoroughly believed; and here we have also the masterpiece of musical art, the greatest and most poetic of all musical compositions of which the spoken word is the basis; a judgment in which Beethoven at all events, who 'would have uncovered his head and knelt down on the tomb' of its author, would have concurred. Independently of the mere musical effectiveness of the choruses and solos, the manner in which the whole feeling of the great story is entered into and pourtrayed in its successive phases—the dawning light of prophecy; the pastoral scene of the Nativity; the tragedy of the Passion, with the subsequent triumph; the hope of the Christian in time and for eternity—shows the author as not only a great musician, but a great religious poet. Like most of us in the present day who think at all, I have passed beyond the phase of belief which belonged to Evangelical Christianity; and yet in listening to *Messiah*, so intense and so true in spirit seems both its song of tragedy and of triumph, so complete the scheme and development of the whole, that one is almost persuaded to accept it all again, for the moment at least, in the old spirit of unquestioning faith. At all events, when we consider what has been the significance to mankind of the Christian story, one may be allowed to question whether an oratorio setting it forth in so sincere and so dramatic a manner, and suggesting to the mind ideas of Divine love, of the reign of righteousness on earth, and of eternal life hereafter—whether this is not, on the whole, rather a higher subject of contemplation than an opera in which we make the acquaintance of singing dragons, real horses, and rocking-horses, and in which one of the most important incidents is that of an unnatural amour between brother and sister, suggested in a scene of overwrought passion which, with its direction at the end [illegible]

It is to be regretted, in regard to Oratorio, that, whether in consequence of the less importance attached to it now, or from whatever other cause, the race of great Oratorio singers is becoming, has in fact all but become, extinct. The younger generation do not know it, but it is the fact, that singers in Oratorio are now applauded to the echo whom thirty years ago we should have regarded as second-rate, and have listened to merely as substitutes for someone better. People are so apt to think that this is merely the delusion of the *laudator temporis acti*, that it is necessary to add that my impression in regard to instrumental music is exactly the reverse. There is a higher general standard of execution on the violin and pianoforte now than a quarter of a century ago, and a still more remarkable advance in the finish of orchestral playing. But the art of singing has gone down. For many years past Mr. (now Sir Charles) Santley took the bass part in *Messiah* at the Handel Festivals; at the last one, though he sang in *Elijah*, I suppose he did not feel equal to Handel's more exacting solos, and for the first time at those Festivals we heard 'Why do the nations?' with the rapid triplet passages somewhat slurred and uncertain, instead of being sung in the clean-cut manner with which he used to give them. As to Sims Reeves, no one who did not hear him in the days of his full powers has any idea to what a height of artistic perfection Oratorio singing can be carried. And this decline in Oratorio singing must to some extent affect people's ideas as to the worth of Oratorio *versus* Opera. Nothing I have ever heard in Opera has affected me like Reeves's singing of the recitative 'Deeper and deeper still,' and the air 'Waft her, angels,' out of *Jephtha*; those who have only heard that sung by present-day Oratorio tenors have practically not heard it at all; and the idea that anything like a scenic setting could have added to the effect of that performance would have been too absurd to entertain for a moment. But if Oratorio is ever to take the position it once held, the raising again of the standard of vocal execution must be one step towards it. In Madame Clara Butt we have still a great contralto singer, but there is no sign of any adequate successors in Oratorio to Sims Reeves and Sir Charles Santley. When we can have really great singers in Oratorio again, then we may still better maintain the position already suggested, that the highest style of vocal performance is independent of and superior to stage attractions. Can anyone seriously imagine that the immortal air, 'Farewell, ye limpid springs,' could gain anything in effect if sung by Jephtha's daughter in Jewish costume before a property altar of sacrifice; that 'O ruddier than the cherry' would gain by being sung by a man made up as a Cyclops; or that the singer of 'Lord God of [illegible]' con[illegible] put more effect [illegible] to [illegible] by [illegible]

mantle of the prophet? Such songs are addressed to the feeling and imagination of the listener; to try to make them appeal to his visual organs also would merely be to drag them down from a poetic to a prosaic plane.

The Handel Society, to which reference has been made, however it may have been started with the view of illustrating Handel, has latterly somewhat deserted what should be its colours by devoting part of its limited number of concerts to works of the modern school which there are opportunities for hearing elsewhere, and thereby perforce neglecting great and nearly forgotten works which it might and should have revived. Such is the baneful effect of the hue-and-cry raised against Handel by stupid critics, echoed by popular novelists who think they are showing discrimination in following the cry, that to my knowledge some of the very amateurs who give their services in the chorus of the Handel Society sneer at his compositions in private, and have apparently to be kept in good humour by giving them the sugar of modern music of the romantic school to gild the pill of Handelism. If this goes on, the Handel Society will lose its true *raison d'être*, and might as well disband. We are indebted to it in past days for having brought out some great and neglected works; notably for having given not very long ago a fine performance of Mozart's *Requiem*, a masterpiece so utterly neglected for years back that I have come across musicians and amateurs who did not even know a note of Mozart's greatest work—hardly even recognised its existence. But have the Society yet done all they might even for Handel, that they should forsake their programme for the introduction of modern compositions which there are other opportunities of hearing? Even among his oratorios there is much fine music that has hardly even been heard. And what of the Chandos Anthems? much larger compositions than we generally understand by that word; Church cantatas rather: totally unknown and neglected. And to come to compositions other than Handel's—what of Cherubini's *Requiem*, which Beethoven said should have been his model for a Requiem? And Graun's fine and pathetic oratorio, *Der Tod Jesu*? and Mozart's choral cantatas, 'Ne Pulvis et Cinis' and 'Splendente Te, Deus'; things which we never hear; which are forgotten as if they had never been; surely the Society might spend its time better in reviving some of these than in doing works which are popularly known and can be heard elsewhere. Among more modern Oratorio works it might be thought that Spohr's *Last Judgment* was worth attention, and Sterndale Bennett's beautiful and *spirituel* little oratorio, *The Woman of Samaria*; and another greater work than either, Rossini's *Stabat Mater*, which seems

friend who is influential at the Handel Society; personally I think he agreed with me, but he said it would be 'an impossible work now.' Why? Apparently because it is wanting in what we call religious feeling; it is sacred music in an operatic style. So it is to some extent; so is Beethoven's *Mount of Olives* (even more so); but to deny that it is a great work is as absurd as if you were to deny that Titian's 'Christ crowned with Thorns' is a great picture, because there is no religious feeling in it. Besides, I do not know that it is true of the whole work; there is real pathos in the opening chorus; in the bass air, 'Pro peccatis'; and above all, in the great duet, 'Quis est homo,' one of the most perfect and impassioned things in music, the singing of which by Titiens and Trebelli forms one of my most precious musical recollections—such a piece of duet-singing as I never expect to hear again. And if the *Stabat Mater* is too operatic, is it to be forgotten that Rossini left behind him a *Messe Solennelle*, also a great work, in a far more church-like style? I was present at the first performance of this given in England after Rossini's death, in a lecture-room at Liverpool, with forty picked voices and a grand pianoforte; and have never forgotten my first hearing of the fugued chorus 'Cum Sancto Spiritu'; it would open the eyes of the people who think Rossini could only write tunes. Surely the Handel Society might let us hear that, at all events, if the *Stabat Mater* is too frivolous!

Let me conclude with a word or two about the last Handel Festival. The introduction of Mendelssohn into the programme may be excused on the ground that it was Mendelssohn's centenary year; but if, as I suspect, it was done rather with a view of appealing to a wider popular taste and drawing a larger audience, it was a fatal mistake, equally in aesthetics and in policy. Mendelssohn is not on the same plane as Handel, nor are his choral compositions calculated to realise the highest musical value of the Festival, that of enabling us to hear choral part-writing on a vast scale; nor is there, in Mendelssohn's case, the reason for Festival honours which exists in the case of Handel, who, though German by birth, is really and practically the greatest English composer. And to many of those who habitually attend these celebrations the intrusion of Mendelssohn was a bitter disappointment, and was sharply criticised. For the first time we missed hearing *Israel in Egypt* in complete form; and the selection from it left out three of the finest and most inspired of the original choruses, besides depriving us of the repetition of the great chorus, 'I will sing unto the Lord,' which Handel knew so well was worth hearing twice over. If the management, instead of giving us the first chorus out of *Samson*, 'for the first time at the Festivals,' had had the sense to give the entire oratorio,

one of Handel's greatest, and which has never been given at the Festivals as a whole, they would have done a better work, and, in all probability, had a better attendance.

The weakness, in a musical point of view, of the Handel Festival performances has always been the want of proper proportion between the band and chorus, the band not being numerous enough to maintain the proper balance between voices and instruments, or to enable the accompaniment figures to be sufficiently heard when the whole mass of the chorus are singing. This defect has been pointed out several times, and no effort seems to have been made to amend it, which seems rather stupid; but of course the cost of the performance would be considerably increased by enlarging the band, and the experiment would perhaps have been financially prohibitive; so one must recognise the difficulties of the case and be grateful for what we can get. There are always glorious effects to be heard; the mere sight of the vast semicircle of singers is an inspiring one; and the performance of the *Messiah* choruses at the Festival in 1909 was the finest I have ever heard there; in fact, the difficulty which one might suppose to exist in keeping so vast a body of singers together in an intricate fugued chorus seemed to have practically vanished, thanks in part to the admirable conducting of Dr. Cowen, who both on this and the last occasion gave proof of his exceptional qualifications as conductor of a large chorus.

The Handel-phobia of the *précieux* group of amateurs and critics is of course increased tenfold at the idea of an extra large chorus being got together to perform some of his works, and they seem hardly able to keep their temper in speaking of the Handel Festival and of those who find a grandeur in it. 'We don't go *there*!' said a lady, with a sort of sniff of contempt, to a guest who admitted having been at the Handel Festival; the despised guest being a lady who was in fact a much better musician than her hostess. The newspaper critic who seems to be the spokesman of the party devoted an article at the time to scoffing at the whole thing, suggesting, among other things, that the Plague Choruses in *Israel* might at any rate be omitted, 'since we did not even know whether Handel wrote them.' That the said critic did not know was obvious; he gave a naïve exhibition of his ignorance on a former occasion by describing 'But as for his people' as 'Stradella's delicious chorus'; the whole composition being Handel's, and in his best way, except the one little bit borrowed from a cantata attributed to Stradella. Any of the musical critics of this school might get at the truth by the same means that I did some years ago, viz. by going through *Israel* bar by bar, with the compositions from which Handel borrowed before me. But they will not take the trouble to do that; they do not want facts;

what they want is an excuse for a fling at Handel, no matter whether the facts are correct or not.

Then we are told that Handel's works ought to be done with a few singers only, so that we may find out what is their real intrinsic merit; the insinuation evidently being that the bold bad men who go to Handel Festivals are such simpletons that they cannot distinguish between the intrinsic merit of a work and the added effect which it gains from performance on a great scale. I at least may claim to be out of that galley; for though I am an admirer of Mendelssohn, and think him absurdly underrated at present, I never was so conscious of the gulf which separates him from Handel as on the second day of the last Festival, when we had Mendelssohn following on Handel, with the same vast scale of performance for both. Every Handel Festival, if not ideal throughout (and of course the solos lose a great deal in that large space), presents point after point of overwhelmingly grand effect, fully worth going for, and which can be realised nowhere else in the world. It is all nonsense to say that scale has nothing to do with effect in choral music; you might as well say that there is nothing to choose between a parish church and a cathedral, if they were equally good architecture. In architecture as in music, scale is an important element of sublimity. I should think that I am one of the very last persons to follow or to be lured by mere popular taste in music; and I can say, most emphatically, that never have I felt exalted and carried away by anything in music as I have been by the last two pages of the 'Amen' Chorus sung by that vast Handel Festival Chorus. The effect never wears off; Festival after Festival I have looked forward to hearing once more that glorious climax of answering voices, those grand chains of imitation passages, which, given out by hundreds of voices to each part, seem to hold one breathless with emotion, and actually to realise Milton's line:

> And bring all Heaven before mine eyes.

For those who can see nothing in this but matter for a cheap sneer, and who could indulge in a kind of spiteful chuckle at the idea that (for financial reasons) there would probably never be another Handel Festival at the Crystal Palace (a prognostication which has happily been falsified, for this occasion at all events), one can only feel a sincere compassion mingled with some little contempt. It is they who are the Philistines.

H. HEATHCOTE STATHAM.

A FORGOTTEN GERMAN CREDITOR OF THE ENGLISH STAGE

I

KOTZEBUE can no longer be ignored in the history of English literature, nor put off with a cursory remark. And it is no small object of wonder that he should ever have been; a man whom William Taylor called 'the greatest dramatic genius that Europe has produced since Shakespeare'; whose name is associated with many of England's greatest names in the end of the eighteenth century—Sheridan, who made his biggest hit by a version of Kotzebue's *Pizarro*; Mrs. Siddons and the two Kembles, Mrs. Jordan, Kean and Macready, who found unique opportunities for displaying their powers in most of Kotzebue's plays; Mrs. Inchbald, who made a living by translating them; Hannah More, who thought it worth her while to set out on an educational campaign against him, and through whose neat prose we occasionally hear the surly bass of her old friend, Dr. Johnson. Add to these Lord Byron and Sir Walter Scott.

II

By the end of the eighteenth century English dramatic literature was slowly recovering from two laborious attempts to give birth to a new species. It had brought forth Sheridan, a bright-witted, forward, but superficial offspring, and Cumberland, a short-lived sentimentalist of mongrel stock. Together with Hugh Kelly, Cumberland only just kept alive the 'bourgeois' feeling of the pioneers, Edward Moore and Lillo. But they went no further. Whatever health there still lingered in this enervated period found expression either in Garrick's ruthless, though well-meant Shakespeare revivals, or in the downright farces of Foote. As an extraordinary exception, Goldsmith's two priceless comedies have a claim to be considered here. Though they seemed strong enough to kill sentimental comedy, they did not. The reason of this lies partly in Goldsmith himself, who did not altogether escape the prevailing infection, as a close study of his work will show; partly in the very nature of senti-

mental comedy. This was not so much a French-reared descendant of La Chaussée as the lineal progeny of Richardson and Sterne, and even of Cibber and Steele. Therefore its vitality was really stronger and lay deeper than we generally believe. Anyhow, that it was not quite extinct in the end of the eighteenth century seems to appear from the fact that a *Kotzebue-furore* broke out at that period, and raged for nearly a decade. No, sentimental comedy was not dead! Few and far between were the dramatists who kept the embers glimmering under the ashes; and perhaps even they did not know that they were doing so, and cannot properly be called sentimentalists. But they were all in touch with Germany, and all of them caught a glimpse of the bright flame recently kindled by Bürger and Schiller. Thomas Holcroft, the father of the English melodrama, stayed in Hamburg and toured through Germany. Reynolds's first play (1785) was an adaptation of *Werther*, and in George Colman the Younger Scott detected 'the falsetto of German pathos.' Unfortunately the generation to which those writers belonged was too weak to keep up any tradition. Sentimental comedy was visibly dwindling into nothingness. When it awoke from its deathlike slumber, new life had been infused into it, and that new life was German.

III

What change had come over it? Sentimental comedy, in its earliest shape, had tried to appeal to our innate sympathy and admiration for virtue innocently suffering. Its motive force was simple and single. It was the same which had set the world weeping over Pamela. At least nearly the same, for if we accept Lowell's definition of sentiment, Richardson was not refined enough to be a true sentimentalist. 'True sentiment,' says Lowell, 'is emotion ripened by a slow ferment of the mind and qualified to an agreeable temperance by that taste which is the conscience of polite society. But the sentimentalist always insists on taking his emotion neat, and, as his sense gradually deadens to the stimulus, increases his dose till he ends in a kind of moral deliquium.' But true sentiment claims indissoluble connexion with moral strength and bravery. 'It is,' as Meredith puts it, 'a happy pastime and an important science to the timid, the idle, and the heartless; but a damning one to them who have anything to forfeit.' No dramatist had 'anything to forfeit' at the time, not even a reputation. Had there been anyone great enough to stand aloof and decline to pander to the rising depravity, the result might have changed the aspect of a period. But in the eighteenth century social life seems to have sucked up the very life-blood of the nation. One could not be a member of polite society and a man.

IV

Early eighteenth-century France saw the spring of sentiment bubble up in the 'comédie larmoyante.' The slender rill grew into a mighty stream when it met with a new tributary. This new tributary was Rousseau. It swelled the rivulet into a roaring torrent, whose waters swamped the whole of Europe. To describe the foreign effects of that flood would be a work of ages. Much has been written on the subject, of which the late Mr. Texte was undoubtedly the most promising student; but much remains to be written. I do not think even Mr. Brandes's work is final, and I am sure some more shelves of books will be needed to explain adequately why the Chinese ever painted the sorrows of Werther on porcelain.

In England, about 1800, Voltaire was quite forgotten, though his *Annals of the Empire of Charlemagne* were only first translated in 1781. The 'great professor and founder of the Philosophy of Vanity,' as Burke called Rousseau, was reigning supreme. Between 1752, when R. Wynne's translation of the Dijon Discourse appeared, and 1790, when the translation of the *Confessions* was completed, nearly all his works were 'Englished' by various hands. And willing readers he found, despite Dr. Johnson's bursts of anger against the 'very bad man.' Nay, more, his disciples were crowding into England not only, as was to be expected, from France, but also from other quarters. Kotzebue was coming, a son of Rousseau, more truly of his kith and kin than Byron or Lamartine, than Chateaubriand and George Sand. 'However sincere may be one's love of virtue, it sooner or later grows weak without our perceiving it, and we become unjust and wicked in action without having ceased to be just and good in soul'—this statement of Rousseau would have been readily endorsed by Kotzebue. It would be deemed superfluous to enlarge on Kotzebue's characteristics. They have been repeatedly put 'in a nutshell.' 'Apotheose der Lüderlichkeit,' says Scherer; 'Apotheose der Spatzenliebe,' emphasises von Gottschall. It is not surprising then to find that Kotzebue's teaching was to produce in England exactly the same results as the 'writings of Rousseau and his French infidels,' which Mrs. Hannah More describes in her own quaint and vigorous way: 'The chief materials out of which these delusive systems are framed, are characters who practise superfluous acts of generosity, while they are trampling on obvious and commanded duties; who combine sentiments of honour with actions the most flagitious: a high-tone of self-confidence, with a perpetual breach of self-denial: pathetic apostrophes to the passions, but no attempt to resist them.' Sentimental comedy as exemplified in Vanbrugh's

Æsop, and in the plays of Cibber and Steele, had a pervading serious tone, was essentially 'bourgeois' in character, situation, and incident, even romantic, and directly or indirectly didactic. Here was indeed a field for 'infidel' influences from France. But Mrs. More was mistaken. The infidel influence was to come from Germany. Still her mistake was a natural one, for her description applies as well to Kotzebue's sentimental plays as to the novels of Rousseau.

As for Kotzebue's other productions, they also found ready acceptance. His romantic plays fell in with the prevailing taste for scenic display which has always distinguished the English public, to whom gorgeous pantomimes and the whole 'poetry of foot' still unreservedly appeal. As for his dramatic trifles, they were sure to be welcomed in the heyday of farce by the numerous admirers of Foote. On every side, then, the doors stood open wide for Kotzebue to step in. And it is easy to see why, about 1790, sentimental comedy proper was changing under the dominant influence of Kotzebue, backed by previous influence from Rousseau.

In Kotzebue's influence two elements were to be distinguished. The one was his sentimentality, which he borrowed from France. The other belonged exclusively to him. It was something which had been lacking in England for many decades, and was lacking even in Sheridan; it was interest of plot, striking and picturesque incidents and individuality of characters—in short, stage-craft.

V

Undoubtedly Kotzebue would have won a firm footing in England merely on account of the family traits which he had in common with sentimental comedy. But as a fact he was helped besides by the direct influence in England of his spiritual father Rousseau, and by some other circumstances which we will presently consider.

At the time we are writing of, Napoleon's shadow loomed large all over Europe. Floating rumours of a French invasion kept the country in a state of nervous excitement. A politician who was, at the same time, a great orator, an acute manager, and a handy playwright, saw what possibilities some of Kotzebue's dramas afforded for playing on the country's deepest feeling, its ineradicable insularity. So Sheridan slightly altered Kotzebue's *Pizarro*, and inserted some of his own fiery harangues. The play transparently vilified the French and enthusiastically extolled English pluck in the defence of the soil. The 'boom' created by his play was absolutely unprecedented in English stage-history.

Rival authors, such as Cumberland, were not slow to follow suit, and they also were successful.

Another element of success, which made Kotzebue's plays hold the boards long after his meteor had flashed across the theatrical sky, was their adaptability to the 'star system.' Rolla, Frederick, The Stranger, Pizarro, and Cora were parts well calculated for allowing the greater actors and actresses a full display of their particular powers. No modern actor-manager could wish them better for himself or for his leading lady.

And last, not least, a powerful aid to success was the rise of Romanticism in England. The part which Germany took in this movement has been weighed and measured in nearly every way. *Werther* was translated into English in 1779, *Nathan der Weise* the year after, and *Minna von Barnhelm* in 1789. The *Räuber* had to wait till 1792, *Iphigenie* till 1793, and *Emilia Galotti* till 1794. *Kabale und Liebe* was 'Englished' in 1795. The following year witnessed the triumph of Bürger's *Lenore*, twenty-two years after its publication in Germany. Scott translated *The Chase* and *William and Helen*, and elicited three other complete translations in the very same year. He also rendered *Götz* into English, while Wordsworth and Coleridge were on their tour through Germany, from which the latter brought back, as a royal present, his marvellous *Wallenstein* version (1800). Coleridge's sympathy with Germany cannot be doubted, but the touch of constraint, which may occasionally be detected in it, is very significant. He did not go the length of thinking Goethe 'greatly overrated,' or of charging him with 'profligacy' and 'inhuman sensuality,' as Wordsworth did, but he neglected Goethe for lesser writers. He must have felt uneasy, after his first and splendid effort on *Wallenstein*, in borrowing, chiefly from Mathisson, Stolberg, Friederike Brun, and other such small luminaries. But his fault was that of all England at that time. Taking into account four capital works of each author, the average number of years which elapsed between a work's publication in Germany and its translation into English would be nineteen for Goethe, eleven for Schiller, and only six for Kotzebue. Schiller was more successful in England than Goethe. Klopstock, Gellert, Rammler—names that have now sunk into comparative or complete oblivion, rang higher than Lessing, Schiller, or Goethe. A tide of German translations swept over England, and bore Kotzebue into the very heart of the country. While *Emilia Galotti* could hold the boards no longer than three nights, Kotzebue's plays took every town by storm and continued successful, even after the interest in things German had died out. An *Ode to the German Drama*, by 'the late Mr. Seward,' which appeared in the *Annual Register* for 1799, cleverly, if not har-

moniously, states the case. I should like to quote the six stanzas, but will just give the concluding lines of the last, an English dramatist's prayer:

> The fair, by vicious love misled,
> Teach me to cherish and to wed,
> To low-born arrogance to bend,
> Establish'd order spurn, and call each outcast friend.

VI

That Kotzebue's influence was, beyond doubt, greater than has ever been acknowledged will first be seen from the number of his plays translated into English. That it did not owe much to the art of English translators is equally clear. It must be admitted that it was Sheridan's 'flair' as manager, and his handiness in adapting *Pizarro* to the English taste, which gave Kotzebue his chance. But once the way had been cleared, art or even skill had nothing more to do with Kotzebue. 'Now it was,' says a contemporary review, 'that laborious dulness, on the part of unqualified and plodding translators, acting in concert with the mercenary rapacity of speculating publishers, paved the way for the establishment of the German translating manufactory.' Vainly did 'A London Gentleman' pathetically reproach Sheridan for being able to

> . . . join the tame translating crew,
> And banish Avon's Bard for Kotzebue.

Sheridan may have taken the warning, but somehow the 'translating crew' did not, and the stream of Kotzebue translations ceaselessly kept pouring into England. We might almost say with La Fontaine of whatever dramatists the period could boast:

> Ils n'en mouraient pas tous, mais tous étaient frappés.

Thomas Morton's *Speed the Plough* (1798), the comedy which ushered into the world the immortal character of Mrs. Grundy, is quite Kotzebuesque. Its Miss Blandford is a copy of Amelia in *Lovers' Vows*. In Morton's opera *The Blind Girl*, Clara unmistakably belongs to the same family. Her affected simplicity and pretentious phraseology, her effeminate and flippant spirit, and her absolute want of any bracing feeling stamp her with Kotzebue's mark. Cumberland's *Wheel of Fortune* (1795) might be traced to Kotzebue's *Misanthropy and Repentance*. Joanna Baillie's *Plays on the Passions* (1798-1836) chiefly differ from Kotzebue's in that they are quite ineffective as acting plays.

In short, many volumes might be written about indirect or unacknowledged indebtedness to Kotzebue. The desolate look

of the wilderness of late eighteenth-century drama may have deterred many a seeker for literary truths; but the journey, if uninviting, would very probably be fruitful. For there the barren soil shows nakedly its geological strata. And there also may be found the still undiscovered fountainheads of the drama of to-day. This late eighteenth century is like a diseased body, where every scar and wound is plain to the sight, where every symptom is strong and easily recognisable, and may possibly give a clue to the reasons of, and suggest a remedy for, the present consumptive state of the English drama. Nor is it the drama only on which the study of Kotzebue in England sheds additional light, but also the novel. The so-called 'School of Terror,' now for ever connected with 'Monk' Lewis's name, was indebted to him for some of its gruesome properties. The above-quoted ode acknowledges Kotzebue's plays as the source of their supply of 'dungeons, chains, and blood,' and sums up in the following terms:

> Bound in thy necromantic spell
> The audience taste the joys of hell;
> And Britain's sons indignant groan
> With pangs unfelt before, at crimes before unknown.

Again, the relish for exoticism which was characteristic of the Lewis-Maturin-Radcliffe-Beckford group, however traceable to Bernardin de Sainte-Pierre, was greatly fostered if not engendered in England by Kotzebue. The contemporary announcements and reviews of books will show a large number of accounts of embassies, descriptions of, and letters from, nearly every part of the world, especially the East. The author of *Kamschatka*, *The Negro-Slaves*, and *Pizarro in Peru* is partly responsible for that craze, which was to pass through Beckford's, Hope's, and Morier's 'oriental' novels into the poetry of Southey, Moore, and Byron.

VII

By its sheer exaggeration Kotzebue's success could not but rouse reaction. Did not Neuman, the translator of *Family Distress*, argue that Kotzebue possessed all the excellence of Shakespeare without any of his defects? Others, with a touch of temper already, called him a German Shakespeare to whom Mrs. Inchbald acted as midwife and Sheridan as foster-father. Even the *Monthly Review*—which at the outset occasionally supported Kotzebue—on finding nine translations to review for one month, grew weary of it, and exclaimed: 'A register-office seems wanting for Kotzebue's numerous (we had almost said innumerable) productions, by means of which our rival transla-

tors by profession, male and female, might escape the danger of running foul of each other, as several have unfortunately done; or perhaps an insurance office might prove a more desirable scheme.' It is very entertaining to watch the *Monthly Review's* attitude towards Kotzebue, as indicative of his popularity. Some figures may perhaps be more convincing still. From 1795 to 1805, then, the number of editions of plays and acting versions was successively: 0, 2, 0, 18, 71, 10, 13, 4, 1, 2. In the last year of the century Kotzebue reached the apex of his fame with seventy-one editions! But in 1800 the *Monthly Review* was, in its own words, 'sick of him.'

Parodies sprang up, proving both his popularity and the opposition of what was still a minority. *Pizarro* had its plentiful share of ridicule. A general skit appeared in a collection of satiric poems called *The Meteors*, under the title of *The Benevolent Cut-throat, a play in seven acts. Translated from the original German drama, written by the celebrated Klotzboggenhaggen.* But this was only a stray echo from the open warfare which several writers and reviewers had been waging against Kotzebue. Thomas Dutton, a journalist who claimed to have acquired a thorough knowledge of German by a long residence in Saxony, never ceased to oppose him in his *Dramatic Censor.* This weekly review, of which he was himself the sole contributor, is the work of a well-educated, clear-headed, and outspoken man. He was fairly unprejudiced, deeming 'the genius of Schiller . . . unquestionable,' praising Thompson's collection of plays from the German, but simply loathing 'the ill-digested, hasty, and bombastic productions of Kotzebue.' From his nationalistic point of view Dutton had every reason to oppose him, for the threatened contract between the London managers and Kotzebue for a regular supply of his newest manuscripts might have imperilled the very existence of the English Drama in this age of weakness, had it been carried out. That he attacked his foe with the utmost energy may be gathered from the fact that in the first year of his review (1800) Kotzebue is referred to thirty-six times. And his clear, crisp, and forcible English made every blow tell.

A Tory periodical, the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, which systematically opposed all new ideas from the Continent, was less fair, and sometimes scurrilous in its abuse. 'To degrade religion under the appearance of hatred to superstition, to decry all legitimate authority under the pretence of exposing tyranny, and to sanction the gratification of the most ardent of human passions under the flimsy veil of sentimental love,' such were, according to the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, 'the ends which Kotzebue had set himself to attain.' *The True Briton* joined in the outcry, and

eventually became so vehement as to elicit protest from other papers. The *Anti-Jacobin*, if less passionate, was more insidious. It tried to picture Kotzebue as a dangerous sort of person who, besides 'holding up the principles of a prostitute . . . in an enviable light,' favoured revolutionary notions. It contended that Elvira in *Pizarro* was 'nothing less than a complete Godwinite heroine, stark staring Mary all over.' This attempt to tie up Kotzbue with the mother of all female suffragists, Mary Wollstonecraft, and with her husband, William Godwin, the father of extreme socialism in England, was clever enough, and no doubt effective. Another wily move was to expose Kotzebue as one of the 'Illuminati,' saying: 'It is not for me to class Miss Plumptre (one of Kotzebue's most active translators) amongst them—nor even Mr. Sheridan—but if I were, who could disprove my assertion?' Ridiculous as this now seems, it found many believers at the time. It was a heavy charge, especially in England, where the love of fair play and straightforward dealing is national. The 'Illuminati' that were meant were the 'Order of the Illuminati,' founded at Ingolstadt in 1776 by Adam Weishaupt. They were originally a secret society of Bavarian Catholics, whose general aim was to spread moral enlightenment, and who especially attacked the Jesuits and their methods. But they had become possessed of wide-reaching means of information in every country, and were, so it was said, mysterious and terrible in their dealings. The impression produced on the English public by such scanty knowledge of them as was available abroad, was that of a secret society connected in some way with Catholics. This was enough to rouse fear and hatred, and this the *Anti-Jacobin* knew. Even Hannah More, the educational authority of the early nineteenth century, reasonable and clear-minded though she was, concurred in this attack. Strange to say, Thomas Dutton now took up Kotzebue's defence against 'that celebrated moral female quack,' as he called Mrs. More. Nevertheless, in her *Coelebs*, she advised young ladies not to waste their time in learning German, and in her *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (1799) she warned them earnestly against the danger of German literature, which in every form, she said, has only one aim—namely, 'to instil the principles of Illuminatism.' And as a specimen of the very worst in German literature she quoted 'the admired play of *The Stranger*.' The indictment only calls for a smile now; but it was well calculated to impress the mass of middle-class playgoers and readers at a time when deism was not quite forgotten, and when, to a country that had been carrying on war against the French Republic ever since 1793, all theories of rationalism and republicanism were hateful to a degree.

1799! Times were getting worse and worse for Kotzebue. His splendid vitality had outlasted the fiercest attacks, and he might have held his own for yet many more years to come if the soil on which he stood had not suddenly shifted. In 1800 he dropped like a stone from the summit of his glory. The temper of the age had changed. Sensibility and affectation were instantaneously struck out from the standing list of female perfections. The languishing, fatalistic, glib-tongued, and sniggering female vanished and made room for a new type, 'the bold and independent beauty,' as Mrs. More describes it, 'the intrepid female, the hoyden, the huntress, and the archer; the swinging arms, the confident address, the regimental, and the four-in-hand.'

Kotzebue, England's idol for ten years, was down! But he must needs be crushed. For, lo! from quarters high came two more crashing bolts. Sir Walter Scott levelled a lance against the 'wretched pieces of Kotzebue,' and Byron's fiery outburst sang the German dirge:

> Awake, George Colman! Cumberland, awake!
> Ring the alarum-bell! let folly quake!
> Oh, Sheridan! if aught can move thy pen,
> Let Comedy assume her throne again;
> Abjure the mummery of the German schools;
> Leave new Pizarros to translating fools;
> Give, as thy last memorial to the age,
> One classic drama, and reform the stage.

Thus sang, in 1808, the English Bard against the Scotch Reviewers. Was Kotzebue dead now? Yes, but his body must be trampled on. A cousin-burletta of the famous *Rovers*, attributed to Colman, and called *The Quadrupeds of Quadlinburgh; or, the Rovers of Weimar. Tragico-Comico-Anglo-Germanico-Hippo-Ono-Dramatico-Romance*, set the audience roaring at the Haymarket Theatre. This was indeed the kick of the ass at the lion. But fortunately 'the laugh,' as Dutton says, 'was at a thing of other days: the German drama . . . past and gone . . . was beyond the reach of ridicule.'

VIII

Was it the sentiment of their common Teutonic origin which drew England and Germany so tightly together in the end of the eighteenth century? Or was it their common fear of the Latin race to which Napoleon was then giving, for the second time in history, an overpowering supremacy in Europe? It may have been both. But whilst from a political point of view England was the greater nation, and eventually proved to be the stumbling-block which made the giant fall, Germany was by

far the stronger literary power. It is not too bold to say that for ten or fifteen years Germany shaped England's stage destiny. Of what Germany's drama was about 1780, England's was to be a faithful copy between 1790 and 1800. To the sharply opposed artistic poetry, as produced by Goethe and Schiller, on one side, and, on the other side, the grovelling tendency towards naturalness in art as represented by Iffland and Kotzebue, corresponds in England the conflict between the acting and the poetical drama. A reference in connexion with the former to any other names than Cumberland, Mrs. Inchbald, or Benjamin Thompson would hardly be appreciated, for they are lost in utter obscurity. As to the poetical drama we know it from Byron's, Beddoes', Shelley's, Browning's, and Tennyson's works, and from repeated experiments, to be inferior for acting purposes. There are not many more memorable failures than that of Tennyson's *Promise of May* in 1882. Neither could Sir Henry Irving, enthusiastic as was his admiration for Tennyson, greatly as he loved his part of *Becket* (1893), ever be brought to unqualified approval of the laureate's dramatic efforts.

Nothing could have been more deadly to the English stage than this dissociation of the dramatic and poetical elements. On the other hand, no triumph was ever greater than their harmonious combination, which is Shakespeare's greatest claim to worship. Now, at the bottom of this momentous event, this conflict between the acting and the poetical drama, we find—Kotzebue : Kotzebue who, by giving exclusive importance to the acting qualities of plays, severed the idea of poetry from that of drama, and who spoilt the public by lavishly catering for its love of strong excitement in plot and glaring contrast in situation. Unfortunately there never was in England a State-subsidised repertory theatre. So, nearly all the managers had to give in and minister to the popular taste, thus excluding from the stage such artists as did not sacrifice everything else to scenic display and sensational situations. Very soon these artists came to forget that a theatre is the only right place for a drama, and neglected more and more to meet the practical requirements of the stage. And now, after more than a century has elapsed, if you hear critics complaining about the poverty of the English stage, say 'Kotzebue.' If you wonder at the number of tragedies in verse, with or without 'a pageant,' announced in publishers' lists, which have never been, and will never be, on a play-bill; if you growl at the success of *The Eternal Question* and plays of the *Bella-Donna* stamp, or fret over the slow recognition of Mr. Frohman's efforts; if you feel at a loss before such hybrid philosophico-epico-dramatic productions as Mr. Shaw's *Man and Superman* and Mr. Hardy's *Dynasts*; or finally, if you find that, besides

ſr. Shaw, Sir Arthur Pinero, and Mr. Galsworthy, you can count te English dramatists on the fingers of one hand, then most mphatically say 'Kotzebue.'

IX

Fortunately, matters seem to have been mending these ·w months. English dramatists appear to have found what nay well prove an effective antidote against the growing ntoxication of sensationalism, viz. decentralisation in time nd in space. The increasing public interest in Greek ragedy and the frequent revivals of the early specimens of English dramatic art may lead to a rediscovery of the lost ormula. On the other hand, Ireland and Scotland, on which the oison never had its full effect, are making their influence more nd more directly felt. If space permitted we would try to show ow those factors have already cleared the air for a wholesale ransformation of the dramatic atmosphere. 'Back to the past; ack to the land!' might be the cry of the reformers. Of course, overeign time and circumstance will shape the new possibilities nto facts. Moreover our foresight, we know, falls considerably hort of prophecy. Still, we are confident that the future historian f the rejuvenated English stage will have to quote with some ratitude the names of Professor Gilbert Murray, Mr. Poel, Ir. Yeats, and also of the Moffats and the late Mr. Synge.

The other alternative is that Kotzebue might prove too strong ven for them.

JOS. E. GILLET.

THE CAUSE OF OUR NATIONAL INSECURITY

When, after twenty years of desperate striving, the peace that followed Waterloo dropped its curtain upon the stage of Europe, the scenes which that curtain veiled passed rapidly from the mind of England. The long agony of national struggle; the enduring stern resolve; the vast sacrifices of blood and of gold, which had not only preserved the independence of England and gained or sustained England's Empire, but had enabled the European peoples to hurl aside the yoke of Napoleon—all these efforts, all these experiences, were forgotten in the tide of a great reaction. The burden which past events had imposed was present. The former need was effaced from memory. Domestic politics, for nearly a generation thrust into the background, held the board. Catholic emanicpation, Poor-Law problems, the extension of the franchise, not merely absorbed public attention, but claimed the hearts and the brains of thinking men.

In this era—when the basic truths had been lost to sight that every great nation is a unit in a world of competing peoples, and that national dominion expresses only a temporary adjustment of rival forces—were born or grew up the men who gave the hue and the tone to the political life and thought of our country far into the nineteenth century. Gladstone was born in 1809, Bright in 1811; they spent the formative time of their youth in a period when questions of domestic reform plus a great philanthropic cause—the abolition of slavery—held paramount place. Although when Macaulay wrote his oft-quoted essay upon the first book of the future Liberal chief he described Mr. Gladstone as 'the rising hope of the stern unbending Tories,' the fact which he thus stated did not affect the case. For whether in advocacy or in resistance, Tories and Liberals were alike mainly occupied with internal movements in the life of England.

Meanwhile, in the kingdom of Prussia that intense nationality which had been welded in the fires of the Seven Years' War, and kindled anew in the uprising of the nations in 1813, remained a living force. The work of Stein and of Scharnhorst did not die.

The systems of military and of educational training which they inaugurated in the years when Prussia writhed under the heel of Bonaparte brought forth fruit in distant generations, and in their later and modern developments those systems are mainly responsible for the Germany of to-day.

A continental State, lying amid other continental States, Prussia retained her international sense, while England remained national only. Perhaps if England, like Prussia, had been conquered in war, if the foot of the invader had been stamped upon our necks, if an arrogant soldiery had dominated our territory and made us eat bread in the valley of humiliation; if, in a word, the fate of Prussia had been the fate of England—then, in sequent time, our statesmen too might have remembered, and not forgotten the realities which condition a nation's life. But beyond a small and abortive raid upon Ireland, British soil was never violated by the footstep of the invader throughout the whole conflict which raged with France, with two short interludes, from 1793 to 1815.

Wrapped in her mantle of naval supremacy, England, fiercely contending on and beyond the seas, yet knew not war in her own home. Trafalgar and the fruits of Trafalgar preserved us from war's last grip. The trident of Neptune in the hand of Nelson traced round these fortunate isles a circle as of a magician's wand. And as sea power had saved us in the past, so was it relied on to save us in the future, while the immense part which military prowess had also played in the great struggle passed out of view.

Thus is the paradox true that Britain is now suffering from the completeness of her ancient triumph, while Prussia has reaped a harvest from her defeat. Stress produces strength, but the absence of it weakness. Great men have been born of Jena, and many feeblings from the victory off Cadiz.

To such a depth of nescience did Englishmen sink in the thirty years that followed Waterloo that even Carlyle could write thus:

> She [*i.e.* Britain] has in fact certain cottons, hardware, and suchlike, to sell in foreign ports, and certain wines, Portugal oranges, Baltic tar and other products to buy; and does need, I suppose, some kind of Consul, or accredited agent, accessible to British voyagers, here and there, in the chief cities of the Continent; through which functionary or through the penny post, if she had any specific message to foreign Courts, it would be easy and proper to transmit the same. Special message-carriers, to be still called ambassadors, if the name gratified them, could be sent when occasion great enough demanded; not sent when it did not.
>
> But for all purposes of a resident ambassador, I hear persons extensively and well acquainted among our foreign embassies at this date declare, that a well-selected *Times* reporter, or 'own correspondent,' ordered to reside in foreign capitals and 'keep his eyes open, and (though sparingly) his pen going, would in reality be more effective—and surely we see well, he would come a good deal cheaper'!

This passage occurs in *Latter Day Pamphlets, Downing Street*, published in 1850. By a singular stroke of fate, the date of the paper is the 1st of April.

As we needed no ambassadors, so also, in Thomas Carlyle's opinion, we required no navy and no regular army. This view, which was probably extremely popular at the time of its enunciation, is clearly expressed in the pamphlet following that already cited, called *The New Downing Street*:

> Our War Offices, Admiralties, and other Fighting Establishments are forcing themselves on everybody's attention at this time. . . . A perpetual solecism, and blasphemy (of its sort), set to march openly amongst us, dressed in scarlet! Bull, with a more and more sulky tone, demands that such solecism be abated; that these Fighting Establishments be, as it were, disbanded, and set to do some work in the Creation, since fighting there is none for them. This demand is irrefragably just, is growing urgent, too; and yet this demand cannot be complied with—not yet while the State grounds itself on unrealities, and Downing Street continues what it is.

Further on the true function of our Navy is indicated:

> Seventy-fours not hanging idly by their anchors in the Tagus . . . but busy, every seventy-four of them, carrying over streams of British Industrials to the immeasurable Britain that lies beyond the sea in every zone of the world.

These quotations from one of the greatest writers of mid-Victorian times display with singular vividness the frame of mind which has been inherited by our modern Radicals and peace-at-any-pricers. Our Ministers were for the most part the merest opportunists in foreign affairs (even as they are now), without the most elementary conception of the need of a national policy aiming at national advantage. A perusal of Queen Victoria's published letters leads to the belief that that great sovereign stood almost alone in her grasp of this central idea. Of those beliefs of Carlyle and of his compeers of which the events of sixty years have proved the ineffable absurdity, the great mass of the present-day Liberal party, inside and outside of the House of Commons, are the true heirs-at-law. Historically, the British Empire, as it existed when Carlyle wrote, was the result of prodigious processes of desperate contention with other competing States. If any man was aware of the fact, that man might have been supposed to be himself. Yet so completely was he obsessed by the thought current in his day that knowledge of the past possessed for him no significance in regard to the future. The vision of England as a country wrestling for ascendancy with mighty rivals, and with her trade, her wealth, her empire and her national independence dependent on the issue of that grapple, was a vision wholly hidden from his

sight. To him, and to his contemporaries, whatever benefit the sacrifices of previous generations had gained for the people of Britain appeared an *inalienable* possession which the *other nations* of mankind would never dream of tearing from our hands. That mood, that thought, came of five-and-thirty years of peace, of a national security resting upon former victory by sea and by land, of the exhaustion of Europe and the sleep of Asia. Africa was savage. America was immature. These circumstances were all either entirely exceptional or swiftly transient, yet they existed once, and while they existed the grossness of error into which even a man of genius could fall was in a measure natural and lacked not some excuse.

But though we may thus palliate the immense mistake made by Carlyle, how can we forgive those who, living now in the light of a knowledge denied to him, and with the world's picture as it is painted to-day thrust before their eyes, can still become the victims of misapprehension equally complete? In regard to international affairs, English Radicals are the Peter Pan of politics. They have never grown up. They have never been able to understand that since the notions were formed of which they are the modern patentees, the entire condition of the world has altered. They are living still in 1850. They fail to perceive that the struggle for life, for growth, for ascendancy, which characterised the relations of the civilised peoples in the sixteenth, the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, but which had temporarily ceased in the middle of the nineteenth, has revived now with an intensity as great as, and upon a scale far greater than was ever known before.

Within four years from the time when the Englishmen of 1850 considered navies and armies to be useless encumbrances and the days of international rivalry to be for ever past, Europe was convulsed by the Crimean War. Within seven years from the same date only the trained troops of England, the scarlet 'solecisms' of John Bull, saved their countrymen and countrywomen in India from the ultimate horrors of the Mutiny. But two years later still, that is, in 1859, the freedom of Italy from Austria's oppression, the goal desired for ages by Italian patriots, was won on the battlefield by the armies of France and Savoy. From 1861 to 1865 a tremendous internecine conflict raged in the United States. In 1864 Prussia and Austria showed their reverence for the weak by bisecting Denmark. In 1866 the spoilers fought, and Moltke and the Prussian needle-gun wrested the hegemony of Germany from the House of Hapsburg. In 1870 came the colossal duel between France on the one hand and Prussia, with the southern German States, on the other. Yet seven years more, and the spear of Russia, smiting as on the gates of Constantinople, after

the carnage of Plevna and the Shipka Pass, was repulsed only by the menace of the British Fleet.

In the eighteen-eighties came the Egyptian and the Khartoum expeditions, the ravage of the Soudan, the foundation alike of the French and of the German colonial empires, the war of France with China, and the onward march of the Russian arms even until they stood, at Penjdeh, on Afghan soil. Armed rebellion against Turkish rule fashioned Bulgaria into a separate State, while in the 'nineties' Greece was taught by Turkish bullets that high sentiment and passionate aspiration were vain without military efficiency. In 1898 the United States flung aside the traditions of a hundred years, broke by force the rule of Spain, and entered into the arena of world competition by the seizure of the Philippines, whence it is possible that, before many years are past, they will be expelled by Japan.

If all these wars, and others which I have not stopped to name, were insufficient to convince our Radicals that their whole theory of international affairs was false, then the events that next followed might at last have brought the proof. In the South African war Britain had over two hundred and fifty thousand troops in the field, while the British Navy alone stood between our otherwise unguarded shores and a Europe burning to intervene—a feat which, in like circumstances, it is now no longer adequate to perform. Meantime, in a silence inspired with a terrible energy, had proceeded the renaissance of the Japanese—a renaissance not of letters, but of arms, until, in 1904-5, by sea and by land she showed to mankind a new portent, the victory of an Asiatic race over one of the mightiest empires of the West. Later still than all this, even within the last few months, a vast upheaval, fraught with infinite meaning for the whole world, has occurred in China; while even at the present time a war is proceeding between Italy and Turkey, and rumours of possible co-operation with the former Power on the part of Russia are rife in the world.

As if all this were not enough evidence of the impermanence of all political conditions, Western mankind is also threatened with an earthquake from beneath in comparison with which the fury of the French Revolution itself might pale its ineffectual fires. The 'Red Peril' already throws its lurid glare across the page of coming history, and intestine struggles on a scale unprecedented in human annals are already looming on the horizon of nearly all civilised peoples.

Yet in face of these tremendous and appalling probabilities of the near future, in sight of the storm-signs of an era of almost universal war, there are yet to be found, mainly in the realm

of the English-speaking race, great numbers of politicians, of speakers, and of writers who either believe or pretend to believe that war is an anachronism for which arbitration can be substituted. With this belief every act of our Liberal Government has been coloured from the date of its assumption of office in 1906 until the present day. They can see the boundaries of nations but as fixed quantities, although in fact the territories of every Great Power have been in a state of flux for sixty years, and are in a state of flux now. With a fatuity probably unparalleled in the records of the past, they continue to appeal to Germany to curb the pace of her naval construction, without reflecting that this request amounts *to an adjuration to our greatest rival to abandon* her national ambition and to cease her national growth. The truth is that for a growing people armaments are the instruments by which expansion is achieved. Only for a people which has ceased to grow are they weapons merely of defence.

Again, our English Radicals prate constantly of 'rights.' When they use that term in relation to a nation they are the slaves of a sound, and of a gross confusion of ideas. What is a 'right' on the part of a people? An independent State has no 'right' as against other States, save that of the sword alone. The right of the individual exists only so long as the Government of the country of which he is the son guarantees that right with the armed force of that country. With the withdrawal of that guarantee passes also that right. Thus in the United Kingdom citizens had once rights as against trades-unions which did them injury, but those rights they have no longer. When the growth of a great people *impinges on the territorial dominion of another*, the only court of appeal is war. Arbitration as the alternative to such war involves the assumption that the immense process of territorial change which has been continuing during the last two generations should suddenly cease, and that there should be no such change in future. But will a nation such as Germany, with the motive-power supplied by a high birth-rate within it, and with every instinct of patriotism alive in its heart, ever forego willingly the prospect of national aggrandisement and the hope of territorial gain?

If once we pass from words to things, from theory to fact, we see that no nation has against any other nation any rights whatever except those which it can enforce. If the case of small States be put forward as militating against the acceptance of this most obvious truth, the answer is that those minor Powers exist only by virtue of a purely temporary balance of forces between the great empires of the world. In actual fact no nation has one shred of right to one inch of territory. The English people will hold London, as the Prussian people will hold Berlin and the French

people will hold Paris, for just so long as they can hold it, and no longer. In no case will any imagined rights help them after their ability to sustain those rights by arms shall have departed.

The view thus set forth is based on history and on the verities of human nature. But this view is the exact opposite of that taken and acted upon by the Liberal party during and since the year 1906. That party took office filled to the mouth with contrary conceptions. To those conceptions they instantly began to give effect. They laid their deadly hands on the British Navy. In the Unionist naval programme for 1905-6 had figured a cruiser of the Dreadnought type, i.e., an 'Invincible.' The Liberal Ministry dropped that 'Invincible.' In the Admiralty memorandum, called the Cawdor Memorandum, issued in 1905, the necessity was declared that England should lay down four Dreadnoughts in each year. The new Cabinet laid down three in 1906, three in 1907, and only two in 1908—in other words, they laid down eight Dreadnoughts in those three years instead of twelve. In May, 1906, a first-class battleship, the *Montagu*, was lost on Lundy Isle. The Liberal party left her unreplaced. Thus within the three years named the Liberal Government were directly responsible for a diminution of no fewer than six battle-units in what should have been our battle strength.

This diminution was idea expressed in act. Simultaneously an opposed idea held by the Government of a rival nation also took concrete shape. The root idea of our Government was the negation of competitive nationality by international agreement. The root idea of the German Government was the victory of competitive nationality by armed force. The fatuity of Britain was the opportunity of Germany. As and because we decreased our Navy, she increased hers. The Amendment of 1906 was passed to the German Navy Act of 1900. Under that Amendment six Dreadnought cruisers were added to their programme. In 1908, as British reduction had continued, a second Amendment Bill passed the Reichstag, further increasing by four the number of Dreadnoughts to be laid down. In this year the Little Navyite may be said to have reached his greatest triumph. England laid down two battleships: Germany laid down four. On our two we spent 280,000*l*. altogether. On the German four was spent in the same period of time 1,600,000*l*.

But these reductions in our battle strength, infinitely serious as they have since been proved to be, were far indeed from representing our total loss of sea power and of national safety. Provision of the desperately needed dock accommodation for our Dreadnoughts was neglected. The works at Rosyth were practically placed in a state of suspension. The extreme necessity of entering additional men for the Navy was not met, and in consequence of

that gross omission sullen discontent—rich ground for a Socialist sower—prevails now on the lower deck of many of our ships wherein overworked officers have to overdrive inadequate crews. In destroyers Germany was allowed so far to gain upon us that the then First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. McKenna, had to admit in the House of Commons in June of last year the prodigious change to our disadvantage which had taken place. He acknowledged that whereas in March 1904, of destroyers not more than ten years of age from the date of their launch we had possessed 116, against 37 German, the Royal Navy at the date at which he spoke had but 78, while the German Navy possessed 79.

In our Estimates of last year, twenty of these vitally essential vessels were voted, of which only seven are yet complete, while in the same time the twelve laid down by Germany have been finished. As if this were not enough, it now appears, from a statement published in the *Standard*, that twelve further German destroyers have been built by a private German firm, and that these have now been acquired by the German Government.

Figures like these, however sparingly given, are apt to weary the general reader. But what they mean is that the British Fleet is threatened with inability to hold the North Sea. Without a superiority—and a large superiority—in destroyers, we cannot attempt to blockade the German ports; we cannot play the old game, the great game that was played by Nelson in days of yore, and by Togo in modern time.

But the last count to be mentioned here against the naval administration of the Liberal party is the most immediately serious of all the charges that can be brought against them. They have left the food of the people unguarded on the seas of the world. In six years, prior to these present Estimates, they have laid down but twenty-two protected and unprotected cruisers. In these new Estimates eight light cruisers only are provided for—a number of which the inadequacy is an outrage upon the entire nation. In August 1910, in an article in this Review, entitled 'The Unguarded Spaces of the Sea,' I stated the facts concerning our defenceless mercantile marine. Those facts remain substantially unaltered. 'Every child knows that here,' was the remark, concerning the use of German merchantmen in war made by the President of the German High Court which tried Mr. Stewart. It is now an absolute certainty that Germany will make the fullest possible use of the freedom, either accorded or not withheld, under Convention No. 7 of The Hague Agreements, to convert her merchant vessels into men-of-war.

The naval position of the British Empire, and the deterioration which has taken place in it during the previous six years,

stand desperately in need of being viewed as a whole, and not merely piecemeal. The English mind seems now to suffer from an ineradicable incapability to distinguish between word and deed. Mr. Churchill's statement in introducing the Navy Estimates is regarded and criticised as 'a good speech.' It matters to the country not one straw whether oratorically it was good or bad. What does concern us is the actual naval situation. This may be briefly described as follows: When the Liberal party acceded to office, our strength in battleships, according to the Dilke Return of 1906, was fifty-five against eighteen German. But as many of our vessels were far more powerful than their rivals, our battle strength was something like four times theirs. Now our battle strength is, relatively to Germany, about half what it was then. But this still existing superiority is in regard to battleships and battle-cruisers alone. In other respects the relative decline has been immensely greater. In the vital matter of the *personnel*, Germany is constantly creeping nearer to us. Her reserves are already vastly larger than ours. In docks on the North Sea, and in destroyers, her advance has been prodigious. Above all, through the arming of her merchantmen her power to inflict starvation upon the people of the United Kingdom has incomparably increased. If arrangements had been specially devised to ensure that starvation, none more effectual could be conceived than those which England herself has made. We import most of our food. We leave it unguarded on the seas. We leave it unorganised and in the hands of private speculators on the land.

Eighteen months ago I ventured to urge in this Review the extreme need of an Act of Parliament to make all food in the country on the outbreak of war become the property of the Government of the day at the market rates previously obtaining. I venture to repeat that suggestion now, and to add to it this further recommendation—that a committee of experts be at once appointed to devise a scheme for the distribution, when war begins, of the food which will then be owned by the State, and the price of which the State can therefore fix. Let us select, man with British crews, and arm some of our own merchantmen; let us prepare to retaliate on those who are scheming for our destruction the financial injury which they design to us. Above all, let England emancipate herself from ideas of which the events among mankind during sixty past years, and now, prove the dire falsity.

H. F. Wyatt.

SOCIALISTIC IDEAS AND PRACTICAL POLITICS

I

The Statistics of Socialism

The following observations are addressed to practical men, and are confined to such aspects of the general question in view as have an immediate bearing on the problems and movements of the hour. Such being the case, it is necessary to begin by providing ourselves with some working definition, which need not be academically precise, of what, for our present purpose, we are to understand by the term 'Socialism.'

Now, it is impossible to identify Socialism in any satisfactory way with all the opinions and proposals put forward by leading Socialists, partly because as to many of these such persons differ violently amongst themselves, and partly because as to many of them such persons are in general agreement with a number, and perhaps even with the majority, of other people.

Out of the difficulty which thus arises we can, however, escape by a very short cut. Though we cannot identify Socialism with all the opinions and aims which are professed by its individual exponents, we can at all events identify it with those in respect of which Socialists are peculiar—which are professed by them, and are professed by nobody else; and these, however some of them may conflict with others as to details, have the common characteristic of being one and all of them economic. They relate to the production and distribution of purely material wealth. Socialists as men may be interested in many other things as well, but it is with regard to material wealth, and material wealth alone, that their opinions and their projects are in any way identifiably peculiar to themselves.

As grouped together by this definition, Socialists resemble a novel and peculiar school of doctors who, recognising, as everyone else does, that the body politic is afflicted in various parts with pains or sensations of distress which are obviously of economic origin, seek to submit the patient to some hitherto untried treatment, which has never alleviated a single evil yet, but which, according to them, is a common cure for all.

And the analogy between Socialists and doctors holds good in this further particular. Any ordinary doctor, when he visits a sick person, is bound to exhibit himself in two distinct characters. Before he can exhibit himself as a healer, he must exhibit himself as a discoverer of the nature of the disease which he is invoked to heal. Treatment must be preceded by diagnosis. In the same way Socialists, before they can have any ground for recommending that their patient—the body politic—should be submitted to some treatment of a totally novel kind, are bound to begin, and, as a matter of fact, they do begin, with an elaborate exposition of what they take the patient's condition to be—of the nature and extent of the maladies from which, in their view, he is suffering; of their origin, of their development thus far; and of the course which they will necessarily run unless there be a prompt application of the remedies which the Socialist advocates.

In dealing, then, with Socialism as related to practical politics, I shall aim at considering it under each of these aspects separately, and we will take it in the present article as identified with a characteristic diagnosis or estimate of the economic conditions of this country as they actually are to-day, of their origin, of their development thus far, and of future development as it must be unless the existing economic system of the whole modern world be subverted.

II

The History, according to Socialists, of the Rich, the Middle, and the Poorer Classes, since the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century

The socialistic diagnosis of society under the modern economic system in all progressive countries, and in this country in particular, may be compared partly to charts purporting to represent conditions at this or that special time, partly to a moving diorama purporting to show the manner in which conditions have changed between a date which we may roughly identify as the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the present day—the period which Socialists distinguish from all others as that which has witnessed the consummation of Capitalism in its modern form.

The distinctive character of the socialistic diagnosis of society is best shown by its representation of the alleged course of social changes. This may be briefly summed up in the general assertion that, under the modern economic system which has been dominant in this country since the opening years of the nineteenth century at all events, a system under which wealth has increased as it never increased before, the whole of the increment has been monopolised by a relatively small class, whilst the rest

of the community have not only not gained anything, but have in an economic sense been going from bad to worse. Some Socialists make this assertion in more qualified terms than others; but they are all unanimous in respect to its general tenour: and we need not trouble ourselves now to consider any minor differences; for the first broad fact which I shall endeavour to make plain is that this general representation of a society going from bad to worse, with the exception of one small class, is not merely an exaggeration of facts to a greater or less extent, but is an absolute and direct inversion of them.

In order to show that this criticism is no mere figure of speech, let me call the reader's attention to certain of the main details into which such a representation of the social movement resolves itself. For this purpose we will appeal to two writers, who, of all the exponents of Socialism, are incomparably the most conspicuous for their abilities, and who have, through their works, exerted the widest influence. The writers to whom I refer are Karl Marx and Henry George.

The diagnosis of the social movement, as made by Karl Marx about forty-five years ago, has been epitomised and reiterated by Socialists throughout our own country, Europe, and America in the following well-known words: 'Under the system of modern Capitalism, whilst the rich have been growing and are continuing to grow richer, the poor have been growing, and must continue to grow, poorer; and the middle classes, or persons of moderate means, are concurrently being crushed out.'

Henry George, who became famous through his work, *Progress and Poverty*, about fifteen years later, reaffirmed all these propositions, not on the authority of Marx (with whose writings he had no acquaintance), but as the result of his own observations, and added to them yet another, which he made peculiarly his own. He identified the 'rich' of the modern world, whose riches are alone increasing, not with the capitalists but with the private owners of land; and his doctrine was that, in any progressive country, no matter how fast the products of labour, of ability, and of capital were increasing the rent of land must necessarily increase still faster, so that, not only all, but actually more than all, of the increment due to the efficiency of the population at large flows into the landlords' pockets, and 'poverty accompanies progress.'

Now here we have a series of propositions which, if they have any meaning at all, relate to specific facts of industrial and statistical history. They relate, moreover, to a limited and clearly defined period, which to-day comprises a hundred or a hundred and ten years; and farther, though Marx was a German and Henry George an American, they both declared that their doctrines, whilst applicable to all countries in which modern Capitalism has

developed itself, are illustrated most completely by the history of Great Britain—the country in which that system first attained predominance, and has exhibited its natural consequences on the largest and most startling scale.

If, therefore, these propositions are true at all, they must be pre-eminently true as applied to the history of Great Britain from the dawn of the nineteenth century up to the present time.

Such being the case, abundant evidence exists which enables us to submit them to the test of actual facts. We will deal, then, with these propositions separately, and in the following order:

(1) That the increasing wealth of the rich during the course of the nineteenth century has been accompanied by a 'crushing out of the middle classes,' or a diminution in the number of moderate incomes.

(2) That in this country, during the same period, the rent of land has increased more rapidly than income from all other sources, whether these be manual labour, or commercial and manufacturing enterprise.

(3) That, whilst during the period in question the rich have been growing richer, the poorer classes in this country have been constantly growing poorer.

III

The Alleged 'Crushing Out' of Persons of Moderate Means

In order to discuss this question with anything approaching precision, we must affix some definite meaning to the term 'moderate incomes.' It is enough here to say that, whatever the term 'moderate' may include or not include, moderate incomes, as spoken of in the present connexion, will certainly include all such as range from the assessment limit—that is to say, from 150*l.* or 160*l.*—up to 400*l.* a year. Now it so happens that a portion of the assessed income—namely, the earnings of 'persons,' private firms, and business and official employés, comprised in Schedules D and E, are individually enumerated in the Returns from year to year, where they are classified in accordance with their amount. I will not here enter on any series of elaborate statistics, I will confine myself to a few dates, and certain outstanding figures connected with them.

Let us begin, then, with the year 1800, and consider how affairs stood then. At that time, as we know from a variety of evidence connected with imposition and levying of the first and the second income-tax, the aggregate of incomes in Great Britain exceeding 60*l.* a year hardly amounted to a total of more than 100,000,000*l.*, of which 30,000,000*l.* was the rental of agricultural land. Let us now turn to the year 1909 and consider the aggre-

gate of incomes, ranging not from 60*l*. but from 160*l*. to 400*l*., which go to one section of the middle class alone—namely, the official and business employés assessed under Schedules D and E. This, exclusive of all income from property, amounted in round figures to not less than 90,000,000*l*.—or to nearly as much as the total of all the incomes in Great Britain from 60*l*. a year upwards in the year 1800, and exceeded by 28 per cent. the total of all such incomes as were then derived from anything but the ownership of agricultural land.

Let us next take the year 1850—about fifteen years previous to the publication of the celebrated work in which Marx elaborated the proposition that moderate incomes were disappearing—and the year 1880, a date fifteen years later. Between these two dates the population of this country had risen from 26,000,000 to 35,000,000—an increase of 34 per cent. If moderate incomes were really being crushed out, they must at all events have increased more slowly than the number of the population as a whole. But if we consult the income-tax returns, what do we actually find? We find that, whereas the population as a whole had increased by about one-third, the number of incomes between 150*l*.--160*l*. and 400*l*. had trebled itself, having risen from 177,000 to 330,000.

But a simpler kind of evidence bearing on the same question, and telling the same story, is perhaps that provided by the official returns which relate not to the number of persons paying tax on moderate incomes, but to the number of and value of houses. In these returns all the dwelling-houses in Great Britain are, according to their annual values, divided into a series of groups, and the yearly increase in the number of each class of house is shown. Now the annual value of a house gives us, as a general rule (though, of course, there are various exceptions), a very fair indication of the means of the family occupying it; house-rent, in the case of the middling classes, at all events, being taken to represent on an average from one-eighth to one-tenth of the family income. Thus, houses worth 20*l*. and 40*l*. a year will broadly represent incomes between 160*l*. and 400*l*., houses worth between 40*l*. and 80*l*. will similarly represent incomes between 400*l*. and 800*l*.; whilst houses worth more than 80*l*. a year will represent incomes of 800*l*. and upwards. Thus, the yearly increase in the number of houses of each class will provide us with an index, substantially if not absolutely accurate, of the increase in the number of the incomes which lie within the corresponding limits.

Let us consider, then, what has been happening since the year 1898, as shown in last year's Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue.

Of houses worth more than 80*l*. a year—the houses of families having incomes of 800*l*. a year and upwards—the number built annually, during this period, has not averaged more than 1000.

Of houses worth between 80*l.* a year and 40*l.*, the number built annually has averaged as much as 10,000.

Of houses worth between 40*l.* a year and 20*l.*—corresponding to incomes between 160*l.* a year and 400*l.*—the number built annually has averaged about 27,000.

These figures, representing the conditions of our own day, speak sufficiently for themselves. They show us that persons possessing moderate incomes—incomes ranging from 160*l.* to 800*l.* a year—instead of being crushed out, are exhibiting a numerical increase which is thirty-seven times as great as that of the whole body of the rich and the comparatively rich together; while if these last figures be taken with those which I quoted previously, they show us that the classes which, for more than forty years, Socialists have declared to be dwindling and disappearing before our eyes, are the precise classes whose increase forms one of the principal features by which the present is distinguished from all former times.

Here we have one example of what I meant when I said that socialistic diagnoses of society are not merely distortions of the truth, but are fundamental and absolute inversions of it.

From this example we will now pass on to another—that provided by Henry George, not as a theorist, but as a professed exponent of facts.

IV

The Alleged Absorption of Increasing Wealth by Land-Rent

The whole of George's reasoning, which in many respects is very able, rests on an assumption as to fact, with which reasoning has nothing to do—an assumption the truth of which was, so he said, exemplified by the affairs of this country on a greater scale than by those of any other. This is the assumption that, in any progressive country, the consideration paid to landowners for the use of the earth's surface, as distinct from any buildings which the industry of man may place on it—or, in other words, land-rent pure and simple, increases at a faster rate than does the national income as a whole; so that if, at a time when the income of any country was as 100, the rent of land had been (let us say) as 20, it would, by the time that the total had doubled itself and become 200, have risen in *greater proportion* and become not 40, but 50. Having been only a fifth of the smaller total, it would have risen to being a fourth of the larger; the ultimate result, already in sight here, and not far off in America, being that the landowners, if not dispossessed of their property, will take between them the entire national income, except such a fraction of it as may be necessary to keep the rest of the population alive.

Here again, as I have said, we have a proposition as to hard

facts—and more especially as to facts relating to our own islands; and here again we have a proposition which can be tested by abundant evidence.

As I said just now, in the year 1800 the aggregate of incomes in Great Britain exceeding 60*l*. a year had been estimated for purposes of income-tax at something just over 100,000,000*l*. Experience and subsequent criticism showed this estimate to have been substantially correct; and out of this total it was agreed by all authorities that the rent of agricultural land accounted for about 30,000,000*l*.

Let us now turn to the year 1908. In that year the sum of all net private incomes in excess, not of 60*l*. a year but 160*l*., amounted to 788,000,000*l*. If the fundamental proposition of Henry George were correct, the land-rental, which formed at the dawn of the nineteenth century at least 30 per cent. of all incomes exceeding 60*l*., would by this time form very much more than 30 per cent. of all incomes exceeding 160*l*. But what do we find to be the case? Let us turn to the assessments for that year under Schedule A, and take not only agricultural rent, which is given in a column by itself, but the rent of building-sites also, which is included in the assessment of houses. This being taken at as much as one-fifth of the total, the site-rental for that year will have amounted to about 42,000,000*l*.; while the gross rental of agricultural lands was about 52,000,000*l*.; the entire land-rental, as distinct from the rent of buildings, having amounted approximately to 94,000,000*l*. That is to say, whereas the rental of agricultural land alone amounted some hundred years ago to very nearly one-third of all incomes exceeding 60*l*., the rental of such *land with the rental of building-sites added to it forms to-day* hardly so much as one-eighth of the total of all incomes exceeding 160*l*.

Let me mention one fact more, which is at once instructive and amusing. After he had, by his doctrine as to land-rent, achieved fame in America, George visited England with the object of preaching it there, and among the various promises held out by him to the people of this country, if only they would adopt his principles, and by means of a single tax make over all land-rent to the State, were the following—expressed in what substantially are his own words. 'Only give me,' he said, 'all the land-rents of the United Kingdom; and, besides performing without any farther taxes all the present functions of your Imperial and your local government, I will supply every house with free lighting and heat, and supply free power to every factory likewise.' These promises were made in the early 'eighties. The land-rent of the country at that time, apart from the rent of buildings, amounted in round figures to 89,000,000*l*. Now this sum would no doubt

have defrayed the Imperial expenditure of the time, and left 10 per cent. of surplus, but it would not have so much as approached what even at that time was the public expenditure as a whole, if the local be added to the Imperial. It may, however, in fairness to George, be urged that according to him land-rent would increase in the future far more rapidly than it had done even in the then recent past; and that he ought to be judged by what would be the situation to-day if the trial of his principles had been protracted up to the present time. Such a test is a fair one. Let us apply it. In the early 'eighties the Imperial expenditure of this country approached, but it did not reach, 80,000,000*l*. annually. In the year 1909 it amounted to 157,000,000*l*.—that is to say, there was an increase of approximately 77,000,000*l*. Let us now examine the returns relating to the rent of land. In the year 1886 the gross total of agricultural rents amounted to 63,000,000*l*., to which one-fifth of the rent of 'houses' must be added in respect of building-sites. These two sums together amount to 89,000,000*l*. Since the year 1886 the rent of building-sites has risen from 26,000,000*l*. to 43,000,000*l*.—an increase of 17,000,000*l*.; and the rent of agricultural land has fallen from 63,000,000*l*. to 52,000,000*l*.—a decrease of 11,000,000*l*.; the total land-rent to-day being about 95,000,000*l*. If, then, George's principles are to be tested, not by the results he could have extracted from them twenty-five years ago, but by those which he would, if alive, be able to extract to-day, we find that, instead of any vast surplus having developed itself, available for extending the present activities of the State and supplying everybody gratis with heat, light, and power, he would be faced with a deficit of considerably over 60,000,000*l*. before he had discharged the functions of the Imperial Government alone, and before he had spent a penny on roads, on drainage, or on education. In other words, instead of land-rent having increased more rapidly than public expenditure, one branch of public expenditure alone has increased almost exactly ten times as fast as land-rent.

And now let us close this question by comparing the increase of land-rent with the increase of incomes derived from other sources, as shown by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue in their reports for the years 1886 and 1909 respectively. The total reviewed under Schedules C, D, and E, together with the rental of buildings apart from sites, amounted in the year 1886 to 471,000,000*l*. The corresponding total for the year 1909 was 895,000,000*l*. Thus, both increases being taken at their gross amounts, the increase of income from sources other than land was 424,000,000*l*.; while the corresponding gross increase from land, which is, according to George, swallowing up every increase from every other source, amounted to the sum, relatively microscopic, of 5,000,000*l*.

If anyone desire to verify these figures he need merely study for himself the Statistical Abstracts for the past twenty-five years, and compare either the gross or net amounts assessed in respect of land-rent (including one-fifth of the rent which is given as that of 'houses') with the gross or the net totals assessed or reviewed for the general purposes of income-tax, and he will find that, whereas about a quarter of a century ago land-rent formed 14 per cent. of the total, ten years later the proportion had sunk to 12 per cent., and is at the present time not so much as 9½.

Figures might be multiplied in illustration of this same conclusion. It must suffice here to say that, in whatever way we approach the matter, we find that land-rent, rural and urban, instead of forming an increasing proportion of an increasing national income, forms year by year a quantity which is relatively less and less.

Here, then, we have before us two of the main assertions which figure in socialistic diagnoses of society as it is now—the assertion that every increase in the wealth produced under modern conditions is swallowed up by the rent of land; and the assertion that, under these same conditions, the number of moderate incomes has been constantly and is still diminishing—assertions insisted on with every variety of confident emphasis by the two most influential thinkers that the socialistic movement has produced; and we have seen that each of them is so absurdly and fantastically fallacious that it is not merely an ordinary untruth, but the truth turned upside down.

V

The Socialistic Assertion that the Poorer Classes are becoming Poorer

I have, however, called attention to these particular assertions first, not because at this moment they are the most important of the fallacies here in question, but because they are representative, and because the refutation of them, lying as it does in a nutshell, will prepare the reader for an examination of a fallacy more important still. This is an assertion of far wider scope than those relating to the middle classes and the landowners. It is the assertion, which is still a commonplace on all socialistic platforms, that while, for more than a century, the modern capitalistic system has been making the rich richer, it has been making the poorer classes—or, in other words, the great majority of the population—'ever poorer and poorer.' We shall find, when we put this to the test of definite facts, that this is an inversion of the truth even more preposterous than the others.

In order to test this assertion fairly, we must be careful to see what those by whom it is made mean by it. Even Marx himself,

who is mainly responsible for its acceptance, would not have denied that some members of the poorer classes, such as specially skilled craftsmen or mechanics, earn much higher wages now than were earned by any of their predecessors of a hundred years ago. The assertion is only meant to apply to the poorer classes as a whole; and it can only signify that the income which they enjoy collectively is growing less in proportion to the total number of the recipients, and would yield less and less to each, if year by year it were divided equally among all. It remains for us to consider who 'the poorer classes' are. How are they defined by those who make this assertion with regard to them? So far as our own country is concerned, the language of Socialists in their excursions into the domain of statistics show clearly enough how this phrase 'the poorer classes' is understood by them. They use it broadly as comprehending all such families as are supported on incomes which are not liable to income-tax, or which do not exceed 160*l.* a year; while the richer classes, though not the conspicuously rich, are invariably identified, for purposes of broad contrast, with those whose incomes are comprised in the aggregate on which tax is levied.

Let us, then, consider with as much precision as we can what is the aggregate to-day of individual earnings and incomes below the assessment limit of 160*l.* Our sources of information with regard to this question have during recent years increased to a remarkable degree, partly owing to fresh investigations on the part of the Board of Trade into the wages of manual labour, and partly owing to an inquiry, conducted with semi-official assistance, by a committee of eminent statisticians, into the earnings and incomes (not exceeding 160*l.*) of persons other than wage-earning manual workers. The results of this inquiry were submitted to the British Association at Sheffield, in a report which has since been published. It is impossible to discuss its details, which would involve a survey of some forty different groups of incomes; but the general conclusion there set forth is this: that the total income earned by the class in question—by the 'lower middle-class,' as it is often loosely called—amounts to over 300,000,000*l.* With regard to the wages of manual labour and services, the aggregate earned by twelve broadly distinguishable groups (of which all but two are under the cognisance of the Board of Trade) cannot amount, according to the latest evidence, to less than 860,000,000*l.*; though precise knowledge as to this point will be impossible till a complete analysis of the last Census returns shall have been issued. These two sums, which make a total of 1,160,000,000*l.*, represent earned income only. To this must be added a further sum, amounting to something between 50,000,000*l.* and 60,000,000*l.*, which arises from property and investments, the

distribution of which, as Mr. Bowley observes, is uncertain, but which the two classes here in question divide between them. The grand total of incomes not exceeding 160*l*. is thus not less, at all events, than 1,210,000,000*l*. The number of the population, exclusive of payers of income-tax and their families, may be taken at the present time as 37,000,000 or 38,000,000. Thus the average income per head of the population exempt from income-tax—or, in other words, of 'the poorer classes,' as that phrase is generally understood—is appreciably in excess, to say the least of it, of 30*l*. a year.

Let us now turn to the beginning of the nineteenth century. As I had occasion to mention just now, when dealing with the question of land-rent, the total of incomes exceeding 60*l*. a year in Great Britain—for Ireland was not then included—did not amount to much more than 100,000,000*l*.; and the total income of Great Britain, according to the highest serious estimates, did but slightly exceed, if it amounted to, as much as 200,000,000*l*. What proportion of this went to persons with more, and what went to persons with less, than the particular sum of 160*l*. a year, we have no means of knowing, for, as Macullough with justifiable indignation observes, all the official records which might have given us such detailed information were destroyed. Such detailed information, however, will not be necessary here. Instead of dealing with the average income of one section of the population, let us take the nation as a whole, and consider what would then have been the average income per head if everything, from the earnings of the humblest casual labourer up to the profits of the greatest merchants, the rent-rolls of the greatest land-owners, and the entire revenue of George III., with his civil list, had been pooled about sixteen years before the battle of Waterloo, and doled out in equal shares to everybody. The population of Great Britain was at that time 10,000,000. Thus, the average income per head—the maximum rendered possible by the whole existing wealth of the country—would have been 20*l*., or, according to the computations of one sanguine statistician of the period, it might perhaps have amounted to 21*l*.

What, then, when we compare them, do the figures for these two periods mean? They mean that the average income per head of the poorer classes to-day is greater by some 50 per cent. than the largest corresponding income which could possibly have been received by anybody if, at the time which Socialists describe as the dawn of modern capitalism, all the wealth of Great Britain had been nationalised by a socialistic State, and the dreams of the wildest of modern Socialists realised by a reduction of all the citizens to the same financial level. Or, to make the case yet more clear, we may present it to the imagination thus. If the

entire income producible in this country by all the forces of its inhabitants three or four generations ago had been equally distributed amongst the population then existing, and if, subsequently increasing in proportion to the increase of the population, it had year by year been similarly distributed till to-day, the poorer classes to-day would possess a collective income which would be less by more than 30 per cent. than the income which is actually their own.

I mention specific figures; but, to repeat what I have said before, the argument does not require an insistence on their absolute exactitude. If anyone prefers to do so, let him take the figures of Mr. Chiozza Money, who aims at estimating the income of the poorer classes at a minimum. According to Mr. Money's computations, the income of these classes per head, instead of exceeding 30*l*., only reaches to 25*l*. If we accept this figure, the fact on which I have been just insisting suffers indeed some slight modification, but its essential character is unchanged. The poorer classes as a whole will, at the present day, be still dividing between them a collective income which, relatively to their present numbers, exceeds anything that would have been possible in the days of their great-great-grandfathers by an equal division of everything that was then produced or producible. The actual course of events, however we may seek to minimise it, has been the exact opposite of that which is ascribed to it by the formula of the Socialists. Instead of having been defrauded of anything that they once possessed, the 'poorer classes' of this country, under the system of modern capitalism, have done more than appropriate everything in the way of wealth, per head of their total number, which could have possibly been called into existence when that system was first establishing itself.

Of course this statement has the defect of all similar generalisations. It is made in terms of averages, and assumes that distribution is equal. But the fallacy to which it is opposed is a generalisation of the same kind, and just as this is not meant to deny that many poor people have become richer, so the counter-assertion of the truth constitutes no denial of the fact that, of a class which has grown richer as a whole, certain sections have remained as poor as they ever were.

Having mentioned this aspect of the case, to which I shall return hereafter, let me now pause to remark that this question of economic development, which is concerned with the history of the past, and inferentially with anticipations of the future, may strike some persons as being more or less academic, and not connected directly enough with the pressing actualities of the present. Such a view, let me say with emphasis, is altogether erroneous,

even if we desire to confine ourselves to such examinations of facts as are calculated to influence the opinion of the least-instructed sections of the community. A man who is shivering with cold, but is on his way to a warm fire, is practically far more comfortable than a man who, warm for the moment, watches his last log burn, and knows that he will be freezing presently. In the same way the existing condition of things, whatever it may be in itself, is coloured for all who contemplate it according as they believe it to be a stage in an upward or downward progress. The possession, therefore, of some true conception of the actual tendency of events would, for this reason alone, even if there were no other, form a primary element of any sane public opinion; but, in addition to this general reason, there is one which is more precise. Not only does the popular attitude towards economic conditions as they are depend on whether they are taken as representing a fall from better to worse, or a rise from worse to better, but the socialistic estimate of existing conditions in themselves is intimately bound up with the socialistic fable as to their history, and is, indeed, that fable translated into a practical form, and influencing the passions and the problems of the hour in which we are now living.

VI

The Socialistic Myth as to the Present Income of the Rich

Let us pass, then, from the socialistic diagnosis of economic conditions in their development, and examine the socialistic estimate, now commonly current, of such conditions as they are at the present time. The main feature of these estimates is the assumption that the proportion of the national income appropriated by those who are vaguely classified as the rich is so enormous, so overwhelming, so inexhaustible, that if only, whether by strikes or taxation, it could be tapped, like a reservoir of water, in a sufficient number of places, it would flood every average household with an almost incredible opulence, and transfigure almost past recognition the entire aspect of society. This conception of existing conditions would be merely the logical consequence of modern economic tendencies, if these were really as Socialists represent them. Everybody knows and admits that, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the increase of our national income relatively to the population has been enormous, and if, during that period, small incomes have been growing smaller, and moderate incomes have been decreasing in number, all the new wealth produced, which cannot but have gone somewhere, must necessarily have passed into the hands of the richer, of the rich, or of the richest. Since, however, as we have seen, both these

assumptions are erroneous—since of the new wealth in question a vast proportion at all events has gone to make small incomes continuously larger and larger, and moderate incomes continuously more numerous, it follows naturally, as a matter of *a priori* certitude, that the wealth of the richer classes, whatever may have been its increase absolutely, cannot possibly bear to the whole anything like that proportion which the Socialists, with their false premises and their inflamed imaginations, attribute to it.

Let us turn, then, once more to definite facts and figures, and consider what at the present time the actual proportion is.

The entire income, from all sources, of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom is now, according to the latest computations, about 1,970,000,000*l.*—a total which accords substantially with the figures which I have just been giving. It comprises one element, however, which it is necessary to distinguish from the rest. This consists of an income which comes into this country from abroad, and does not originate in the employment of home labour. Now it is perfectly obvious that, according to socialistic principles, this income from abroad, if it ought not to remain in the hands of its present possessors, ought just as little to belong to any other class in this country. It ought to belong to workers in America, in India, in South Africa, or any other region in which the business of producing it is conducted; and, as Mr. Keir Hardie has very justly observed, it ought, if the principles of Socialism and of the Labour party mean anything, never to come into the United Kingdom at all. The only income, therefore, with which we are here concerned as the subject of socialistic analysis, and the subject of any possible socialistic redistribution, is the income which is produced in this country itself, through the activity of its own inhabitants. Now the income from abroad (represented by an invested capital of approximately three thousand millions, of which nearly one-half is in India, South Africa, and North America) must amount, according to the latest figures, to something like 200,000,000*l.*, and if this be deducted from the national income in its entirety we get a sum of about 1,770,000,000*l.* as the total income produced in Great Britain and Ireland.

How much, then, of this sum goes to those who can be called 'the rich'? Once again we require a definition of terms; for without it we shall talk at random. Mr. Chiozza Money, when tendering his evidence to the Select Committee on Income-tax, replied to a question concerning this particular point that he would include under the term 'rich' all whose incomes were as much as several thousands a year. We will, however, here, for the purpose of the present discussion, use the term in a much more comprehensive sense. We will suppose that 'riches' as

signifying any income which, on account of its magnitude, Socialists would regard as illegitimate, begin with incomes in excess of 800*l*. a year. We can hardly put the limit lower when we consider that one of the Socialists representing 'Labour' in Parliament not only receives 400*l*. a year as a member, but nearly as much again as the secretary of some party organisation.

Let us begin accordingly with reviewing such specific information as we possess with regard to those incomes which do not exceed the limit which has just been mentioned. So far as those are concerned which do not exceed 160*l*.—incomparably the largest factor in the case—I have pointed out already that they amount to an aggregate sum of certainly not less than 1,210,000,000*l*., and I need not recapitulate the details of which this sum is composed. We have now to compute, and to add to this, the aggregate of incomes lying between 160*l*. a year and 800*l*. Our data, which are provided by the reports of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, though voluminous, are incomplete, and yield a result which must fall short of the truth. They are comprised in a particular portion of the income-tax returns which records the number of incomes earned individually by 'persons,' by firms (other than companies), and by official and business employees whose salaries exceed 160*l*. a year. The 'private firms,' as enumerated in these records, are computed to represent on an average two and a-half partners each, and will so be treated here. According to the latest returns, which were issued late last year, the number of incomes between 160*l*. and 800*l*. which were thus separately identified was approximately 1,100,000, to which must be added the partners in about 30,000 small companies yielding an average profit per business of less than 1000*l*., and also certain farmers. The incomes of these persons, as earned by professions or businesses, amount to a gross total of nearly 230,000,000*l*., to which must be added an unearned income which amounts to over 100,000,000*l*.—nearly 50,000,000*l*. being identifiable; and which is derived from lands, houses, Government stock, and shares in the larger companies. The net total of these incomes, earned and unearned, cannot be less than 320,000,000*l*.

If these assessed incomes not exceeding 800*l*. be taken together with those not exceeding 160*l*., the aggregate of the two will be about 1,530,000,000*l*. produced by the efforts of workers in the United Kingdom, about one-tenth of this arising from property, and nine-tenths being direct earnings.

Compare, then, this home-produced income of more than 1,500,000,000*l*. with the total income produced in the United Kingdom, amounting, as we have seen, to some 1,770,000,000*l*., and what is the proportion of the total which is taken by persons

whose incomes are not above 800*l*. a year? The proportion, as nearly as possible, is 87 per cent.

To many who have grown familiar with the wild statistics of Socialists—those, for instance, of Mr. Hyndman, who twenty-eight years ago asserted that of a national income of 1,300,000,000*l*. the predatory or wholly idle rich appropriated as much as 77 per cent., leaving only 23 per cent. to the masses who alone produced the whole of it—it may seem hardly credible that of the home-produced income to-day a fraction so small as that which has just been indicated is really the sum of all incomes exceeding 800*l*. Their temptation to incredulity may, however, be lessened if I refer them to one of the most eminent statisticians of to-day in connexion with an estimate which a few years ago on admittedly imperfect data, he hazarded of the aggregate of incomes in excess of 5000*l*. Mr. Bowley's tentative estimate amounted to 200,000,000*l*. Mr. Chiozza Money's was 250,000,000*l*. Since then the imposition of a super-tax on incomes of this class, and the stringent inquisition required by it, has disclosed an actual total of less than 129,000,000*l*.—a sum which, according to the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, may be taken as practically exhaustive. If, then, the actual income of this one section of the rich falls so short of what an expert like Mr. Bowley was inclined to regard as likely, there will be less surprise at the discovery that the income of the rich in a wider sense falls yet farther short of the purely fantastic total imputed to it by persons who know nothing even of the meaning of such figures as they quote, and who see and seek in them nothing but an instrument of popular agitation.

But perhaps the temptation to incredulity which I have just mentioned as possible will be lessened yet more efficaciously if I again call attention to evidence of a different kind—namely, that supplied by the number of houses of different values. As I have said already, there is obviously some broad correspondence between the number of incomes exceeding 160*l*. and that of houses whose annual value is in excess of 20*l*. Now, any difficulty which may be felt in realising how small is the actual proportion borne by the income of the richer to that of the less rich classes is one which will relate mainly to the distribution of incomes above the assessment limit. When I first dealt with the evidence provided by houses, I used it to illustrate the rate at which houses of different values (and the incomes presumably corresponding to them) had been annually increasing in number during a certain recent period. Let us now take things as they are, and see what, according to the latest reports, is the actual number, classified according to their value, of houses worth more than 20*l*. a year.

The number of private houses worth more than 20*l*. a year,

and a-half million. Of such houses those whose annual values range from 20*l.* to 40*l*, number more than 1,000,000; those whose annual values range from 40*l.* to 80*l.* number 880,000; whilst those whose annual values are anything in excess of 80*l.* number, in round figures, no more than 120,000. In other words, out of the total number of houses broadly corresponding to the number of assessed incomes, not more than one-eleventh, or approximately 9 per cent., consists of such houses as are broadly assignable to families whose annual incomes are in excess of 800*l.* Of course this fact in itself throws no light on the question of the actual income which goes to these richer families as a whole; but by showing how small the number of such families is relatively to the number of those who incomes we have defined as 'moderate,' it will show that there is nothing which is even unlikely on the face of it in the conclusion to which we have been conducted by evidences of other kinds, that of the entire annual income which is produced in the United Kingdom, those persons who can be called rich in the widest acceptation of the term receive no more than a fraction which is approximately 18 per cent.

In other words, just as the socialistic diagnosis of the economic movement and tendencies of the last 110 years is an absolute inversion of the truth in each of its main particulars, so is the socialistic estimate of affairs as they are now an inversion no less preposterous. The practical results of this fact are obvious, and cannot be forced too insistently on the attention of practical men. In so far as large sections of the population are influenced by the ideas of Socialism, they become, without any reference to Socialism as a reasoned theory, the nervous and super-excited dupes of all kinds of impossible expectations. The widespread exhibition of what is now called 'labour unrest' is largely, though not entirely, attributable to this cause. Here we have a question which possesses a special interest at this moment, in view of the assertions of agitators during the strikes with regard to the minimum wage which is possible for every employed worker, and the violent exhortations addressed to uninstructed multitudes to hope for indefinitely more, and never to rest satisfied with less. How wholly out of relation to anything which would be remotely practicable such assertions are, even should Socialists have at their disposal the entire resources of this country, I propose on another occasion to illustrate by some of the latest statistics, which are far more searching in their character than anything within our reach previously, relating to the principal industries of the United Kingdom to-day.

W. H. MALLOCK.

... as barely been recorded when ... Conservatives, is required of the Canadian people ... Government which followed the rejection of reciprocity ... some other things off the slate; and, among them, the Canadian Navy. One of the first definite declarations of the new Ministry was that, whatever it might do, it would not ask the country to proceed with the naval plans of its predecessor. The Premier, the Minister of Marine, and the leader of the Nationalist wing of the Government united in this statement.

As to the future, they announce nothing but 'a clean slate.' The new Minister of Marine is to cross the Atlantic to 'consult the Admiralty'; and those critical consultations will probably be in progress soon after these lines are printed. The policy of the new Government, in any case, is not to be framed until the Minister has returned from London and is in a position to tell his colleagues what the naval experts of the Empire think Canada should do.

Now, there is a very strong suspicion in Canada that the Separatist naval policy of the late Government was not welcomed by the private judgment of the naval authorities of the United Kingdom. The Lords of the Admiralty were no doubt polite. More than that, they were diplomatic. It would not have been good international policy at the time when the late Ministers went to London to 'consult the Admiralty,' to advertise the fact that 'Canada refused to come to the help of the Empire' in the way the Imperial Government thought she should. Hence if it seemed clear to the British naval advisers that Canada would decline to do what they would have liked to suggest, but that she would do something else which might be presented to Europe as loyal and enthusiastic support, obviously their best policy was to keep their suggestions to themselves—or, at all events, from the public—and hail the only possible Canadian action as a wise and helpful and loyal proposal.

This would not be duplicity—it would be diplomacy. Yet the effect would be to deceive that section of the Canadian people who were genuinely in earnest in their desire to help sustain the sea-power of Britain. At the moment it may have been necessary; I am not arguing that point. But it is exceedingly difficult for us out here in Canada to believe that, while a policy of almost ruthless concentration was decided on for the ships wholly controlled by the Admiralty, precisely the reverse policy was genuinely desired in the case of ships which were to be controlled by the Canadian Government. British ships on the Canadian station were taken home; but British naval experts professed to ... at all events, they did not condemn—the building of ...

[illegible] the family [illegible] a matter of fact, the other [illegible] shirking his fair share of the work.

But, whatever may have been the necessities of the case before, there is no reason at all to-day why the Admiralty should not speak its mind. In fact, there is every reason why it should. I believe that I am well within the mark in saying that public opinion in Canada is overwhelmingly in favour of either doing something effective or doing nothing at all. We are deeply and permanently disgusted with the puerile policy of trying to do just enough to placate those who want something done, but not enough to disturb those who want nothing done. The late Government tried its best to 'run with the hare and hunt with the hounds'; and it ended in the ditch. Whatever else we may be, we are all out of conceit now with that sort of thing. We may refuse to do anything, and so keep our money; but we are not going to spend our money and yet bear the stigma of doing nothing.

Now, those who want to do something recognise that they themselves are not naval experts; nor are they *au fait* with the foreign policy of the Empire. In the most natural way possible they look to the Foreign Office and the Admiralty for advice. These institutions have given many lifetimes to the study of precisely the problem that confronts us in this unwarlike country, which is just about to celebrate its 'Century of Peace.' They can tell us better than anybody else what we ought to do. We think it is their duty to be frank with us—their duty to the Empire, their duty to the people of Canada who desire that Empire to last, and who perceive that their own national existence is bound up with the life of that Empire. It goes without saying that this section of our people will welcome the fullest and frankest advice from the experts who live in the Capital of the Empire.

Now let us turn at once to what some people will regard as the most difficult feature of the situation—the Nationalist party of Quebec. Their notoriety rests chiefly upon their opposition to the naval policy of the late Government. They defeated a full year ago a candidate of the Liberals in a Liberal stronghold by crying '*A bas la Marine!*' They have undoubtedly [illegible] among the Quebec *habitants* a deep distrust of any Canadian navy, telling them that their sons will be carried off on it to [illegible] in wars in which they have no concern. That has been [illegible] their chief argument against the naval law—the fear of [illegible]. They have even 'called Conscription' [illegible] [illegible] word. The *habitant*, though he is [illegible]

[illegible] against the cost half so much as against the [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] a fear that his sons may be drafted into the navy can apply only to a local Canadian navy. While our own warships are prowling about our own coasts, it is easy to make unsophisticated people believe that they might swoop down and carry off the stalwart young son of the farm in some time of national stress. But no one has any such fear of the Imperial navy. It has been in existence for a long time, and it has never 'drafted' a Canadian boy yet. It would be well-nigh impossible for the most unscrupulous 'stump speaker' to convince the most rural audience that the British navy had suddenly turned dangerous and might kidnap Canadian youth at a moment's notice.

Now, frankly, this seems to me to be 'a way out' for the leaders of the Nationalist party. They can never consent to a Canadian navy without stultifying their whole campaign. But they would be put in no such awkward position by advocating an augmentation of the Imperial navy. Such an augmentation is, indeed, going on to-day, and was very vigorously 'speeded up' a year or so ago; but they are raising no alarm over it. So far as the danger of personal service is concerned, what difference does it make whether that augmentation be paid for by the British taxpayer or out of the Canadian Treasury? I do not venture to say that the Nationalists would take this way out—I only say that they could; and that they could not possibly get out at all, with any shreds of decency left, if asked to support any variation whatever of the Canadian navy idea.

Then there is another point. Such unpopularity of the navy as exists in Quebec is due largely to the fact that no one has ever argued before the French voters in its favour with courage and conviction. The late Government were in a position of apology. They did not try to show the French Roman Catholics of Quebec—what is perfectly true—that they have more to lose by the collapse of British sea-power than probably any other section of the varied populations of the Empire; they merely pointed out in a deprecatory fashion that their offence was 'a little one.' If ever a party deserved defeat on a specific issue, the Canadian Liberals deserved defeat in Quebec on the navy issue. They took up a policy which, to succeed, must always be a policy of courage; and they fought it as a policy of cowardice and explanation and retreat. The French voter never had the case presented to him. He suffered from flagrant foul play. The Nationalists attacked, but no one defended. The impression inevitably created on the mind of the French voter was that the navy was an admitted evil, imposed upon a reluctant Liberal Government by the Imperialists of Ontario, and that he was asked to say that he did not mind it very much, and would put up with it for the sake

[illegible] his opinion [illegible] the truth [illegible] he was by far the most virtuous partner to the [illegible]

But how different the position would be if the [illegible] before the French Roman Catholic people of Quebec! [illegible] a devout people, and they love their language; and yet [illegible] is that they enjoy their cherished religious privileges, [illegible] allowed to use their language in the courts, in the Provincial Legislature, and even in the Dominion Parliament, solely by reason of British treaty guarantees, which would disappear if Canada ceased to be a British Colony. Now, it follows, with the relentless sequence of a proposition in Euclid, that if Britain loses her command of the sea Canada will speedily cease to be a British Colony. Let us look at the situation frankly. The American Republic is a living nation, with ambitions, national pride, confidence in its power to confer benefits upon any feeble people taken under its wing, and a desire—common to all nations—to add to its strength and prestige. It is exactly as unselfish and philanthropic as the British Empire—but no more so. And it must be blind as a bat if it does not see that, if it could add Canada to its territories, it would become in a few decades by far the greatest English-speaking nation in the world, and, indeed, the most powerful single Government on earth.

The hegemony of the English-speaking world may even now be said to be up for competition. By reason of its navy and Empire, the United Kingdom still possesses it in reality; but a denial of this precedence is already heard very audibly from the United States. The currents of world politics have of late brought the American nation into the company of the other English-speaking communities in an intimate sense, which for a long time was lacking; but that very welcome arrival synchronised nearly with another arrival—the arrival of the United States in a position of power—which made it doubtful whether it followed Britain in their mutual movements in foreign politics, or marched beside her. We have to some extent the case of Prussia and Austria repeated, with the Americans playing the *rôle* of the Prussians. We British are still ahead; but our leadership is challenged by a virile and growing people. We still have the Imperial Crown; but a young giant has arisen who has his eye on a possible Versailles.

Now that new 'Versailles' may be Ottawa. Suppose Canada to have at some time fifty or sixty millions of people—a modest estimate. If we had previously been joined to the United States, we might then calculate on anything from one hundred [illegible] to two hundred million people under one Government—a [illegible] nation, covering a continent and dominating a hemisphere. What other nation in the world dare oppose its will? To what other

[illegible]
[illegible] navy had been crushed—[illegible]
[illegible] the capture of Canada by the American Republic? [illegible]
protection means, in such a case, alliance, if not absorption; so
the Washington Government would thus have two continents
under its control. Is not such a prospect dazzling enough to stir
the ambition of any people? Is not such a prospect written
plainly on the possibilities of the future for the American people
to read? Is it not as certain as that hunger lures the eagle from
his eyrie, that the American people will actively covet Canada on
the day when the protection of the British navy is withdrawn,
and we are left, less than ten million people, unwarlike and unarmed, to defend the most tempting prize ever offered a great
nation in historic time?

Thus I cannot see that it is unduly pessimistic, or an implication of anything like an unworthy ambition to our American
neighbours, to say that the collapse of British sea-power will
almost certainly be followed by a determined effort to bring
Canada into the American Union. The opportunities which will
give such an effort its chance will be many and full of menace.
A dispute with Japan as to Asiatic immigration into British
Columbia might compel us to call for the help of the American
fleet. Nothing but the Monroe Doctrine would save us from being
regarded by Germany as the richest prize won by its presumed
great victory in the North Sea. The boundary water-powers and
channels of navigation would offer countless subjects of dispute
in which our small people, notoriously unable to fight on equal
terms, would be exposed constantly to humiliation, open robbery,
and serious material disadvantage. To-day the American newspapers are mulcted of many millions a year because they cannot
get access to our forests. An Annexation campaign would always
promise them escape from this impost. American 'Trusts' see
a great and growing market here out of which they are barred
by our tariff; and it is better to stand between a she-bear and her
cubs than a 'Trust' and its prey. These are only a few of the
forces which would constantly whip up American ambition to
seize the greatest place in the modern world merely by extending
the undoubted benefits of free American institutions to the
benighted and backward Canadian people.'

Then, when the change came, what of Quebec? Would its
Church retain the privileges now enjoyed under British treaties
and the Canadian Constitution? There is not a privileged Church
in the United States. Would the Roman Catholics keep their
'separate schools' in Quebec and Ontario? There is not a
'separate school'—a public school under Roman Catholic control
—in the United States. Would the French language survive [illegible]
[illegible] in the courts and in Congress? On this point [illegible]

[illegible] as ally. Quebec is simply suffering from the fact [that she has] never had the case presented to her fairly and frankly [by her] own leaders. She has heard nothing but virulent criticism [or] deprecatory apology. More than that, the naval scheme [which] has been submitted to her judgment was a worthless scheme, [a] scheme which frightened the Quebec farmer who loves his boy to stay at home, but could not be shown to be of any value [for] purposes of naval defence. The Quebec farmer is a shrewd observer; and he knows that he is not in any danger of naval attack, and so cannot be persuaded that he needs a local squadron. [If it] could be shown, however, that his most cherished privileges might be wrested from him as the result of a British naval defeat in the North Sea, when he would be the first to favour making such a defeat impossible. It is not necessary for him to be an Imperialist; it is only necessary for him to have an enlightened affection for his language and his religion. And is not all wise Imperialism based upon the advantages which we see it will bring to each of us?

So—'to return to our muttons'—there is no important section of the Canadian people who would not welcome a frank statement from the British Admiralty as to the manner in which they think Canada can best help sustain British sea-power. It is quite possible that the British Admiralty might ask more than we can do; but they can at any rate indicate the line along which we should move. They can choose for us between the two principal policies into which possible action naturally divides itself—a Separatist navy eventually built, controlled and drilled in Canadian waters; and a Canadian addition to the Imperial Navy, built and controlled and drilled by the British Admiralty. If they will put their stamp of approval unmistakably upon either of these plans, the Canadian people will do the rest. In two words, the British Admiralty can to-day get the sort of Canadian assistance it wants, if it has the courage to ask for it in the hearing of the Canadian people; and, to a very great extent, if the new Canadian naval policy be abortive, the blame will rest upon the British naval experts who feared to trust a loyal people who have just proven their worthiness to be trusted by overthrowing a popular Government and rejecting a trade proposal at one time favoured by both parties, solely because they wanted Canada to remain permanently British.

The Admiralty must recognise, however, that there are [illegible] forces in Canada which will clamour for a local navy. [illegible] 'grafter' will like to see money which might be spent in Canada [spent] in Great Britain. No local politician whose constituency [illegible] the naval shipyards is likely to favour a policy which [illegible]

[illegible]

at least delay the [illegible] of that big Canada [illegible]. The [poli]tician who lives by 'patronage' will want to see so much attractive 'patronage' taken away from Canada and wasted on the Admiralty. No business man who thinks of the 'navy vote,' not so much as a method of defence as an indirect encouragement to his industry or commercial enterprise, will relish the loss of this prospective 'bonus' to Canadian effort. And these are forces which can lay siege to Parliament, hamper the Ministers, and affect public opinion. They will try to make Canadians believe that voting assistance to the Imperial Navy is voting 'want of confidence' in our ability out here to build and manage a navy. They will appeal to our local self-esteem, and ask why it is that we can build railways and canals and equip a continent, but cannot be trusted to run a few cruisers. They will point to the South American Republics, and demand: 'Why it is that they are clever enough to have their navies when we Canadians are not?'

But, of course, the Admiralty will not be deflected from its high duty by such frothy chatter as this. It can safely leave the answering of these empty and interested arguments to the loyal and level-headed section of the Canadian people, who know that the whole case at bottom is simply this: *Canada has no need whatever for a navy, while the British Empire—of which Canada is a part—has supreme need for the greatest navy in the world.* We might as well argue that it is a slight upon a Canadian province not to permit it to make its own tariff, as insist that each member of the Imperial family shall create its own private navy. Still, it is just as well for the Lords of the Admiralty to be forewarned, and realise that the whine of the local 'grafter' and parish politician may reach their ears from strange quarters, and speak in the tone of a stout and high-minded 'Canadianism.'

But if the sea lords of Britain will confide in the good judgment and sound loyalty of the Canadian people, they will not confide in vain. We realise that it is the life of Canada which is at stake—a final risk not shared by even the people of the British Isles. The crushing of the British navy would wreck the Empire; but it would leave the United Kingdom intact. No foreign foe would attempt the folly of planting another 'Calais' on British soil. But with the wreck of the Empire Canada would disappear from the map. We would have to go to London when we wanted to see once more 'the meteor flag' outlined against the sky. Thus, in a sense, we have more at stake than the 'Home' people; and, eventually, we shall certainly see our battleships in the first line of our mutual Imperial defence, no matter how many politicians it is necessary to 'educate,' by the only method to which they are pervious, before we can achieve this end.

Albert R. Carman.

Montreal.

THE THIRD EDITION OF HOME RULE

(I)

A FIRST IMPRESSION OF THE BILL

ONCE again the nation is plunged into the thick of the Home Rule controversy. On Tuesday, the 9th of April, Mr. Bonar Law attended a great Unionist demonstration at Belfast, and two days later the Prime Minister, with characteristic and befitting gravity, laid before Parliament and the nation the outline of a new Bill 'to amend the provision for the government of Ireland.' There is not a little in the circumstances under which the Bill is introduced to excite strong party prejudice. It is believed in many quarters that the proposals made by Mr. Asquith represent not the unfettered judgment of a responsible Ministry, but the terms of a bargain upon the strict fulfilment of which the existence of the Ministry depends. With such considerations this paper is in no wise concerned. My intention is to examine the proposals of the Government in a spirit of scientific detachment; to consider them entirely upon their merits, and to ignore altogether the political circumstances under which the new Bill has been conceived and brought to the birth. After all, it matters comparatively little to the jurist whether the Bill is or is not the fruit of an unholy alliance; whether it is or is not the result of a log-rolling combination between Radical Ministerialists, Welsh Nonconformists, English Socialists, and Irish Nationalists. The nation cares less about such matters than party politicians at Westminster are apt to imagine; and even if it cared much, the questions would not be pertinent to the present inquiry. Let it be assumed that Mr. Asquith and his colleagues have been inspired by the loftiest motives of political altruism, and that their proposals are the outcome of convictions which are not only mature but absolutely independent. Are those proposals constitutionally sound and politically just?

I

It may be well, in the first place, to glance at the alternatives which are open to a statesman who sets out to alter the

[illegible] relations between Great Britain and [illegible] the sake of brevity they may be set forth summarily thus:

(1) Complete separation;
(2) Colonial self-government;
(3) Federalism;
(4) Extended local government.

As to the first little need be said. Separation would imply, of course, not merely the repeal of the legislative union cemented a century ago, but the complete renunciation of the authority of the Crown over a portion of its dominions which have formed an integral part of the inheritance of our kings since the Angevin 'conquest' of the twelfth century. That conquest, as Sir John Davies pointed out exactly three hundred years ago,[1] was, indeed, singularly incomplete and illusory. The Plantagenets were far more concerned as to the retention of their possessions in France than the consolidation of their 'conquest' in Ireland. Nevertheless, Ireland has formed part of the dominion of the English Crown for nearly eight hundred years, and 'separation' would involve a sensible curtailment of its 'regality.' It may be said that there is no demand for separation. It is not so said by the leader of the Irish party. 'There has always been, and there is to-day, a certain section of Irishmen who would like to see separation from this country. They were once a very large section, but now they are a very small section.' So spake Mr. John Redmond in the First Reading Debate on the 11th of April. But for my immediate purpose it matters not whether the section of Irish separatists is large or small. The point is that the fundamental argument upon which from the first 'Home Rule' has rested is that it is proposed in deference to the persistent and sustained demand of the Irish 'nation.' Mr. Asquith himself puts in the forefront of his argument the 'deliberate constitutional demands of the vast majority of the nation, repeated and ratified, time after time, during the best part of the lifetime of a generation.' But this argument, in the mouth of a 'limited' Home Ruler, proves too much. If justice compels attention to the demand—provided it be sufficiently strong and persistent—for 'Home Rule,' how can it remain deaf to a demand, similarly urged, for separation? If Irish nationality is to be caressed when it asks modestly for a modicum of legislative independence, how can it be coerced when it roughly and rudely demands a separation of the Crowns? More than that. The 'nationality' argument

[1] *Discoverie of the True Causes why Ireland was never Entirely Subdued and Brought under Obedience of the Crown of England until the Beginning of His Majesty's Happy Reign* (1612). Sir John Davies was Attorney-General for Ireland under James the First, and his little book is full of ripe wisdom and instruction for those who desire to understand the historical relations of England and Ireland.

[illegible]

[illegible] on behalf of 'nationalities.' But the argument is double-edged. To the advocates of the 'nationality' principle no [illegible] the great European settlement of 1815 was more distasteful than the extinction of the independence of the Republic of Genoa. Nowadays there is not a 'nationalist' in Europe who is not inspired to rhapsody by the story of Italian unity. Yet where would united Italy be had Europe listened to the laments of the Genoese nationalists of 1815? The truth is that the 'nationality' of the part must often be sacrificed to the 'nationality' of the whole. This is, indeed, the outstanding lesson taught by a survey of the 'nationality' movement of the nineteenth century. It has tended in the main, not to destruction, but to edification; to unification, not to disintegration. It is a potent weapon, therefore, in the armoury of the Unionist; it may be a convincing argument on the lips of a separatist; the one person to whom it is not available is the advocate of the half measure conveniently described as 'Home Rule.'[2] It is, however, only right, before going further, to point out that the Bill now before Parliament is, on paper, less separatist in principle than were Mr. Gladstone's proposals in 1886, or even in 1893. According to the first Home Rule Bill there was to be no Irish representation at Westminster. Nor was the reason far to seek. No English Liberal would have looked at Home Rule in 1886, except as a means of ridding the House of Commons of the Irish 'nuisance.' But even Mr. Gladstone was subsequently convinced that to propose exclusion was an inevitable step towards complete separation. Consequently in the Bill of 1893 no less than eighty Irish members were retained at Westminster, but the Irish representatives, whether in the House of Lords or in the House of Commons, were not to be entitled to 'deliberate or vote' on any question exclusively affecting Great Britain 'or some part thereof.' The inconvenience of this 'in and out' arrangement was so palpable that the proposal was subsequently dropped, and Irish members were to be left free to deliberate and vote on all questions. It may be taken as a welcome indication of the growth of the federal idea that there is no suggestion, either in Mr. Asquith's speech or in his Bill, of total exclusion; but it has yet to be proved that there is any real guarantee either here or elsewhere against an inherent and ineradicable tendency towards separation.

A second alternative is 'self-government' on the Colonial model. And if the principle of nationalism is irresistibly [illegible]

[2] This argument was put by Mr. A. V. Dicey in 1886 with [illegible] England's Case against Home Rule, e.g. pp. 18, 70.

tive to the emotional politician, the idea of Colonial self-government is not less attractive to men of a more sober and more reflective turn of mind. The argument from Colonial experience is very simple and, up to a point, very convincing. The more freedom you bestow upon your Colonies, the more you let them 'manage their own affairs,' the more loyal do they become to the British Crown, the more firm is their allegiance to the Imperial connexion. It is undeniably and most happily true that the great Dominions are increasingly devoted to the Crown and the Empire. It is also true that we have gone far towards realising the ideal of Burke, and that the ties which bind the Colonies and the Mother-land, 'though light as air, are as strong as links of iron.' It is true, again, that before the concession of 'responsible' government the two Canadas were seething with disaffection and discontent, and that since 1840 they have increased alike in prosperity and in contentment. But there is another side to Colonial experience, a side which is peculiarly and persistently ignored. Self-government is confined to the Canadian Dominion, Newfoundland, South Africa, the Australian Commonwealth and New Zealand. These represent only a part, though undeniably the most important part, of the Colonial system. There are other Colonies which have been endowed with representative institutions, but without 'responsible' Executives, and there are many more which, as Crown Colonies, are governed directly from Whitehall. The 'Dominions,' it is true, have advanced from grace to grace. But what of the rest? In many of them it is notorious that representative institutions have proved a failure, and in some it has been found necessary to withdraw the concession, and to restore Crown Colony administration. But even if we ignore all contrary experience and concentrate attention upon the unquestioned success of 'self-government' in the great Dominions, what help and guidance does such experience afford to those who would remodel the government of Ireland?

Colonial self-government, as the term is now understood, involves five principles:

(1) The legal supremacy of the King in Parliament;

(2) The virtual independence of the Colonial Legislature;

(3) A local Executive responsible thereto;

(4) Complete fiscal independence; and

(5) The right of secession.

It will be obvious to any jurist that the above statement is popular rather than scientific, and many people may be startled by the inclusion of the fifth principle. But can any sane person deny that the right of secession is implicit in the existing constitutional connexion between the Mother-land and the daughter Dominions? I am not for an instant suggesting

that the right is likely to be exercised; its existence is, perhaps, the best guarantee against such an untoward development. But does anyone suppose that if the Canadian Dominion were deliberately to demand independence, the demand would be forcibly resisted by the electors of the United Kingdom? It is true that the King in Parliament has a legal right to amend or to annul the existing Constitution of the Canadian Dominion or the Australian Commonwealth: is it conceivable that the right should be exercised except at the request of the Colonies concerned? That the Imperial Parliament does exercise the right to legislate for the Empire, and does in this way secure objects which are common to the Empire as a whole, but are beyond the competence of any single Colonial Legislature, is true.* It intervenes, also, to validate doubtful Acts passed by Colonial Legislatures. Nevertheless, the legislative tie is 'light as air,' and it could be severed, if not without sorrow and inconvenience, at least without recourse to revolution.

What help, then, does the Colonial analogy afford to the sanguine 'Home Ruler'? Is Ireland to be endowed with virtual legislative independence? Can the Irish 'nationalist' be satisfied with anything less? Will the English Home Ruler concede so much? Is the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament to be merely nominal? 'We maintain in this Bill, unimpaired, beyond the reach of challenge or of question, the supremacy, absolute and sovereign, of the Imperial Parliament.' Such was Mr. Asquith's answer on the 11th of April. Is Ireland to enjoy fiscal independence? The curiously complicated financial arrangements are a sufficient answer to this interrogation. Is Ireland to have a right, either implicit or avowed, to sever the connexion at her sole will and pleasure? To state the question is to anticipate the answer.

Such inquiries, however, may be deemed too technical and too minute. They appear to ignore the broad and popular contention that 'Home Rule' has satisfied the Colonies, and may be relied upon to assuage the secular bitterness between Great Britain and Ireland. What possible danger, it is asked, can there be in adding just one more 'Home Rule Parliament to the twenty-eight Home Rule Parliaments already existing in the Empire'? Let me point out, in passing, that the term 'Home Rule' is an extraordinarily convenient cloak for confusions of thought and inexactitudes of expression. It is utilised to describe at once the virtually independent Parliament of the Dominion of Canada and the entirely subordinate Parliaments of Quebec and the other Canadian Provinces. Is the Dublin

* A long series of Acts relating to merchant shipping affords a good example of this. *Cf.* on this subject, Keith: *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, pp. 3, 175-221.

Parliament to be modelled upon that of New Zealand, or upon that of Ontario?[4] Is the Irish Executive to correspond, in its functions and its powers, to that of the Australian Commonwealth or to that of the Isle of Man? Is the Lord-Lieutenant to be a Constitutional Sovereign, or a member of the British Executive, or an autocratic Governor? To these questions I have seen no real or consistent answer. The powers enjoyed by the Dublin Parliament are to be 'delegated'; the Imperial Parliament is to possess overriding legislative authority, and its supremacy is to remain unimpaired; so far, 'Home Rule' is presented in the guise of Canadian provincialism. But, on the other hand, it is to satisfy national aspirations, to do for Ireland what the concession of 'independence' has done for Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. The simple truth is that the 'Home Ruler' has never really defined his terms, still less has he emancipated himself from the intellectual tyranny of imperfect analogies. 'Half the wrong conclusions at which mankind arrives,' said Lord Palmerston, 'are reached by the abuse of metaphors.' More than half the confusions in which political thought is involved are due, it may be added, to reliance upon analogies. No Home Ruler who lays claim to intellectual or political honesty is entitled to recommend his prescription on the strength of the argument from Colonial analogies, without clearly defining to himself and to others what precisely he understands, on the one hand by Colonial self-government, on the other by Irish Home Rule.

The Home Ruler has, however, before him a third alternative. He may proclaim himself to be a 'federalist.' If there is allurement to many minds in the Colonial analogy, there is still more in the federal idea. Federalism has proved itself to be a prevalent principle in politics during the last half-century; it has solved many awkward problems, and has gone far to reconcile many conflicting claims. The United States of America, the Canadian Dominion, the Swiss Republic, the German Empire and the Australian Commonwealth, to say nothing of several South American republics, bear testimony to the applicability of the principle to widely differing circumstances. That the prescription has proved in many cases efficacious is undeniable. But as I have recently pointed out in this Review,[5] 'federalism' has invariably represented a centripetal and not a centrifugal development; it has meant not the break-up of a unitary constitution but the bringing closer together of political units previously independent or, at any rate, distinct; it has implied, on the part of the

[4] I propounded these questions in much more detail in the *Nineteenth Century and After* for November 1911. I have not seen an answer, nor do I find one in Mr. Asquith's speech of the 11th of April.

[5] November 1911.

[illegible]

[illegible] The alternative to federalism in America in 1787 was not a single unitary State, but thirteen independent States; the Swiss Cantons in 1848 sacrificed something of sovereignty to a Federal Republic; Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, and the other German States made a similar sacrifice to the Federal Empire in 1871. I do not suggest that the application of the federal principle to the United Kingdom is impossible, but I submit that such a process can derive no sanction from the success which has attended the experiment in the countries enumerated above.

Nor can it seriously be contended that the federalisation of the United Kingdom is an indispensable preliminary to the evolution of a federal constitution for the Empire as a whole. On the contrary, it would gravely complicate a problem already sufficiently embarrassing. To devise a federal constitution for the existing units of the Empire—the United Kingdom, the Canadian Dominion, South Africa, the Australian Commonwealth and New Zealand *—ought not to be a task beyond the ingenuity of jurists and diplomatists. To add Ireland, Scotland, and possibly Wales to the confederating units would gratuitously enhance the difficulties of the situation.

That the federal idea has not failed to influence the framers of the new Home Rule Bill is tolerably obvious. The retention of forty-two representatives of Irish constituencies in the Imperial Parliament may be accepted as a concession to this principle. In this respect the Bill seems to me an improvement both upon the cumbrous 'in and out' device of the 1893 Bill, and still more upon the separatist version of 1886. But I question whether this amendment will increase the cordiality of its reception among the electors of Great Britain. At this point, however, it seems important to notice a confusion which is not uncommon. The principle of federalism is apt to be confounded with that of 'devolution.' Of all the arguments employed by Home Rulers there is none, I imagine, which will carry so much weight with the average British elector as the suggestion that 'Home Rule' for Ireland will restore the legislative efficiency of the Imperial Parliament. Mr. Asquith pointedly commended his Bill to the House of Commons as a device for 'reconciling Ireland and emancipating itself.' The business of the Empire and of the United Kingdom must, it is contended, continue to suffer from neglect so long as the Imperial Parliament is compelled to concern itself with matters of purely local significance. Nothing can cure the deep-seated evil but a measure of devolution. The argument will tell. It harmonises completely with a

* Perhaps Newfoundland should be added; but it would be much more to the purpose if Newfoundland would consent to enter the Canadian Federation.

sentiment which the newly enfranchised classes have embraced with passionate conviction. Modern democracy has an ineradicable belief in the efficacy of legislation, a touching reliance upon the beneficent activity of the 'State.' Anything which impedes legislation is a barrier to social amelioration. Nothing can shake this conviction. The failure of one legislative effort after another to effect its avowed purpose serves only to stimulate the appetite for more. According to the prevailing creed, there is no economic inequality and no social injustice which you cannot legislate out of existence. Needless to say that the superstition is fostered by the professional politician. Its prevalence enhances the reverence with which he is regarded. He is the custodian of the legislative mysteries. He and he alone can work the oracle. But the process is at present too deliberate; the wheels of the legislative machinery are clogged. Anything which will speed it will be eagerly welcomed by the neo-collectivists. The Parliament Act was one important step in the right direction; the Home Rule Bill is another. Devolution, therefore, is welcomed for its own sake, and not less for the promise it holds out of accelerated legislation.

'Home Rule' thus presents itself in a fourth aspect, a glorified and extended local government. In this guise it can claim a wide allegiance. Most people believe that much of the work now concentrated at Westminster could be advantageously distributed among local bodies. Everyone is ready to utter a benediction on any reasonable scheme of 'devolution.' It is unnecessary, therefore, to labour the point. It is, however, pertinent to point out that there is more than one way of relieving the congestion of business in the existing House of Commons. It may be done by a process of decentralisation or devolution; it can be done not less effectively by a process of integration, by the creation of an Imperial Council, genuinely representative of the Empire as a whole.[7] Nor are the processes mutually exclusive. Even if an Imperial Council were to take over the supervision of foreign and Colonial policy, the control of emigration and immigration, Imperial defence, posts, telegraphs, means of communication, and the like, the Imperial Parliament might still find itself overburdened, and anxious to devolve upon local bodies, administrative and legislative, the control of strictly local affairs.

This point, however, must not be developed. Enough has been said to establish my primary contention that 'Home Rule' is protean in form. It may be synonymous with separation; to a logical 'nationalist' it can be hardly less. It may follow

[7] I may perhaps be permitted to refer, in this connexion, to the scheme which I outlined in this Review in May 1911.

the lines already familiar in the evolution of Colonial self-government. It may appear under the alluring guise of federalism, or it may amount to little more than devolution, the extension of the sphere of local government.

II

Under which of these several guises is Home Rule presented in the scheme which Mr. Asquith, on behalf of his Ministry, has lately propounded to the House of Commons?

Before an attempt is made to answer this question it may be desirable to indicate the salient features of the scheme.

The first is, the supremacy, unimpaired and inviolate, of the Imperial Parliament. The Prime Minister described this as the 'cardinal principle' of the Bill, and it is obvious that no pains have been spared to render that supremacy as secure as a paper constitution can make it. 'There is no question,' said Mr. Asquith, 'of the distribution or allocation as between a central and a local body of supreme legislative authority . . . the Imperial Parliament can neither surrender nor share its supreme authority to or with any other body in any other part of his Majesty's dominions.' This doctrine of the sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament is expressly set forth in the first clause of the Bill: 'Notwithstanding the establishment of the Irish Parliament or anything contained in this Act, the supreme power and authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters, and things within his Majesty's Dominions.'

The supremacy of the Imperial Parliament is, it would appear, to be secured in three ways: (1) By the power inherent in the sovereign Legislature to legislate for Ireland as for any other part of his Majesty's Dominions; (2) by the power expressly reserved in the Bill to nullify, amend or alter any Act of the Irish Parliament; and (3) by its control over the Imperial Executive, which has power under the Bill to veto or postpone the operation of any Act of the Irish Parliament.

In this connexion it is important and interesting to note Mr. Asquith's emphatic repudiation of one of the cardinal principles of federalism—the distribution of power as between a central and local Legislature. The Imperial Parliament is not to stand to the Dublin Parliament in the relation of the Dominion Parliament to those of Quebec or Alberta: from the jurisdiction of the omnipotent Legislature nothing is or can be reserved. On the other hand, the power of the Irish Legislature is to be inferior to that of Victoria or New South Wales, since the latter delegate to the Commonwealth Legislature only cer-

... within the limits of which its activities are legally confined. Clearly, then, the first principle of federalism is at the outset repudiated; there is no legal division of powers.

Subject, however, to the overriding supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, Ireland is to enjoy 'real autonomy' in regard to most Irish concerns. The Irish Parliament is to consist of the King and two Houses: a Senate and a House of Commons. The Senate is to consist of forty members holding office for eight years, and nominated in the first instance by the Imperial Executive, and afterwards by the Irish Executive. The number of the Lower House is to be 164, elected by the existing Irish Constituencies on the basis of one member for every 27,000 of the population. Ulster under this plan will get 59 members, Leinster 41, Munster 37, Connaught 25, and the Universities 2.

The constitution of the Senate indicates a wide departure from the precedents of 1886 and 1893, and, not on this account only, will demand much more justification than Mr. Asquith has so far vouchsafed. The Bill of 1886 provided for a single-chamber Legislature of two Orders, sitting, deliberating and voting, as a rule, together, though in certain circumstances apart. The first Order was to consist of 103 members, of whom seventy-five were to be elected on a comparatively high franchise and twenty-five were to be representative Peers of Ireland, elected, as at present, by the general body of the Irish Peerage. The device may have been adapted, though remotely, from the Norwegian Lagthing, but it was generally regarded as unhappy and fantastic, and is never likely to reappear. The Bill of 1893 accepted more frankly the bi-cameral principle and provided for a Legislative Council of forty-eight members elected on a twenty-pound franchise, as well as for a Legislative Assembly. In the event of a deadlock between the two Houses there was to be a joint sitting, and the question was thereupon to be decided by a simple majority.

Mr. Asquith has decided in favour of a nominated Senate. But the reasons for his choice are far from convincing. He rejected the plan of 1893 apparently from a dislike to the property qualification of the proposed electors, and preferred a nominated Senate out of regard for 'the special circumstances of Ireland,' and with a view to safeguarding the interests of the minority. As the point is one of the most debatable in the whole Bill it may be well to transcribe Mr. Asquith's own words: 'It is most desirable to get in your Senate, if you can, the representatives of the minority, of persons who will safeguard the interests of the minority—persons who might not or who will not have a fair chance of election in a question of popular election; and it is still more desirable in Ireland that you should be able to draw for the purposes of your Senate on resources which are not avail-

[illegible]

[illegible] a Senate, in Mr. Asquith's view, can [illegible] handing the nomination of it to the Imperial Executive, [illegible] then as vacancies occur to the Irish Cabinet. In eight years' time at latest, the whole Senate will thus be the creature of the local Executive. And this with a view to safeguarding the interests of the minority!

If Mr. Asquith were not the most serious of contemporary politicians, it would be difficult to resist the conviction that in this matter he had been guilty of an elaborate but misplaced pleasantry. Any proposal more grotesquely inadequate to the achievement of its professed object, more incongruous with its avowed motive, it is almost impossible to conceive. Mr. Asquith as a constitutional lawyer must have had all the precedents before him. There are Senates in plenty in the Over-sea Dominions of the King. Of these, five are wholly elected—those of Victoria, Western and South Australia, Tasmania and the Federal Senate of the Australian Commonwealth; one, that of United South Africa, is as to four-fifths elected and as to one-fifth nominated; seven are wholly nominated—those of New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Quebec and the Dominion of Canada. Of these, however, all are nominated for life, except that of New Zealand, which, since 1891, has been nominated for a term of seven years only. The four Senates of the constituent Colonies of the United South Africa have already lapsed, but the fact may be recalled that that of Cape Colony was elected, that of Natal was nominated for ten years, and the Senates of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony for five. How far does the experience gained from the working of these Second Chambers afford ground for hope that the interests of a minority may safely be confided to a nominated Senate? One point must not escape notice. The Irish Senate, as proposed by Mr. Asquith, is to consist of forty members, neither more nor less. In thus defining the precise number he follows a precedent, general but not universal. To the Canadian Senate six members but no more may, under certain defined circumstances, be added. The Senate of the Australian Commonwealth consists of six members for each of the six constituent States, but the Federal Parliament is by the Constitution empowered to increase or diminish the numbers for each State, provided that the equal representation of the six original States be maintained, and that no original State shall ever have less than six Senators. In New South Wales the number of Senators has been increased from twenty-one to sixty-one, and it would seem that there is no legal or constitutional limit to the discretionary power of the Executive in the appointment of Senators. This principle has not, however, been established with-

than more than one constitutional struggle. Sir John Young, who was Governor of New South Wales from 1861 to 1867, was severely admonished by the Home Government for permitting his Prime Minister, Sir Charles Cowper, to swamp the Senate with his nominees, and it was not until 1889 that Sir Henry Parkes was able to establish the principle and practice which now prevail.

But of Colonial precedents the one most applicable to the case of Ireland would seem to be that of the Canadian Dominion. The Canadian Senate was set up with high hopes. The number of Senators is virtually limited, and they are nominated for life by the Governor-General, of course on the advice of his responsible advisers. It was hoped and intended that the Senate should possess something of the glamour which attached to the historic House of Lords, that it should contain men of independent judgment, superior to the baser party considerations, that it should afford some protection against hasty and ill-considered legislation, that it should circumvent unscrupulous party stratagems, and, above all, that it should give representation to provincial interests. It must be confessed that in all respects the Canadian Senate has disappointed the hopes of the framers of the Constitution. From first to last it has been manipulated to subserve the interests of the Executive of the day. Sir John Macdonald is said during his long tenure of power to have appointed to the Senate one Liberal. Sir Wilfrid Laurier is believed to have bettered his example, and to have proved himself guiltless of even this degree of weakness towards political opponents. And this is the instrument upon which Mr. Asquith relies to safeguard the interests of the minority in Ireland. A more palpably illusory guarantee was never surely devised by a responsible statesman.

The proposed constitution of the Lower House presents no feature of special interest, and we may pass at once to a consideration of the powers with which the Legislature is to be endorsed. These are defined not by enumeration, but by restriction. The distinction is important, for the Irish Parliament must be presumed to possess all such powers as are not specifically reserved. As in the Bill of 1893, the Irish Parliament is forbidden to deal with matters touching the Crown, a Regency, or the Lord-Lieutenant, with peace or war, the Army and Navy, treaties and foreign relations, treason, dignities and honours, and the amendment of the Constituent Act. Nor is it to deal with the Land Purchase Acts, the due fulfilment of which is to remain as an obligation of the Imperial Parliament. Over the Irish Constabulary, on the other hand, it is to have entire control after the lapse of six years. Old-age pensions and the obligations incurred under the Insurance Act of 1911 are to remain as charges upon the Imperial Exchequer, unless the Irish Parliament should

[illegible]

[illegible] to take them over, after having given [illegible] notice of their intention to do so. Similarly, the Post Office Bank may be taken over on six months' notice, but not [illegible] the next ten years. Various other restrictions as to [illegible] corporations, and interference with the rights of property, included in the Bill of 1893, are dropped in that of 1912, but the religious safeguards are repeated and extended. Clause 3 of the new Bill runs :

> In the exercise of their power to make laws under this Act the Irish Parliament shall not make a law so as either directly or indirectly to establish or endow any religion [so far it repeats the provision of 1893], or prohibit the free exercise thereof, or to give a preference, privilege, or advantage, or impose any disability or disadvantage, on account of religious belief or religious or ecclesiastical *status*, or to make any religious belief or religious ceremony a condition of the validity of any marriage.

The reference to recent papal decrees is, of course, too obvious to require comment.

Such are the restrictions upon the legislative competence of the statutory Parliament which it is proposed to set up in Ireland.

The financial arrangements are extraordinarily intricate. The Imperial Parliament will continue to tax the whole of the United Kingdom, but the Irish Parliament will have the power within its territorial limitations to reduce or discontinue any Imperial tax. It will also possess extensive fiscal powers of its own. It will have entire control of the Post Office and the Excise, and partial control over Customs. All taxes, however, whether imposed by the Imperial or by the Irish Parliament, are to be collected by Imperial authorities and paid into the Imperial Exchequer.* As regards Customs, the Irish Parliament may not impose a duty on any articles not dutiable under the schedule of the United Kingdom, but it may increase the amount of any duty by a sum not in excess of 10 per cent. on the yield. Within the same limit it may increase income-tax and estate duties, but will have no power to alter stamp duties, which are to remain uniform throughout the United Kingdom. Of any increase Ireland will get the advantage through the operation of what is to be known as 'The Transferred Sum'; and, conversely, any diminution or discontinuance will be effected at its own expense. For the whole of the Imperial taxes collected in Ireland will be returned to Ireland in 'The Transferred Sum,' with a substantial addition.

In 1886 Mr. Gladstone reckoned that Ireland was contributing 3,500,000*l.* a year to the Imperial revenue, and he fixed her future contribution on that basis. Before the 1893 Bill appeared, Ireland's contribution had sensibly diminished, and in the second

* It does not appear to have been noticed that this is a crafty device to solve the difficulty of Ulster, or rather to create a dilemma from which Ulster cannot escape.

[illegible] it was deemed equitable that the [illegible] contributed should be 2,250,000*l*. Twenty [illegible] the tables are turned. Ireland, despite a marked increase in internal prosperity, has ceased to be an Imperial asset, and has become an Imperial liability. Consequently, Mr. Asquith has decreed that henceforward Ireland shall contribute nothing at all. On the contrary, she is to receive from Imperial sources a subsidy of 2,000,000*l*. a year at least. It is estimated that under existing arrangements Ireland receives from the Imperial Exchequer 1,500,000*l*. a year more than she pays into it. To this 'deficit' Mr. Asquith proposes to add an extra half-million, to give the New Ireland a fair financial start.

With nothing to rely upon but the published report of the Prime Minister's introductory statement, it is hazardous to enter upon any detailed examination of the financial proposals.* This much, however, may be said. It is obvious that the proposed financial arrangements will be and must be subjected to the closest scrutiny. They are, on the face of them, wholly incongruous with the underlying and permeating principle of the Bill. As regards legislation and administration Ireland is to be placed virtually in the position of a 'responsible' colony. It is true that there are certain restrictions upon the competence of the Legislature and the Executive which would be resented by a 'self-governing' dominion; but, speaking broadly, that is the position in which, should this Bill become law, Ireland will be placed. In two respects, however, she is to enjoy privileges which are denied to the greatest and most loyal of the Over-sea Dominions. One is as regards representation in the Imperial Parliament; the other is in regard to finance.

That the obligations created under the Land Purchase Acts should remain unaffected by the Bill is a point of obvious political expediency, not to say of political honour. It may be a violation of political logic; but it is better to violate logic than to imperil the validity of contracts or to play havoc with national credit. But why, if Ireland is to be entrusted with the responsibilities of self-government, she should be relieved of the charges incidental to the payment of her own old-age pensions and the working of a scheme of national insurance, it is not easy to understand. The sentimentalist may exhort us to err on the side of generosity, to make abundant reparation for past wrongs, and so forth. But it is not unimportant to remember that such reparation can be made, and such generosity exercised, only at the expense of the existing taxpayers of Great Britain; that the strain

* Neither Mr. Samuel's speech, despite its admiral lucidity, nor the Bill itself, as now published, add anything material.

[illegible] the give must not be all on the one side and [illegible] on the other. Responsibilities are inseparable from rights; if self-government is to be conceded as a 'right,' the 'right' [illegible] be enjoyed only at the cost of financial responsibility. But such truisms need not be laboured: the essential objection to the financial arrangements, considered from the point of view of the constitutional jurist, is that they are contradictory to the political principle on which the whole scheme is founded. Constitutional independence and financial dependence cannot permanently co-exist. So long as Ireland remains in all respects an integral portion of the United Kingdom it may equitably claim to enjoy the financial advantage incidental to such a political connexion; if it prefers to sever, wholly or partially, that connexion, it must be prepared to shoulder its own financial burden.

That the severance is far from complete I am ready and anxious to admit; that the Asquith Constitution is not conceived consistently on the lines of Colonial self-government is one of the points on which I desire to insist; and I shall have something further to say as to the continued representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament. But a word must first be interposed as to the position and powers of the Executive which the Bill proposes to set up.

Colonial self-government, as I have already pointed out, implies not merely virtual legislative independence, but also the existence of an Executive responsible to the local Legislature. This was a truth which only gradually dawned upon the intelligence of the home Government. The lack of a responsible Executive was one of the more obvious rocks upon which the 'Grattan Constitution' foundered in the last years of the eighteenth century. Under the constitutional arrangement of 1782 Ireland enjoyed complete legislative autonomy, but that autonomy was vitiated, if not cancelled, by the presence of corruption and by the absence of a responsible Executive. A similar defect brought to grief the system devised by Pitt in 1791 for the government of the two Canadas. Many causes—ecclesiastical, fiscal, racial—contributed to the discontent which blazed out into rebellion in 1837, but at the root of them was the constitutional problem: the difficulty of working representative institutions without an Executive responsible thereto. Lord Durham correctly diagnosed the disease, and in his famous Report prescribed the appropriate remedy. 'The Governor,' he wrote, 'should be instructed that he must carry on his government by heads of departments in whom the united Legislature shall repose confidence; and that he must look

for no support from home in any contest with the Legislature, except on points involving strictly Imperial interests.' In a word, the Cabinet system was to be introduced into the Canadian Constitution. This was done, and the principle of Colonial 'self-government' was once for all established.

Mr. Asquith proposes, in similar fashion, to set up an Executive in Ireland responsible to the local Legislature. But the Executive is to be subject to precisely the same limitations as those imposed upon the Dublin Parliament. The Legislature and the Executive are to be coterminous in authority. On this point the Prime Minister is precise:

> I wish to make it perfectly clear that as far as the Executive in Ireland is concerned the area of its authority will be coextensive with the legislative power of the Parliament, neither greater nor less. Whatever matters are, for the time being, within the legislative competence of the Irish Parliament will be for administrative purposes within the ambit of the Irish Executive; what is outside will remain under the control and subject to the administration of the Imperial Executive.

The language is obviously chosen with meticulous accuracy, and the point indicated deserves the closest scrutiny.

Lord Durham, Lord Grey and Lord John Russell, the fathers of Colonial self-government, were frankly contemplating the imminence of Colonial independence. 'To ripen these communities [the Colonies] to the earliest possible maturity, social, political, commercial, to qualify them by all the appliances within the reach of the parent State for *present self-government and eventual independence*, is now the universally admitted aim of our Colonial policy.' (The italics are mine.) Thus wrote Mr. Arthur Mills in his *Colonial Constitutions* in 1856. No one who is acquainted with the facts will question the accuracy of his generalisation. 'Eventual independence' was regarded as the inevitable goal of the constitutional evolution of the greater Colonies. I shall be reminded that not one of them has reached it, or desired to reach it; and I shall be told that the timely concession of self-government, instead of precipitating separation, has averted all desire for it. Be it admitted. What is the inevitable inference? That the same concession to Ireland will produce the same results. The concession, however, is not the same, nor are the circumstances identical. Geography would vitiate the analogy, even if Mr. Asquith attempted to sustain it; but he does not. The nearest of the self-governing Colonies is roughly 3000 miles away: at the time when 'self-government' was conceded communication was cumbrous and infrequent. The home Government, in the 'forties, threw the reins on the back of the Colonial team and bade them find their own way home. They found it. Would they have found it if the concession had been less complete?

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if the driver had remained upon his box and attempted by word and whip to guide when he could no longer control? Ireland is not a British Colony, and Asquithian 'Home Rule' is not 'self-government.' The stress laid upon the effective supremacy of the Imperial Parliament; its continued competence to legislate for Ireland; its power to 'nullify, amend or alter' Irish statutes; the numerous restrictions upon the competence of the Irish Parliament; the twofold veto—are these 'safeguards' real or are they sham? Are they intended to be effective, or are they mere window-dressing, put in for the delectation and delusion of the British electorate? Let me hasten to say that I believe them to represent a genuine intention on the part of the author of the Bill. But the nation is concerned not with probable intentions, but with inevitable results. If the safeguards and limitations are genuine and effective, they completely vitiate the scheme as a measure of 'self-government.' Would any 'responsible' Colony allow the Imperial Government to collect the taxes it imposed and pay them into the Imperial exchequer? Would a Colonial Parliament suffer for one instant such restrictions upon its competence as those which are enumerated in Mr. Asquith's Bill? If, on the other hand, the safeguards are illusory, will the British electorate even contemplate an experiment so rash and so dishonest?

There are many other points—notably the machinery for deciding whether any given statute of the Irish Legislature is or is not within its competence—the significance of which stands out even on a first impression; there is only one with which I have space to deal. The retention of the Irish members at Westminster is justified by Mr. Asquith on the ground that the House of Commons will continue to be 'the House of Commons of the United Kingdom.' My hope is that it may, and for that reason I welcome his illogical proposal. I admire also his ingenuity. Here is a crumb of comfort for the Federalist. There is no genuine Federalism in the structure of the Bill, but here at least is a semblance of the idea, and we may welcome signs of grace, even if they are exhibited at the expense of constitutional congruity.

It will, I hope, be apparent that in the foregoing pages no attempt has been made to discuss at large the political merits or defects of Home Rule in general. Had such been my intention it would have been inexcusable to omit all reference to one of the most important factors in the political problem—the attitude of the Ulster Protestants. In a scientific analysis of a proposed constitutional reconstruction the wishes of Ulster may be ignored. But the moment we pass from the academic discussion of constitutional details to the broad political issues the spectacle of Ulster, organised, determined and grim, must necessarily stand forth as a

dominating feature of the situation. No Minister, no Parliamentary majorities, will be able to ignore the resolute refusal of the Ulster Protestants to be forcibly sundered from the United Kingdom, and be handed over to another 'nation' with which they have neither racial nor religious nor economic affinity. We are bidden to make a fundamental change in the constitutional relations of the United Kingdom in deference to the 'persistent demand' of a minority which is numerically contemptible. But we are solemnly warned that to the minority of the minority no excessive consideration must be shown. 'We will not admit,' said the Prime Minister, 'the right of the minority of the people, and relatively a small minority, . . . to veto the verdict of the vast body of their countrymen.' Their countrymen are Englishmen and Scotchmen no less, even more, than Irishmen, and it has yet to be proved that the 'vast body of their countrymen' are wedded to the policy which Ulster emphatically repudiates. If minorities as such are to be condemned, is there any sufficient ground for attention to the demands of that minority of the electors of the United Kingdom who have persistently placed 'Home Rule' in the forefront of their political programme?

Never yet has the majority pronounced unequivocally in favour of this fundamental change of Constitution. Once, and once only, in 1886, has a specific proposal been submitted, fairly and squarely, to the deliberate judgment of the electors of the United Kingdom; and the response was unhesitating and decisive.

One point remains. It is clear that in the great constitutional struggle which is ahead of the people of this country the 'deliberate judgment of the civilised world' is to be again invoked, as it was invoked before. It cannot, therefore, be deemed impertinent to invite the attention of 'the civilised world' to a consideration which may possibly escape them. In no other great country except our own would it be legally or constitutionally possible to effect a change of this magnitude by the ordinary process of legislation. No great nation in the world is so completely defenceless as Great Britain against a constitutional revolution effected under the forms of law. I would respectfully ask those eminent American citizens who have been quick to express approval of the Bill now under consideration by the British House of Commons, how they would regard a proposal to amend fundamentally the Federal Constitution of the United States without putting in motion the elaborate and complicated machinery provided in the Constitution for that purpose? I would address a similar inquiry to our fellow citizens in the Australian Commonwealth; and I would repeat it, if necessary, to every competent jurist in Europe. There are many advantages in a Constitution

[illegible] long as there is a general acquiescence in the 'fundamentals' of the Constitution, the 'circumstantials' may be left to take care of themselves. No great and permanent injury is likely to be inflicted upon the body politic. It is otherwise when 'fundamentals' become the subject of acute political controversy. Cromwell recognised this truth when confronted by Parliaments which questioned the 'fundamentals' enshrined in the written Constitution of the Protectorate. And Cromwell found the solution of his difficulties in reluctant reliance upon the power of the sword. It was as general of the army rather than as Protector of the Commonwealth that he really controlled the destinies of England, Scotland and Ireland. Between the close of the seventeenth century and the dawn of the twentieth there was little disposition in this country to question 'fundamentals.' But the period of acquiescence appears to have passed. Questions are propounded to-day which go down to the very roots of our social and economic system, which shake the foundations upon which the whole political superstructure is built. Are we adequately equipped, in a constitutional sense, for answering these questions, and for effecting the fundamental changes which the answers may involve? It is not easy for a student of political institutions to answer these questions with a confident affirmative. This much at least cannot be gainsaid. There exists in this country no special machinery for constitutional revision. A Bill for prohibiting vivisection or for regulating the work-hours of shop-assistants necessitates the employment of precisely the same legislative machinery as a Bill for the abolition of the House of Lords or the House of Commons, or a Bill for the adjustment of the Constitutional relations of Great Britain and Ireland. Neither more nor less. The British Constitution entirely ignores comparative values in legislation. Its deficiences in this regard were brought into startling relief in the Session of 1911. The experience is to be repeated in 1912. This being so, it is more imperative that proposals so far-reaching as those contained in the third edition of Home Rule should be subjected to severe scrutiny. A closer acquaintance may possibly induce a more favourable judgment; but a first impression suggests that the Bill has been framed with extraordinary ingenuity and adroitness, and that the sails have been set to catch every breath of the wind of popularity. In the distribution of favours nobody has been left out. There is something for the thorough-going separatist, inspired by nationalist fervour; there is something for the timid devolutionist, anxious only to secure 'gas and water' Home Rule; something for the advocate

of Colonial self-government, and something for the well-meaning but muddle-headed federalist. But is not the dexterity of the Bill likely to prove its destruction? Is it not, in fact, an ingenious mosaic, cunningly compacted and curiously inlaid, a 'tesselated pavement without cement—here a bit of black stone and there a bit of white,' [16] but grotesquely lacking in consistency of principle, in unity of design, and coherence of construction?

J. A. R. MARRIOTT.

[16] The image is Burke's.

THE THIRD EDITION OF HOME RULE

(II)

IRELAND'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

One of the most significant features of the Home Rule controversy is the energy with which the advocates of Home Rule are attempting to discredit the rapidly accumulating evidence that the Irish people are now progressing at a more rapid rate economically than the people of Great Britain. It is perhaps not unnatural that Home Rulers should take up such an attitude. In 1893 they or their predecessors attempted to force upon the people of the United Kingdom a scheme for the government of Ireland which would have brought Ireland to the verge of bankruptcy within ten years of its coming into operation. The Unionists secured the rejection of that measure, and as an alternative they substituted the policy of fostering the economic development of Ireland—first by land purchase, and later by generous agricultural and development grants. The constructive policy of the Unionist party has been completely justified by the result. Ireland is now more prosperous than she has ever been in her history, and the Irish people owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Unionists for having saved them from their political friends in 1893.

It may be doubted whether the average Englishman or Scotsman has the slightest conception of the extent to which Ireland has advanced in an economic sense within the past decade; and even a close student of Irish affairs, such as Mr. Erskine Childers may fairly claim to be, appears to be curiously ignorant of the change that is taking place in the relative position of the two countries. Mr. Childers, who challenges my statement[1] that the economic condition of the people of Ireland is improving at a more rapid rate than that of the people of Great Britain, has made a strange blunder in his criticism of my figures in overlooking the fact that there has been a wide divergence in the movement of population of Great Britain as compared with that of Ireland. Within the past decade the population of Great Britain increased to the extent of 10.3 per cent., while that of Ireland declined to the extent

[1] *Nineteenth Century and After*, April 1912, p. 661.

of 1.7 per cent.; and in order to make a true comparison it is necessary to take the actual figures per head of population.

Taking first the gross assessments to Income tax. On p. 34 of the fifty-eighth number of the Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom Mr. Childers will find that between 1900 and 1910 the gross amount of Income brought under the review of the Inland Revenue Department in respect of England and Wales increased from 682,020,000*l.* to 877,888,000*l.*, a growth of 195,868,000*l.*, or 28.7 per cent.; but on a *per capita* basis the increase was only 14.7 per cent. Within the same period the Gross Assessment of Scotland advanced from 76,213,000*l.* to 93,020,000*l.*, an increase of 16,807,000*l.*, or 22 per cent.; but on a *per capita* basis Scotland's increase was only 12 per cent. The Gross Assessment of Ireland in 1900 was 33,501,000*l.*, and in 1910 it was 40,192,000*l.*, an increase of 6,691,000*l.*, or 20 per cent., which was equivalent on a *per capita* basis to 21 per cent. The gross assessments to Income tax therefore prove precisely what I stated—namely, that the welfare of the Irish people is improving more rapidly than that of the people of Great Britain.

With regard to the Irish trade returns, there is a gap between the official returns from 1826 to 1904; but it may be pointed out that in 1895 the late Sir Robert Giffen estimated the value of the exports at about 20,000,000*l.*, and that of the imports at about 25,000,000*l.*, making a total of only 45,000,000*l.*, or not much more than one-third of their present value, and if returns were available showing the growth of Irish trade since land purchase first began to exert its beneficial influence, it is not unreasonable to assume that they would show such an improvement in the volume of Ireland's external trade as I have suggested. But taking the short period of 1904-10, even Mr. Childers is constrained to admit that there was an actual increase of 26 per cent. in the value of the external trade of Ireland, as compared with an increase of 31.4 (not 30 per cent., as stated by Mr. Childers) in the external trade of the United Kingdom; and making the comparison on a true basis, namely, per head of population, it will be found that the increase in the value of Irish trade during the period of 1904-10 was 27.2 per cent., as compared with an increase of only 22.8 per cent. for the United Kingdom during that period.

But the statement that the economic condition of the Irish people is improving at a more rapid rate than that of the British people rests upon a broader foundation than Mr. Childers appears to have any conception of. In the Banking supplement to *The Economist* of the 21st of October, 1911, Mr. Childers will find that between 1901 and 1911 the deposits in the Joint Stock

[illegible] England and Wales increased [illegible] [illegible],000l., a growth of 162,454,000l., or [illegible] per [illegible] deposits of the Scotch Joint Stock Banks decreased [illegible] 107,347,000l. to 106,633,000l., a diminution of 714,000l., or [illegible] cent.; while the deposits of the Irish Joint Stock Banks increased from 48,428,000l. to 65,418,000l., an expansion of 16,990,000l., [illegible] 35 per cent. On a *per capita* basis there was an increase in the case of the English and Welsh Banks of 13.4 per cent.; in the case of the Scotch Banks a decrease of 7 per cent.; and in the case of the Irish Banks an increase of 37 per cent.

Under the circumstances it is perhaps natural that Mr. Childers should regard the figures of increased trade and banking deposits as not altogether reliable indices of increased prosperity, so I would venture to direct his attention to the railway statistics. On pp. 319-321 of the Statistical Abstract already referred to, Mr. Childers will find that in 1896 the gross receipts of the railways of Great Britain amounted to 86,640,000l., and in 1910 they amounted to 119,451,000l., an increase of 32,811,000l., or 37.8 per cent. During the same period the gross receipts of the Irish railways advanced from 3,478,000l. to 4,474,000l., an increase of 996,000l., or 28.6 per cent. But on a *per capita* basis the increase in the case of the railways of Great Britain was only 18.5 per cent., as compared with an increase of 34 per cent. on the Irish railways.

If Mr. Childers would prefer to apply another test he might possibly like to take the net capital value of property on which Estate duty was paid. Owing to the occasional inclusion of large estates it would perhaps give a misleading result to make a comparison on the basis of a single year. In order to overcome this difficulty the writer has taken the four years 1896-7 to 1899-1900, and compared them with the four years 1907-8 to 1910-11 (the figures are given on p. 41 of the Statistical Abstract already referred to). During the first-named period the average value in the case of England and Wales was 217,520,000l., and in the last-named period the average was 237,505,000l., showing an increase of 19,985,000l., or 9.1 per cent. In the case of Scotland the average in the first-named period was 23,568,000l., and in the last-named period 29,206,000l., an increase of 5,638,000l., or 24 per cent. In the case of Ireland the average amount for the first period was 12,190,000l., and for the last period 13,248,000l., showing an increase of 1,058,000l., or 8.6 per cent. But, again, making the comparison of a *per capita* basis, it will be found that in the case of England and Wales there was a decrease of 8 per cent., in the case of Scotland an increase of 15 per cent., and in the case of Ireland an increase of 11 per cent.

The statistics as to the number of paupers in receipt of relief, and the statistics as to insolvency, afford further confirmation of the view that Ireland is progressing more rapidly than Great Britain, but it is not necessary to go into details on these two points. The question of population is the final point to which attention may be directed. As already stated, within the past decade the population of Great Britain increased to the extent of 10.3 per cent., while that of Ireland declined to the extent of 1.7 per cent. It may be pointed out, however, that the intercensal decrease in Ireland was by far the lowest ratio of decrease reported since 1851. The increase of population in Scotland was only 6.4 per cent., the lowest rate of increase reported for any intercensal period with the exception of 1851-61; and the intercensal increase of population in England was 10.5 per cent., which was by far the lowest ratio of increase recorded since 1821. It may be doubted whether it is generally known that the volume of emigration from Scotland is now nearly twice as large as that from Ireland. In 1911 about 61,000 persons emigrated from Scotland, whereas only 30,573 emigrated from Ireland, the ratios being 12.8 per 1000 for Scotland and 7 per 1000 for Ireland.

The evidence that the economic condition of the Irish people under the Union is now improving at a more rapid rate than that of the people of Great Britain is incontrovertible, and there is every reason to believe that the advocates of Home Rule, who are now so eager to deny this improvement, would be the first, if Home Rule were granted, to search Ireland from end to end for evidence of the wonderful economic advance, which they would then have no difficulty in discovering and no hesitation in ascribing to the adoption of their policy. There is, of course, still a great disparity, as I have taken care to point out, between the national wealth and income of the people of Great Britain and that of the Irish people; but if the economic ties which at present bind Ireland to Great Britain remain unbroken and the constructive policy of the past fifteen years be continued, there is every reason to believe that the Irish people will make up the greater part of this leeway within a period and in a manner which will astonish the economic world.

EDGAR CRAMMOND.

THE RULE OF FUNK

IN the *Times* of the 16th of March I read the following announcement:

Mr. Sherwell has given notice of an amendment to Mr. Ormsby Gore's resolution on Syndicalism in these terms: 'That this House, while expressing its strong disapproval of all forms of incitement to acts of violence in connexion with social or political propaganda, is of opinion that the interests of the State and of social order could best be secured by immediate consideration of the causes of the unrest now and lately prevailing among the industrial classes.'

Nothing apparently came of Mr. Ormsby Gore's resolution, beyond a phantasmal debate. With the thought underlying Mr. Sherwell's amendment I am in full sympathy. The great —the greatest—problem now before the world is the reorganisation of industry upon an ethical basis. But I confess to much astonishment that Mr. Sherwell, with his experience of the House of Commons, should have invited that assembly to discuss it. Consider what the House of Commons really is. No doubt it contains intellects of the first order, perfectly able to grasp and solve the highest questions of statecraft. But those are not the subjects which engage their attention. 'Party,' Mr. Balfour once told his fellow-legislators, 'is the very breath of our nostrils,' and party issues so absorb their energies that other topics receive unwilling and scant consideration. Even those among them who have the pre-eminence supply conclusive evidence that this is so. Thus Mr. Lloyd George, the holder of a very important office, and accounted, by some, a man of light and leading informed the House the other day that 'Socialism is the policeman of Syndicalism.' The writer of an able article in the *Times*[1] observed, justly, that 'the remark, and the spirit of cheerful confidence it embodied, reveal a state of deep ignorance covered by a thin coating of treacherous knowledge, extremely dangerous at these times in a particularly active Minister.'

And if party leaders can so gravely misapprehend important public topics, what capacity for rationally dealing with them can be expected from the rank and file of the led? What, is

[1] An article entitled 'Syndicalism.' It appeared on the 25th of March.

fact, is the average member of Parliament but display made flesh and dwelling among us as a legislator? Ignorant of history, of finance, of political philosophy, his intellectual equipment is a set of commonplaces, platitudes, shibboleths, which he has never tried to think out, and very likely could not if he tried. 'How fluent nonsense trickles from his tongue!' But it must be that sort of nonsense which bears the party imprimatur, or his place will soon know him no more. Sir Henry Maine has remarked that 'debates in the House of Commons may be constantly read which consisted wholly in the exchange of weak generalities and strong personalities.'[2] To this we may add that they are the hollowest pretence in the world, for it is perfectly well known that honourable members must not give expression to any conclusion at which they may arrive in opposition to the party ukase. 'I have heard many speeches in Parliament,' a veteran legislator observed, 'which changed my opinion, but never one which changed my vote.' 'Non cogito ergo sum' is the true account of the ordinary Parliamentary representative. If he once begins to think for himself, he is a doomed man. So was it with Mr. Belloc. So with Mr. Harold Cox, whom the University of Cambridge—or I suppose I should say the clerical electors of that seat of learning—rejected in favour of a gentleman doubtless full of mathematics but, politically considered, 'a simple vote.'[3]

And can it be otherwise when our system of party Government prevails? I do not see how. Let us look at the situation with eyes purged of cant. What is the real employment of the six hundred and odd gentlemen who assemble 'within those walls'? They are engaged in playing the party game—perhaps the most demoralising of all forms of gambling. The prize for which they are contending is office. It is a question of Ins or Outs. Carlyle puts it very well:

> A mighty question, indeed! Who shall be Premier, and take in hand the 'rudder of government,' otherwise called the 'spigot of taxation'; shall it be the Honourable Felix Parvulus, or the Right Honourable Felicissimus Zero? By our electioneerings and Hansard debatings, and ever-enduring tempest of jargon that goes on everywhere, we manage to settle that; to have it declared, with no bloodshed, except insignificant blood from the nose in hustings-time, but with immense beershed and inkshed and explosion of nonsense, which darkens all the air, that the Right Honourable Zero is to be the man. That we firmly settle. Zero, all shivering with rapture and with terror, mounts into the high saddle; cramps himself on, with knees, heels, hands, and feet; and the horse gallops—whither it lists.

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[2] *Popular Government*, p. 108.

[3] I am indebted to Pope for the phrase:
'That from a patriot of distinguished note
Have bled and purged me to a simple vote.'

[illegible]

[illegible] and not throw him. [illegible] scheme of public good or evil, is not in the head of Felicissimus [illegible] he could but devise it, some measure that would please his [illegible] moment, and encourage him to go with softer paces, godward [illegible] devilward as it might be, and save Felicissimus's leather, which [illegible] wearing. This is what we call a Government in England.

Further: What is the means by which office is attained or retained? Bribery. Not of free and independent electors by small money doles; no—our virtuous legislators would blush at that, or, at all events, 'would blush to find it fame'; but bribery on a much larger scale, and by far more nefarious and detestable expedients. Consider the present Government, for example. I select it as an example because it is before our eyes, not because it is essentially different from former Governments, or worse—at all events, much worse—than some of them. The numerical strength of the Liberal party proper—if I may so speak—is inadequate to keep the Government in office. More votes are wanted, and they have to be paid for. There are two considerable groups in the House of Commons whose suffrages are on sale—one, the Home Rule party, whose price is the dismemberment of the Empire;[4] the other, the Labour party whose price is the disintegration of society. And does the Government hesitate, in either case, to pay the price demanded? By no means. It is willing to pay that price, and more also in order to remain for a time 'dressed in a little brief authority.' The late coal strike was bitterly resented by the Government as an unmannerly interruption of the party game. And Mr Asquith's avowed object has been not to diagnose and to heal the disease in the body politic of which it is so grave a symptom no, but merely to get it out of the way as quickly as possible.

[4] I found this statement upon Mr. Redmond's public declarations. Here are a few of them. At Kanturk, on the 17th of November 1895, he asserted 'The consummation of all our hopes and aspirations is, in one word, to drive English rule, sooner or later, bag and baggage, from our country.' He said at Cork, on the 24th of October 1901, that the aim of the Irish League was 'the national independence of Ireland.' At an Irish-American Convention held in New York on the 21st of September 1907, he spoke on behalf of the following resolution: 'That, in supporting Home Rule for Ireland, we abandon no principle of Irish nationhood as laid down by the fathers in the Irish movement for independence, from Wolfe Tone and Emmet to Charles J. Kickham and Charles Stewart Parnell,' and in the course of his speech he said: 'I do not think I ever heard a more magnificent declaration of Irish national principles. The declaration puts, in the clearest way, the meaning and essence of this movement—it is no new movement: it is the movement for which Emmet died.' I am far from making it a matter of reproach to Mr. Redmond that he holds these views. I think I should hold them too if I were a Celtic Irishman. The Home Rule movement is the natural consequence, the merited punishment of England for centuries of cruel and cowardly oppression in Ireland. We have sown the wind; we are reaping the whirlwind.

And now I will venture, as a student, all my life, of history and political science, to make my modest contribution to the discussion invited by Mr. Sherwell, although, within the narrow limits of a Review article, I am necessarily restricted to outlines. The only knowledge which is worth having on this great question is causal knowledge. Indeed, to understand any political situation aright, we must understand how things have become what they are. The last century witnessed a great change in this nation. The ten or twelve millions of the population of the country in 1812 have become forty millions. They have ceased to be a pastoral and agricultural people, leading quiet and healthful rural lives—'fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestes'—to become dwellers in fog-grimed slums, and profit-making machines—'hands' is the significant term commonly employed—in manufactories, on railways, in docks, in mines. The change has not been to their advantage physically. Has it been so morally or intellectually? The schoolmaster has been abroad. But what is the real worth of the so-called 'education' imparted by him? The Duke of Wellington is reported to have said that the Church Catechism had moulded the character of the English people—the Church Catechism with its teaching as to the great end of life, the right rule of life, the duty of truth and justice in all one's dealings, of respect for and obedience to the powers that be, as ordained of God. That teaching is now at a discount. I remember Mr. Ruskin observing that what has superseded it is a mere training in impudence. I think he might have added, and in discontent. It appears to me, indeed, that discontent is the special note of the working classes at the present day. And I do not wonder at it. The condition of vast numbers of them—for example, those employed in the sweated trades—is horrible, and a national disgrace. Moreover, the old orthodox political economy, by installing competition, working by supply and demand, as the all-sufficient principle in industrial relations, by proclaiming the supremacy of bodily appetites over moral motives, has arrayed capital and labour in two hostile camps. As I wrote in this Review last October,[a] 'The old charities and courtesies which once bound together the various members of the body politic have disappeared, and have been replaced by a state of universal war—bellum omnium contra omnes.' And the conception of the social organism, of the country's solidarity, has disappeared too. A century ago we were 'a nation still, the rulers and the ruled.' Then the notion of such a movement as the recent coal strike would have been unthinkable. Now the workers in each of the various branches of industry are bound together in a vast organisation, insisting

[a] In an article entitled 'The Philosophy of Strikes.'

at all costs on their rights and interests, real or supposed, [illegible] utterly indifferent to the rights and interests of the community at large, or, for the matter of that, of the workers in other industries. Do not let us suppose that this present coal strike—for it is still present with us—is an isolated phenomenon. No; it is the forerunner of fresh and worse industrial convulsions; for it is the outcome of an idea which has by no means had its full development. Let us see what that idea is.

To do that we must go back for rather more than a century. The idea of which we are in search was introduced into the world by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. He is the author of the doctrine of pseudo-democracy, of the autonomy of the individual. He postulates unrestricted liberty and boundless sovereignty for the abstract man who is the unit of his speculations, and whom he declares to be naturally good and reasonable. The doctrine of the absolute equivalence of men is of the essence of his teaching: and so is the dogma of the sufficiency of the individual in the order of thought and the order of action. He was gladly heard by all classes in France as a new evangelist, and the French Revolution was an attempt to realise his gospel at any cost of blood or crime. The conception of civil society adopted by the revolutionary legislators and underlying 'The Declaration of the Rights of the Man and the Citizen' is a multitude of sovereign human units who—that is to say, the majority of whom—exercise their power through their mandatories. And in the will, or whim, of this numerical majority we are bidden to find the unique source of all rights. The essence of the revolutionary dogma is that only on equality, absolute and universal, can the public order be properly founded. Arrange that everybody shall count for one, and nobody for more than one, and by this distribution of political power, whatever be the moral, intellectual, or social condition of its depositories, you realise the perfect, the only legitimate form of the State.

Upon the causes which led to the enthusiastic reception of this doctrine in France it is impossible for me to dwell here. They are admirably expounded, as all the world knows, in the initial chapters of Taine's great work. It has been well said that an idea must become French before it can become European. And one effect of the French Revolution and its wars was to spread the doctrine of Rousseauan individualism throughout Europe. Napoleon's campaigns, bringing down in a common ruin the old-world polities, shook this idea into the air. He claimed that he embodied the Revolution: and so, in a sense, he did. The essence of Bonapartism is plebiscitary despotism, which rests upon the conception of the people as an aggregate

of isolated and unrelated atoms. Socialism, for the origin of which, let us remember, we go back to Rousseau,[6] is another issue of the same conception. It rests upon that doctrine of the unlimited power of the majority of sovereign human units so widely received and believed in France, and that country, in the judgment of a very clear-headed publicist, the late M. Scherer, is bound to make trial of Socialism. Nor, if we survey its history during the last two decades, would it probably be much worse off under a Socialistic *régime*. A French writer, whom I must reckon the profoundest student of men and society that France has seen of late years, observes:

> Since June 1889 the country has beheld ignoble possessors of ephemeral authority proscribe, in the name of Liberty, her dearest convictions: abominable politicians play upon universal suffrage as an instrument wherewith to seize power and to instal their lying mediocrity in the highest place. And the country has endured this universal suffrage, the most monstrous and the most iniquitous of tyrannies, for the force of numbers is the most brutal of forces.[7]

And the ethos of the revolutionary movement throughout Europe is just what it is in France. Look at Portugal, for example, the scene of its latest triumph: a look at the abominations there will be sufficient: 'guarda e passa.' Very few publicists have realised how widespread is the influence of the speculations of Rousseau. But certain it is that in every country those who denominate themselves the party of progress, although in most cases they have probably never read a line of him, spout his sophisms and vent his verbiage, which have become current coin.

In England, the advance of the Rousseauan idea has been slower than on the Continent of Europe. Perhaps it was not until about the year 1820 that it made itself much felt in this country. It found here a distribution of political power resting upon quite another conception than the numerical—resting, not upon counting heads, but upon the representation of classes, corporations, localities, interests, and, we may say, all the elements of national life. That system, as it then existed, undoubtedly required reform. The so-called Reform Bill of 1832

[6] Its germ is unquestionably in a well-known passage of Rousseau's *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*.

[7] I quote this passage from an article of M. Bourget's, but unfortunately I have mislaid the reference. I have, however, before me the original French, which I am the more glad to give as I feel how inadequate is my rendering of it: 'La France dès 1889 a vu d'ignobles maîtres d'un jour proscrire, au nom de la liberté, ses plus chères croyances: des politiciens abominables jouer du suffrage universel comme un instrument de règne, et installer leur médiocrité menteuse dans les plus hautes places. Elle l'a subi, ce suffrage universel, la plus monstreuse des tyrannies—car la force des nombres est la plus brutale des forces.'

[illegible] did not reform, but overthrew it. The Duke of Wellington, 'rich in saving common sense'[1] beyond any man of that day, truly told the House of Lords that 'the principle of this measure was not reform': that the spirit animating it was 'the outcome of the French Revolution,' and that 'from the period of its adoption we shall date the downfall of the Constitution.' It was, in fact, the introduction into this country of political atomism, of a representation of mere numbers; and it was but the beginning of a series of similar statutes, all underlain by the Rousseauan principle, and each carrying that principle further. There were, indeed, wise and far-seeing men who sought to stay this disastrous movement, and who, for a brief time—but only for a brief time—checked it. Thus, Mr. Gladstone's Household Suffrage Bill of 1866 was opposed and defeated by the moderate section of the Liberal party led by Mr. Lowe, afterwards Lord Sherbrooke. That clear-headed thinker protested that one class should not be allowed to outvote all the other classes combined,[2] and predicted that the effect of the legislation to which he offered such strenuous opposition would be to convert the trade unions into political organisations, merely intent on gaining their own ends, in utter disregard of national interests. The event has shown that he was right. The trade unions originally devised, and for some time carried on, for the most righteous object of protecting working men against the atrocious tyranny of capital, gradually fell under the influence of demagogues, and, in the event, became the instruments of Socialistic agitators. I have dwelt upon that subject in a previous number of this Review, already referred to, and need not here repeat what I there said. The average working man is too ignorant—that is not his fault—to understand anything beyond the simplest matters touching him personally—and even these he often misunderstands. He is the natural prey of the charlatan who flatters his vanity, stimulates his passions, and makes of his very defects a qualification for power, assuring him—it is part of Rousseau's message to the world—that education is depravation, that the untutored children of nature are endowed with an instinct qualifying them to sway the rod of empire:

> You that woo the Voices, tell them old experience is a fool,
> Teach your flattered Kings that only they who cannot read can rule.

Such was the teaching of that demagogue *in excelsis* the late Mr. Gladstone, 'most incomparable master in the art of per-

[1] And in other still more valuable qualities: 'the last honest and perfectly brave man they had,' Carlyle judged; truly, as I think.

[2] Lord Acton has pungently remarked that 'the doctrine of equality means government by the poor and payment by the rich.' *Lectures on the French Revolution*, p. 300.

reading the multitude of the thing that is not,' and was embodied in his memorable demand, 'Are the classes ever right when they differ from the masses?' The answer of history to that question is 'Nearly always.' But of history Mr. Gladstone was almost as ignorant as the populace upon which he played. If there is one lesson written more legibly than another upon the annals of the world, it is that majorities are almost always wrong: that truth is the prerogative of minorities—nay, it may even be of a minority of one. That is the verdict of history. It holds good of all ages. It specially holds good of the times in which we live. John Stuart Mill, in his *Political Economy*, is well warranted when he dwells upon 'the extreme unfitness at present of mankind in general, or of the labouring classes in particular, for any order of things which would make any considerable demand upon their intellect or virtue.' But it is on 'the labouring classes' that preponderating political power has been conferred. We have—or soon shall have—a Parliamentary electorate of eight millions. Of these, five millions will be manual labourers, whose votes, given—as they unquestionably will be—under the direction of Socialistic leaders, will dominate the one Chamber now left us. Sir Henry Maine has well characterised it as 'a type of government associated with terrible events—a single Assembly armed with full power over the Constitution, which it may exercise at pleasure . . . a theoretically all-powerful Convention governed by a practically all-powerful secret Committee of Public Safety, but kept from complete submission to its authority by obstruction, for which its rulers are always trying to find a remedy in some kind of moral guillotine.'[10] This has been the political progress of this country—often the theme of such proud boasting—since the Reform Act of 1832. Progress! But of what kind? Surely it is like that of the Gadarene swine: swift certainly, but conducting to the steep place and the engulfing deep.

We may say, then, of this recent strike, which has been the immediate occasion of my writing, that it is the issue of that theory of political society which, originally excogitated by Rousseau, has largely pervaded all European countries, and has transformed the English system of government. And it is notable how in recent years politicians in search of votes have set themselves to flatter and to fawn upon the masses, and, after the Gladstonian example, to sow discord between them and the classes. Surely a bad art, in which much proficiency has been exhibited of late by one of the King's Ministers, largely endowed with those predatory propensities which the nursery

[10] *Popular Government*, p. 125. Sir Henry Maine wrote prophetically. 'We are drifting towards a type,' the sentence begins. His prophecy has come true. We have so drifted.

rhyme attributes to the Welsh. The votes of the many have become of vast importance, and the price demanded for those votes, however exorbitant, has been paid without scruple. And thus it has come to pass that trade unions have been converted from harmless necessary organisations for the protection of their members into noxious conspiracies uncontrolled by the law. The chief means by which they exercised their beneficent functions was collective bargaining—the only means, it had been found, of combating and counteracting the tyranny of capital. But collective bargaining implies—necessarily implies—as its correlative, collective responsibility. Trade unions and their funds are, however, exempt by statute from all liability for breach of agreements or awards made between workmen and employers. A notion had grown up that they were exempt, too, from actions of tort: that their funds could not be made liable to compensate a person who had sustained injury by wrongful acts done by their agents. The decision of the House of Lords in the Taff Vale case exploded this notion, and affirmed the liability of trade unions in the case indicated. The Royal Commission appointed in 1903 unanimously recommended that the law as laid down in the Taff Vale case should not be disturbed, and the Majority Report contains the following passage:

> There is no rule of law so elementary, so universal, or so indispensable as the rule that a wrongdoer should be made to redress his wrong. If trade unions were exempt from this liability they would be the only exception, and it would then be right that that exception should be removed. That vast and powerful institutions should be permanently licensed to apply the funds they possess to do wrong to others, and by that wrong inflict upon them damage, perhaps to the amount of many thousand pounds, and yet not be liable to make redress out of those funds, would be a state of things opposed to the very idea of law, order, and justice.

The Government, however, did not adopt this view. Many of their supporters had bought the votes of the miners at the previous General Election by promising to do all in their power to procure a change in the law as laid down in the Taff Vale case, and united with the Labour party in bringing pressure to bear (as the phrase is) upon the Government. Of course the Government yielded to that pressure. By some means which have not come to the light, the Front Opposition Bench in the Commons was squared, and resistance in the Lords was obviated, and so the Trades Disputes Act, 1906, contained the following astounding provisions:

> 1. An act done by a person in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute shall not be actionable on the ground only that it induces some other person to break a contract of employment.

2. An action against a trade union, whether of workmen or masters, or against any members or officials thereof on behalf of themselves and all other members of the trade union, in respect of any tortious act alleged to have been committed by or on behalf of the trade union, shall not be entertained by any court.

It is difficult to imagine anything more utterly opposed to justice, common sense, or public policy than legislation such as this. To use the words quoted above from the Majority Report of the Royal Commission, it confers upon the powerful associations which the trade unions have now become, the power to apply with immunity the vast funds which they possess to do wrong to others. But that is not the whole of the surrender made to them by the Trades Disputes Act, 1906. One of the most sacred rights of man is the right to labour. It may properly be called a natural right, as being inherent in human personality; as being an essential part of that freedom which is an attribute of humanity. The trade unions claim to make void that right. They demand that a workman shall work only when and how they dictate. They apply brute force to support their dictation, assaulting and battering those who resist it. And this tyranny the Legislature virtually authorises by its sanction given in the Trades Disputes Act to what is hypocritically called 'peaceful picketing.' The phrase is a derision. It is a contradiction in terms. Armed with this weapon of immunity from civil liability and from the criminal law, the miners entered upon the coal strike in a position of overwhelming superiority. Their demand was virtually this: 'Concede what we ask, or we will starve the nation.' The King's Ministers, cowed by them, reminded me of the attitude of the ass in *Tristram Shandy*: 'Don't thrash me, but if you will you may.' They tried in vain the blandishments of appeals and conferences, and the main point of the strikers was conceded.[11] A formal engagement made by the Government with the mine-owners was brushed aside on the mendacious allegation of 'misunderstanding.'[12] And so a daring

[11] I must say that for my part I sympathise with the demand for a minimum wage—or rather a living wage—while detesting the means taken by trade unions to enforce it. I may observe that nothing has been done to secure a minimum wage to workers in the sweated trades, whose awful condition cries to Heaven for vengeance. *They* can bring no pressure to bear on the Government.

[12] In a letter which appeared in the *Times* of the 1st of April, Lord Newton writes: 'What occurred is as follows: The coal-owners approached the Government on Wednesday morning with a view to the insertion of a particular amendment in the House of Lords, and the Government undertook to meet their wishes, provided the consent of the miners' official representatives was obtained. That consent was obtained, and accordingly Lord Crewe announced his intention of moving it as an agreed amendment, indicating the exact wording of it in the course of his speech on the second reading. Later in the evening the miners' representatives (having apparently changed their minds) ordered the Govern-

[illegible] conspiracy against the commonwealth, which in most civilised countries would have been put down in a few days, was crowned with success, or, in the words of Mr. Redmond—with an eye on the Labour votes—came to an end 'in a magnificent triumph for the working men of England.'

It is well to remember—indeed, it is most necessary—that the industrial unrest, as the phrase is, of which we have recently had so striking an exhibition, is almost universal throughout what we call the civilised world. Everywhere preponderating political power has fallen to the manual labourers; and everywhere they have fallen, more or less, under the sway of men who set before them Utopias for the most part quite unrealisable. Not long ago I chanced to converse with a French Socialist who has a reputation for eloquence—he was certainly very voluble—and I pressed him, as closely as courtesy would allow, to tell me what he really wanted. 'Eh bien,' he said at last, 'Je suis pour la république universelle, et pour l'égalité des hommes.' He acknowledged, indeed, that the universal republic was very far off, and that he was unable to conjecture how it would be organised, but he thought it would embody the ideas of Rossel regarding inheritance, the family and property.[18] However that might be, he was sure that the equality of men was the only true foundation of human society. I acknowledged that there is a fundamental equality in human nature which should find its corollary in the equality of all men before the law, and entreated him to tell me what other equality was possible. Physical and mental inequality he confessed as a fact; nor could he deny that this meant inequality in political value. I, for my part, admitted that every man is entitled to some share of political power, for the simple reason that he is a *person*, whose rational co-operation is necessary for his own development: but I urged that to say all men have a right to *some* share of political power is one thing; to say all men have a right to the *same* share is quite another. I ventured to urge that every man should count in the community for what he is really worth; that his mights (*mächte*) should be the measure of his rights; that to give every adult male the same share of political

ment to abandon the amendment, and Lord Crewe was compelled to make his humiliating statement. What misunderstanding is there in this? It is merely the repudiation of an engagement by the Government at the bidding of some members of the Labour party.'

[18] He was good enough to send me the following extract from some work of Rossel's—he did not specify what—in which those ideas are sufficiently indicated: 'Il y a dans la société une classe nombreuse, industrieuse, puissante parce qu'elle est groupée, à laquelle ne s'appliquent ni vos lois sur l'héritage, ni vos lois sur la famille, ni vos lois sur la propriété. Changez vos lois, ou cette classe essayera de se créer une société à elle, où il n'y aura ni famille, ni héritage, ni propriété.'

power is as unreasonable as to require all men to pay the same amount of taxation. To which he would by no means assent. The egalitarian doctrine was to him a first principle, sacred from discussion. To me it appears a false principle, and in the doctrine of the right divine (or shall I say the inherent right?—the word 'divine' might give offence in some quarters) of majorities, which rests upon it, I find the perennial source of political corruption and social unrest. I believe that Schiller spoke the words of truth and soberness when he wrote:

> What are mere numbers? Numbers are but nonsense;
> Wisdom is never found save with the few:
> Votes should be rightly weighed, not only counted:
> Sooner or later must that State go under
> Where numbers rule and foolishness determines.[14]

It seems to me, then, that the best hope of Europe—it is a far-off hope—lies in the elimination of the central idea of the French Revolution, formulated by Rousseau's disciples as the first and fundamental proposition of *The Declaration of the Rights of the Man and the Citizen.* Men are not born, and do not continue, equal in rights. They are born and continue unequal in mights, and therefore in rights, and consequently they are not entitled to equal shares of political power. John Stuart Mill has summed up the matter in six words: 'Equal voting is in principle wrong.' It is unjust. But justice is the foundation of the State: 'justitia fundamentum regni.' And justice is not a thing which can be manufactured by political machinery. You may decree injustice by a law, but it remains unjust. You may affirm the thing that is not, by ever so many Acts of Parliament, but you will not convert it into the thing that is. The false remains false in spite of the declamation of doctrinaires and the madness of the people. And it is a mere foundation of sand for the political edifice reared upon it. Rousseau himself discerned this truth clearly enough, and admirably expressed it: 'If the Legislature establishes a principle at variance with that which results from the nature of things, the State will never cease to be agitated till that principle is expelled and invincible Nature has resumed her sway.'

Commending to my readers this dictum of Rousseau—one of the illuminating flashes of genius which light up, from time to time, the black darkness of his sophisms—let us consider, in

[14] A poor translation, as I am well aware, of Schiller's majestic lines, but the best that will come to my pen at this moment:

> 'Was ist die Mehrheit? Mehrheit ist der Unsinn;
> Verstand ist stets bei Wen'gen nur gewesen.
> Man soll die Stimmen wägen und nicht zählen:
> Der Staat muss untergeh'n, früh oder spät,
> Wo Mehrheit siegt und Unverstand entscheidet.'

conclusion, the immediate prospect before us, now that the coal strike is supposed to be over. The men have got what they struck for, a minimum wage—they have got it at the cost of indescribable suffering to hardworking fathers and devoted mothers and innocent little children; of a loss of thirty millions to the country—and of the shattered nerves of Mr. Asquith. To gain an end justifiable in itself, they have waged fratricidal war against a nation and have cowed its Government into submission. It is a colossal scandal that a single industry should have had power to do this thing. History may well inquire whether a nation in which it could happen was sane: whether it was ruled by fools or cowards. And what is to prevent a recurrence of this state of things in the future? Certainly the Minimum Wage Act[15] will not prevent it. As certainly we cannot look to the Government for legislation to prevent it. The suggested Royal Commission is simply a device for the King's Ministers to avoid responsibility, and to save time for going on with their congenial occupation, majority mongering. There is absolutely no necessity for a Royal Commission on the subject. Remedies which might be quite effective are plainly discernible. If anything is perfectly clear it is that this huge strike is largely due to the legislation which has put trade unions above the law. And the first step to remedy the mischief is, as clearly, to undo that legislation. To render the funds of a trade union liable for any damage done by or through it, for breach of any agreement entered into by it and ratified by the Board of Trade, utterly to prohibit picketing, to require that the accounts of trade unions shall be audited by public officials and published, and to enact that every member of a union should have votes in proportion to his interest in its funds, are measures so obviously just and reasonable that merely to mention them should be enough. They would give a deathblow to the influence of Socialists and Syndicalists who now lead the poor, ignorant[16] workers captive at their will. And so they would retard that dissolution of the social organism which is the avowed end of those sectaries.[17] But, on the other hand, they

[15] I wonder how many of our legislators who passed this Act know that it redressed, after a fashion, an injustice of a century's standing. Until 1814 the justices were empowered by statute to establish a minimum wage between employers and employed. In that year capitalists, intent upon grinding the poor by applying ruthlessly the principle of competition working through supply and demand, pronounced all-sufficient by the Orthodox Political Economy, procured the abolition of this provision of the law, in spite of the opposition of the workers, with whom, it may be noted, Pitt strongly sympathised.

[16] I use the word advisedly. A friend of mine was talking to a miner, an intelligent man enough, who observed, 'Well, I don't know much about this Milleny wage business, but we've got to obey our leaders.'

[17] It is desirable to apprehend what Syndicalism and Socialism really are, where they differ, and in what they agree; otherwise we may fall into the

would assuredly lose the Government the support [illegible] party in Parliament and the overwhelming votes [illegible] unionists in many constituencies.[16] That is held to be a conclusive reason why the King's Ministers should not initiate or support them. Parliamentary Government, as it exists among us, means the complete subordination of national to party interests. Ministers are always hampered by the fear of losing votes. And so the action of the Government is paralysed in all departments of the State. The gravest questions—the questions which most nearly concern the most vital interests of the community—are shelved. 'Le peuple ne m'intéresse que lorsqu'il vote,' a French demagogue is reported to have said, in a moment of cynical candour. And it is at the cost of these voting animals, or rather of the nation at large, that the party game is played: the poor, long-suffering, stupid, stolid nation, which looks helplessly on and pays the piper—whose price, as in this matter of the recent coal strike, is sometimes heavy.

What, then, is the prospect before us? The trade unions are led, as they have been for the last fifteen years—led, yes, and skilfully organised—by men deficient indeed in economical knowledge, but of great force of character and untrammelled by scruples. The rank and file of the unions do not know what they want. But the leaders have a distinct apprehension of their own aims. The pamphlet of which the *Times* gave a full account on the 27th of February—*The Miners' Next Step*—is sufficiently enlightening. The strategy of the organisation

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error of Mr. Lloyd George or, if that be possible, into a worse error. Mr. Snowden, who knows what he is talking about, is reported, in the *Times* of the 1st of April, to have said, 'Syndicalism is opposed to organisation and to the State: it is anarchy pure and simple, and the very opposite of Socialism.' No doubt this is so in theory; but, as Mr. Keir Hardie observed in a speech, reported in the same issue of the *Times*, 'When the Syndicalist said that every trade union should be merged into one union he was preaching the same theory as the Socialists. They differed with the Syndicalists when they said that the mines should belong to the miners and the railways to the railwaymen, and so on. That was a debatable point on which he need not enter. The final goal of the Syndicalist was not essentially different from that of the Socialist. He did not want the colliers to own the pits, or the factory workers the mills; he wanted the community as a whole to own them, so that they could be worked for the good of the community. He would oppose, to the utmost, any attempt to cause antagonism between Syndicalism and Socialism, as they were both trying to put some backbone and determination into the working classes. Both were equally anxious for the overthrow of the existing state of society, and the creation of a newer and better state in which there should be freedom in the widest and broadest sense of the term.' Syndicalism, then, is one thing, and Socialism another: but Socialism, through the trade unions which it commands, unites with Syndicalism in making war upon society—much to Mr. Keir Hardie's satisfaction.

[16] Of course it must always be remembered that it would be in the power of the majority of the electorate—the five millions of manual labourers—to reverse the suggested legislation, and, in the absence of the introduction of a rational system of representation, it cannot be doubted that they would do so.

which are worth quoting:

That the old policy of identity of interest between employer and employed be abolished and a policy of open hostility be installed.

That for the purpose of giving greater strength to the lodges they be encouraged to join together to form joint committees and to hold joint meetings: these committees to have power to initiate and carry out the policy within their own area, unhampered by agent or executive council, so long as they act within their own financial resources. The lodges should, as far as possible, discard the old method of coming out on strike for any little minor grievance, and adopt the more scientific weapon of the irritation strike, by simply remaining at work, and so contrive by their general conduct to make the colliery unremunerative.

That a continual agitation be carried on in favour of increasing the *minimum* wage and lessening the hours of labour until we have extracted the whole of the employers' profits.

That our objective be to build up an organisation that will ultimately take over the mining industry and carry it on in the interests of the workers.

The authorship of this pamphlet is, I believe, kept a secret, but there can be no doubt that the words which I have quoted are not the words of irresponsible men: they represent the views of a committee, a number of very influential men who, for all practical purposes, exercise a preponderating influence over the South Wales miners. And it is unquestionable that the leaders of many trade unions—avowed Socialists or Syndicalists—are animated by this conception of underhand war and ultimate pillage. It is equally unquestionable that the success of the organisers of the coal strike will hugely encourage others to follow their example. Nor can we even dismiss the Syndicalist notion of a general strike as a bad dream. It will probably come, though it may be long in coming. But what we have immediately to expect is a series of gigantic strikes, fraught with ruin to British industries, and fraught with intense suffering to manual labourers and to the poor generally; for the war thus waged is not merely against capital, but incidentally against other branches of labour. That is the prospect before us. What is to prevent its being realised? I remember my old friend Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, on his return from India, saying to me, 'The real governing power in this country is Funk.' We must make an end of that governing power if there is not to be an end of England.

W. S. Lilly.

WHY SOME OF THE CLERGY WILL WELCOME DISESTABLISHMENT

The protagonists of ecclesiastical strife have now descended into the political arena, and the 'modest stillness which becomes a man of peace' has given place to the 'blast of war blowing in our ears.' The drum ecclesiastic is being vigorously beaten to summon the Church's faithful liegemen once more to man the walls and to line the trenches in order to repel the renewed attack upon the Established Church in Wales. As one who in previous years has loyally responded to his leaders' call and has taken no little part in press and on platform on behalf of the Establishment, it may be of interest to some of his fellow-Churchmen to give his reasons for adopting a complete *volte face* on this question. Most of his friends are Churchmen, nearly all of whom view the Government's proposals with abhorrence and dismay. To defend and to advocate these appears to them incomprehensible, not to say treacherous. But there are many whose devotion to the Church cannot be questioned, who are convinced of the righteousness and the necessity of the present demand for Disestablishment made by 'a majority,' as Mr. Gladstone said (and how much truer his words are now), 'constitutionally, lawfully, peacefully and repeatedly returned to Parliament.'

So long as the State desires to maintain an established religion there is nothing to prevent the Church acquiescing, provided that the union between the two is not injurious (as it is here thought to be) to the well-being of either. But the question is entirely one for citizens, as citizens only, to decide. There is nothing unscriptural in an Establishment, since the Old Testament brings before us a theocratic state in which the civil and religious powers are closely associated. Nor is it wrong for the State to recognise and honour the Church, although the forms that the recognition should take may and do vary from time to time, and should rather be offered by the State than in any way demanded by the Church. Where would be the *amour propre* of our territorial forces if, in defiance of the nation's will, they objected to their disbandment? For the Church to

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[illegible] upon its Establishment is as invidious as for a man to demand salutation from one who is not disposed to make it, and savours of a lack of dignity and self-respect. If, therefore, Churchpeople contend for the maintenance of the union between Church and State, they should contend as citizens and not as Churchmen. But as religious liberty is now understood the State is bound to see that no religious organisation shall retain any privilege, so far as is practicable, that other religious bodies cannot share. The only reason that this country has now an established religion is an historic one. It was not only that identity of belief existed once between Church and nation, but that the Church at one time was co-extensive with the nation.

In early times [wrote the late Professor Freeman] the Church was simply the nation looked at with reference to religion, just as the Army was the nation looked at for the purpose of warfare. . . . The ministers of the Church were national officers for one set of purposes, enjoying the rights . . . of national officers.

Even when in the sixteenth century religious differences became serious, it was long held

that the Church and the nation ought to be one, and that dissent in religion was a thing to be put down by law as much as sedition in politics. It was held to be the duty of the civil power in each State to prescribe its own religion to its subjects. . . . And this is beyond doubt the original meaning of the Church being by law established.

Church defenders are fond of quoting Lord Mansfield and Speaker Onslow, who spoke of dissent as 'established.' But nearly every society must have certain relations with the State in which it finds itself, and may have certain privileges conceded to it. For instance, Nonconformists have, by statute law, their ministers exempted from serving certain civil offices, and their chapels registered and certified for worship and exempted from rates. But similar privileges are equally enjoyed by Churchmen and others. And in so far as these will be retained by the Church, in a constitution adopted by the Church and sanctioned by the State, the Act which will disestablish the Church will establish it again. For 'disestablishment' is concerned not with what is common to many societies, but with what is exceptional to one. Since the Toleration Act of 1689 about fifty Acts of Parliament have been passed removing certain exclusive privileges of the Church which in course of time had been allowed to develop. Disestablishment will but complete the process, so far as is practicable, and at the same time will remove the special control which the State has now, in Crown, Parliament, and Judicature, over the Church. There is no need to cite any

special statute[1] by which the Church was established. As it was with the Gallican Church, prior to the French Revolution, so it has been with the English Church—Establishment is the result not of a determined legislative act, like the Napoleonic Concordat, but of an unconscious growth. To speak of the Church as 'established by law' before other religious societies arose would have been almost meaningless. The expression was found necessary for purposes of differentiation. Disestablishment will remove that monopoly of combined privilege and control which is not shared by other religious bodies. And as long ago as 1885 Gladstone detected 'a current almost throughout the civilised world, slowly setting in the direction of disestablishment.' To confuse the Church, as a religious body, with the Establishment, which means its peculiarly distinctive relation to the State, is very much as if one were to confuse a bird with the cage which imprisons it, or rather with the special privileges —food, attention, protection, etc.—which the encaged bird may enjoy—or deplore.

That both Church and State are weakened through Establishment few intelligent observers can fail to notice. Take the inability of the Establishment to reform or to adapt itself to its changing environment. When in 1895 the attack on the Welsh Establishment failed, there were many who believed that the Church was on the threshold of a great opportunity. It was the present writer's lot to join with two others in founding the Church Reform League.[2] We felt that there was no abuse within the Church which could not be removed without resorting to Disestablishment. For the next ten years the Unionists—the avowed friends of the Church—were in office. Did our bishops from their place of influence and power in the Lords produce any great scheme and press its acceptance upon their friends and allies in both Houses? Nothing worthy of the great Church of England, nor in any sense adequate to the situation, was even attempted. The old creaking wagon of the Church's system has been allowed to lumber along the same well-worn ruts, and the charge levelled against us at the time, that we enthusiastic Church Reformers were nothing more than Utopians of the Utopians, has been completely justified. There has been no relaxation in the attitude of stolid conservatism which has so long characterised our ecclesiastical authorities, who have therefore left the present external organisation and endowments of

[1] The Church, however, is established by the Acts of Supremacy (26 Henry VIII., and 1 Elizabeth) and the Act of Uniformity (2 & 3 Edward VI.).

[2] His sermon, preached at Over (August 1895), entitled 'Churchmen's Grievances,' which sought to explain its then programme, was the first publication of the League, which, however, was not formally inaugurated until the following November.

[illegible]

[illegible] an electorate which [illegible] institutions not so much by their past history and [illegible] traditions as by their present utility and democratic sympathies. The Church, which was more or less fitted at the Reformation to meet the exigencies of a time made new by the Renaissance and the invention of printing, has not been adapted to meet the requirements of a time made new by a belief in evolution and the wonderful inventions of electricity and steam. It is absurd to suppose that this institution, if it is to be in perfect touch with Demos, can remain the same as it was in days before the educational and political enfranchisement of the people. To bring about a conception of religion consistent with sound reason and the newer knowledge to which we have attained, and at the same time satisfying the best religious instincts, is the noble work before us. But how very unsatisfactory are the ingenious compromises and mediæval survivals which are offered. The best minds long for a religious teaching which, while appealing to their heart and will, shall not do despite to their intellectual outlook upon life. But our authorities, with their cowardly opportunism, fearful of doing anything to jeopardise the Church as a State institution, show far more consideration for those bent on reaction than for the progressives who form the most promising feature in the Church's life.

Hence it is that the road now taken by very many of the English clergy is one which is more and more diverging from that in which the laity are walking. How many fine young minds go to our Universities with the intention of becoming ordinands who are repelled by our obsolete methods and cumbrous machinery, and, above all, by our narrow, stereotyped formulæ which tend to sterilise living thought? Are our leaders really content to stand and watch our women follow (as unless we alter our ways they most certainly will before long) their brothers in forsaking the assembling of themselves together? Religion has two functions to fulfil: to furnish some explanation of man's relation to and destiny in the Universe, and to offer practical guidance in life. If its explanation of the Universe and of the operating forces therein is being increasingly discredited by facts, its guidance of life must be weakened. One of two things must therefore happen. Either the whole Christian position must be re-stated, or the world will turn away from Christianity. But Christianity is too fine a stream to lose itself in the sands. Spiritual progress, with so millennial a past, is bound to continue. For the history of mankind is felt to be an ordered process which is tending to the realisation of a destiny as glorious as it is infinite and unique. But, measured by its power to spiritualise our national character and to persuade our people to follow the

highest ideals, who can question the utter inability of our present ecclesiastical machinery? Is there a single department of our nation's life, apart from the Church itself, where the devout, orthodox Churchman, as such, whom the Establishment seeks to produce, is prominent? Whether we turn to our politics, our industry, our commerce, our literature, our science—above all, to our shame be it said, to our efforts to ameliorate the social and economic conditions of the masses—the same melancholy failure awaits us. While a respectable, conventional mediocrity is as a rule found in the Establishment, many of the finest and most heroic spirits of our time repudiate all allegiance to its claims, and have been largely reared outside its borders. If they give any passing thought at all to the deliberations which characterise our ordinary ecclesiastical gatherings and journals, it must be one of contempt as they watch Churchmen continually expounding principles they have not the courage to apply, while they wonder how such an occupation is not more generally demoralising than it even appears. For it should be remembered that in its attempt, in theory at least, to scale the greatest height the Establishment exhibits most of all that shameless contrast between what is proposed and what is done. And they know too, and lament, that its authorities, too often immersed in unprofitable deliberations concerning themes more or less outworn, give an enormous preference to those 'safe' spirits who cling to the threadbare clothing of the past, and who are too slow to move with the times in providing a fitter raiment for the noble ideal mankind has in Christ.

How conspicuous is the failure of the Establishment to grapple even with its own most flagrant abuses. The machinery for the removal of the mentally afflicted, the incompetent and indolent, and even evil-living clergy, is miserably inefficient. For at least two years before a recently deceased and deeply-respected bishop resigned he was quite incapable of managing his diocese, the work of which was undertaken by his capable suffragans, but at a cost of just one-tenth of the annual income of the see![1] If a diocese can thus be managed on so little, why is it necessary to provide the many thousands to those who will plead so eloquently on behalf of home and foreign Missions, and paint pathetic pictures of the poverty of the clergy? No men can work harder than our bishops. But how is it that they do not see that for many a large part of their work is rendered futile through their 'fatal

[1] For seven years the writer (whose experience in this matter is far from being exceptional) was incumbent of a Yorkshire parish. Neither the bishop, his suffragan, nor his archdeacon either officially visited it or even asked one question concerning it. Nor was the fact that he declined to continue the farce of filling up obsolete annual forms once commented upon by the authorities!

[illegible] ? And is [illegible] are the miles of [illegible] the palaces, and the parks, to be clung to until the State effects what the constraining love of Christ for the struggling millions they have been called upon to oversee has been unable to effect?

What has been done to reform our cathedral chapters, which, to the derision of those who know much of their inner working, too often absorb enormous revenues to provide, with many noble exceptions, mere sinecures? The Parson's Freehold, a relic of feudalism, with its frequently mischievous principle of *J'y suis, j'y reste*, is in urgent need of modification. Nor has anything been done to deal with private patronage, with its usurpation of the rights of the congregation, which would have aroused the indignation of a St. James as he saw the 'man with a gold ring, in fine clothing,' choosing not only the best seat, but too often the indifferent pastor. The monstrous sale of advowsons still goes on. A grossly excessive number of societies, with their expensive organisations, show how badly husbanded, uneconomically disbursed, and inadequately distributed are the financial resources of the Church. The fifty churches of the City of London have between them a Sunday congregation which could easily go into two or three of them, and yet their total income is the equivalent of that of the Society for providing Additional Curates throughout the whole Church of England! The Dilapidations Act of 1871 is another scandal. A rector having occupied a benefice for a few years died, and his representatives were called upon to repair the chancel at a cost of 1400*l.* The widow of another incumbent, who had just before his death repaired his benefice, had to rebuild stables which the vicarage, it is admitted, would be better without. Such attempts at reform as have been made bear the usual hall-mark of the Establishment's half-heartedness and incompetency. The archbishops appoint a committee to deal with what has long been the utterly chaotic condition of the Church's finance, and do not allow it even to refer to the ancient endowments. As if the laity did not know that in the more equitable distribution of the funds already at the disposal of the Church, the key is to be found. As well leave out, as an archdeacon has recently said, all reference to a widow's assistance from her wealthy relatives when inquiring into her needs! It is such trifling which disgusts the average man. No, our authorities have allowed the golden opportunity to pass; they have proved once more the truth of the cynical motto *Episcopi Angliæ semper pavidi*; and upon them will rest the responsibility if the conditions have now arrived which will make posterity regard the Establishment as a phase which is

> Gone glimmering through the dreams of things that were.

And if the two great contemporary tasks before Christendom are, to separate the transient from the permanent in religion, to differentiate the essentials of Christianity from the complicated non-essentials by which they have been so long overlaid and disfigured; and to evolve a social system for mankind which shall be a worthy embodiment of the true principles of the Christian faith; then the failure of the Establishment to fulfil the latter has been only equalled by its failure to grapple with the former. Depend upon it that the kindly toleration shown it as a picturesque survival and historic link with the past cannot much longer be extended to it as an absurd anachronism, or as an irritating obstacle in the path of social justice and humanitarian progress. Too many Anglican ecclesiastics are ready, for the sake of maintaining the Establishment to sacrifice the most sacred principles for which the Church has her *raison d'être* and to ally themselves with the most reactionary, or at any rate the least progressive elements in the community. That great good has been done by the Church let us gladly and fully acknowledge. The benevolence of her clergy affords lucid proof that they are earnest and sincere zealous and single-minded in their sacred calling. She has kept the Christian ideal before the nation, which has also been nobly served, especially in its poorest members, by a multitude of deeds of charity and mercy. The greatest pains, too, are generally taken to provide frequent occasions for reverent worship, and to attach all sorts and conditions to her many and various organisations. But all this splendid work has been largely neutralised by the ordinary churchman's terrible lack of sympathy with the great movements of humanitarian and social progress.[4] It was the attitude of the Church as a whole during the last two General Elections, when it is not too much to say that the hard-won liberties of our race were in considerable jeopardy, which made the writer vow that never again would he support the Establishment. It was amazing to see how the Church as a whole sided with the forces of rank, privilege and wealth, and of every selfish vested interest, in maintaining the absurd veto of the House of Lords upon the legislation approved by a huge majority of elected representatives of forty-five millions of our people; how it would rather the food of the poor were taxed instead of the unearned increment of the landed property of the rich; how it supports a policy—that, as a Conservative statesman has said

[4] As evidence of this one need only read the political effusions—as obviously prejudiced as they are often ludicrously inane—of many a Parish Magazine. They go far to justify Clarendon's terrible indictment—which Bishop Creighton supported in terms only a little less drastic and sweeping—that 'the clergy understand the least and take the worst measure of human nature of all mankind that can write and read.'

... for a food—which the democracies of our Western civilisation are, for the most part, struggling to overthrow, and which the best economists of all our own political parties for a couple of generations have regarded (to use another Unionist's words) as the shameful exploitation of the many to enrich the few. There is no need to imply that this support was not given conscientiously. But such has been the blinding effect of the Establishment, around which privilege and property centre, and such has been the terrible mistake of our leaders in allowing themselves to be hitched to the chariots of reaction, through either a foolish short-sightedness or a craven mistrust of a democracy which was, and still is, ready to be its truest friend, that in its history since the time of Elizabeth, at least, it has so generally espoused the wrong cause in the nation's struggle for liberty and progress, that it would almost be a sufficient test to say that when any particular policy was supported by the clergy or Church party as a whole, the opposite policy was generally the right one. It is only natural that the main tendency of the Establishment—perhaps, too, of all organised religion—should be conservative. But the spirit of Christ, which above all things it was the duty of the Establishment to conserve, should have prevented the majority of its adherents being ranged, as history proves has been the undoubted case, on the side of political oppression and wrong. Rather should it have sought, as its Scriptural charter would have had it, to undo the heavy burden, to let the oppressed go free, and to see that they that are in need and necessity have—not doles, but right. The Bishop of Oxford has well described the work of the Church as 'wandering along the streets as a kind of salvage corps to pick up the diseased and the wounded when it was too late.'

That this indictment is only too true is easily proved. Some years ago the *Times*—a journal not unduly prejudiced against the Church—was forced to acknowledge that the Establishment

> was in favour of the alliance of Continental absolutists against constitutional government; it was against the amelioration of the criminal code . . .; it was in favour of hanging for almost any offence for which a man is now fined at the Assizes; it was in favour of the slave-trade, and afterwards of slavery; it was against the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts; it was against Catholic emancipation; it was against Parliamentary reform and municipal reform; it was against the commutation of tithe, although it has since had to acknowledge the Act as of great benefit; it was against the repeal of the corn laws and the navigation laws; it was against Free Trade generally; it was against all education beyond the simplest elements. . . . Indeed, it is hard to say what it has not been against in the way of improvement.

Such is the terrible indictment which our leading journal made against the National Church. Should not such a damning record

make churchmen pause, and consider whether the attitude which the vast majority of them take up towards the men and measures of to-day will not add to the Establishment's condemnation in the future? It is, however, probably easier for the Ethiopian to change his skin or the leopard his spots than for the Establishment to alter its political and social course.

> Nobody pretends [says Lord Morley] that the State Church alone is answerable for all the iniquities and follies of legislation and policy in which she has taken a leading part during these three centuries . . . What is true, and a very important truth, is that the State Church has never resisted or moderated these coarse, ferocious, intolerant, and obstructive political impulses in the nation; that, on the contrary, she has stimulated and encouraged them, and, where she could, has most unflinchingly turned them to her own profit.

When the national conscience was shocked at the employment of Chinese labour in South Africa, and the attending circumstances, the Archbishop of Canterbury condoned it as 'a regrettable necessity.' When, on the other hand, John Bull, in his 'jingo and mafficking fevers,' needed sobering and restraining, the professed heralds of the Gospel of love and goodwill towards men vied with the Yellow Press in inflaming his passions. How many of the clergy and the frequenters of our altars allow themselves to be swayed by a prejudiced and partisan Press, too often run in the interests of powerful and wealthy combines, and in their drawing-rooms to give vent to their vituperative scorn of statesmen whose names their descendants will probably emblazon among those who have done great things for their country. But of what use is it for Churchpeople to 'build the sepulchres of the prophets and garnish the tombs of the righteous' (one recalls the recent dedication of the Bunyan window in Westminster Abbey), while they continue to witness to themselves that they are the sons of them that slew the prophets?

What was, and still is, the attitude of the average comfortably-living church-goer towards the Insurance Act? Here we have a noble, far-reaching instrument, capable, too, of splendid development, for combating sickness and unemployment—those two dire evils that are ever darkening or threatening so many millions of our homes. Of course no reform ever worth carrying has been carried except in the teeth of clenched antagonisms, while every great social reformer must expect to

> Stand pilloried on infamy's high stage
> And bear the pelting scorn of half an age.

It was therefore anticipated that those apparently callous to misery and suffering, so long as party capital could be made,

would not hesitate to use unscrupulous misrepresentations and shameless suppressions to mystify and mislead. But amid this cynical campaign were our church workers and the more leisured of our churchpeople prominent in their desire to understand and promulgate the plain, unvarnished truth concerning this measure, which so profoundly affects the domestic and industrial welfare of the nation? Here, indeed, was an opportunity for the National Church to serve its day and generation! The Insurance Act, with the Old Age Pensions, comes as an enormous boon to our toiling masses whose health and happiness it will greatly promote, and to very many of whom it will be 'as a hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.' And yet too often the only comment heard was the parrot-cry of 'rushed, ill-considered legislation,' while the gloating was only too apparent in the hope that the doctor difficulty, or the mean 'Servant-tax' agitation, would succeed in bringing this beneficent measure tottering to the ground.

It seems almost as though a strong if somewhat sardonic sense of humour belongs to the power that has evolved such an institution as the Establishment (as distinct from the Church), seeing that it is ever bent on demonstrating to the world how *not* to realise the splendid ideals of Universal Peace and Brotherhood with which it has been entrusted. Dr. Gore (1st of February 1912) has told us how he has 'constantly sat down bewildered before the blank and simply stupid refusal of the mass of church people to recognise their social duties. What produces this great blindness of heart and mind?' Although the bishop said he had tortured his mind in trying to find an answer, surely part of it is to be found in the 'Established' position of the Church. When the writer was vicar of a large Lancashire parish, he found that he had two sets of people to lead and encourage—his own congregation on conventional lines, and a band of earnest social reformers who sat very loosely to any kind of religious organisation, and that the public spirit, zeal and earnestness shown for the betterment of the world was not in the former but in the latter, and that the two sets were almost mutually exclusive. He was, moreover, in occasional receipt of letters from young men in the mining and manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, who lamented how little encouragement, in their desire to improve the social conditions of those among whom they lived, they received from the Church.

It is to free our nation from so terrible an incubus as the Establishment has proved itself to be—a national deadweight against nearly everything that makes for political freedom and social amelioration, while leaving the Church free to uplift the

high and humanising ideal which is hers, and to apply the redemp-tive graces at her command, that we would plead with the State to rid us once for all of our miserable fetters, our intellectual bondage, and our cramping influences. To pretend that Disestablishment means the national repudiation of God is, in the face of the indictment here brought, ridiculous. The Christian side of our political controversies has been largely championed by Nonconformists; while tested by its capacity to form a right judgment in all things pertaining to justice, liberty and brotherhood, the Establishment has proved itself an ignominious failure. To take only a recent illustration. While a Nonconformist preacher led and fostered the agitation against a disgraceful contemplated prize-fight, several priests of the Establishment publicly favoured it. To his great pain and disappointment the late Mr. Gladstone was compelled to acknowledge that the Establishment had 'gone lamentably wrong upon questions involving deeply the interests of truth, justice, and humanity.'

But here it may be not unreasonably asked, In what way will Disestablishment remedy this unfortunate condition of things? Well, let us acknowledge at once that Disestablishment will not work any immediate change for the better. It possesses, of course, no magical efficacy. It is even possible that a feeling of soreness and a sincere if mistaken sense of injustice may at first produce a somewhat paralysing tendency and a further accentuation of bitterness in our religious differences. But the better, higher life of the Church, freed from meretricious influences, would soon assert itself. Above all, the genuinely felt but harmfully operating necessity for allying herself with those unprogressive and reactionary forces (which seek to promote, as against the common weal, privilege and self-interest), in order to preserve her connexion with the State, would have, for ever, passed away; while the Church, liberated from so much which was hampering her activity and restricting her development, would not only brace herself anew to fulfil her noble mission and splendid destiny, but, in so doing, would also attract many an earnest spirit to her ranks, who at present, though one with her in aim, is too often repelled. In love with those high ideals, and those deeply tender associations which are so peculiarly hers, inspired by her long, romantic if chequered history, attracted by her stately ritual and pathetic liturgy, yes, moved even by pity for what was held to be due to persecution and unjustifiable injury, her present sons and daughters would find their loyalty and devotion quickened; while a number of able and earnest recruits who now join other organisations would probably rally to her ministry. And all this fresh life and vigour, all this renewed interest and deepened sympathy, would more than compensate her for any apparent loss of prestige

[illegible] temporary stripping of her resources. At the same time a first great obstacle towards the ultimate reunion of our English Christendom will have been removed, while our nation in its growing impatience of all that savours of privilege and pretentiousness will be more ready to welcome the old Faith as presented to them in the newer light and in the improved conditions.

The note which the two archbishops strike in their appeal to the nation is a curious one. Disestablishment, they say, will deprive the nation of its legal right to the spiritual ministrations of the Church. Is it not obvious that a very large section of the nation, by making voluntary provision for the spiritual ministrations they prefer, and another perhaps still larger section by ignoring such ministrations altogether, have no desire to make use of the provision which the law makes? And are we to suppose that any minister of religion, including the vast number of voluntary agents now found nearly everywhere, will no longer minister to one in need even when the law's sanction is removed? And of what value, after all, is the law's sanction in such cases? Spiritual things are only spiritually discerned and, to be of any value, must be *spiritually* and *not legally* administered.

If this article be a true statement concerning the Establishment, then few impartial and thoughtful observers who take a wide view of the general trend of human progress and social advance can fail to see that an Established religion is not in keeping with the *Zeitgeist*, and belongs to an age which we are quickly outgrowing. Every great intellectual ferment is followed by political and religious change; while none but a faithless pessimist can question that such a change will but be in the interests of a purer and nobler faith. Why then should not the Church as a whole recognise that the time has come when her relation to the State must be recast, both in the interest of her own spiritual liberty and progress and to vindicate the impartiality of the State towards its citizens of all faiths? Let the Church meet the changing circumstances by a voluntary act of sacrifice which would do more for her permanent welfare than an unwarrantable struggle, waged in, what cannot but appear to outsiders, the spirit of any worldly concern fighting for its own, to preserve endowments which are sure to be wrung from her sooner or later. A well-known Labour leader avowed to a friend of the writer that the masses had so far lost faith in the sincerity of the Church that only some great act of sacrifice on her part would lead them to treat her claim seriously. Are our leaders capable of inspiring the Church with this noble spirit? It would obviate the piecemeal treatment

of the Welsh Church which is complained of, and if the Church as a whole relinquished her present right to the tithe, the reasonableness and justice of which relinquishing the writer is prepared to show, the nation would most probably allow her to retain the rest of her ancient endowments, as well as her more recent benefactions, equitably administered, to reorganise an institution which was thus proving itself worthy, its unhappy past notwithstanding, of the moral and spiritual leadership of a great democracy. Thus the larger and richer life, based on better social and economic conditions, for which the great masses of our people are evidently and naturally struggling, would, by the Church's timely sympathy and effective aid, tend to become a deeper and a higher life as well.

And what eloquent testimony would thereby be borne to the truth and potency of her Master's great paradoxical saying, 'Whosoever will save his life shall lose it: and whosoever will lose his life for My sake shall find it.'

FRANCIS E. POWELL.

RECENT GERMAN FICTION

It is scarcely too much to say that to the average English reader modern German literature is as pathless a wilderness as Central Africa, or as the vanished Teuton forests were to all but the boldest among the Teutons themselves. Upon French literary ground we can manage to stumble along, at a pinch; but the German paths are too tangled, and the German soil too clogging for our exploring steps. It is not the difficulty of language alone which is the obstacle here, but likewise the quality of the fruit which we are expected to gather, and, naturally, also to enjoy.

Very high quality, in very many cases, but for all that, tough—exceedingly tough, and requiring a deal of mastication before yielding up its flavour. German thoroughness is, no doubt, an awe-inspiring quality; but when applied to the manufacturing of fiction it has its drawbacks. The nation of thinkers, even when not composing philosophical treatises, only requires the smallest provocation in order to start off in its favourite direction; and, whatever cause he has at heart, the typical German is apt to be so terribly in earnest about it, as at times to forget that he is supposed to be telling a story. The result, not infrequently, is to send the wearied reader, as with a rebound, back to the most frivolous French or the shallowest English story procurable.

And yet, to let the German fiction of the day slip quite beyond our ken does not seem desirable; the less so at a moment when the political situation is slowly resolving itself into a ring formed by the rest of the world around two combatants, who face each other, the one armed to the teeth—the other apparently still of opinion that he can manage without those arms. In fiction is reflected much of the momentary mood of a nation; and therefore I believe that a study of the newest German novels may have its uses.

The first thing to strike one is that, taken as a whole, they are virulently national, either sentimentally steeped in, or aggressively bristling with, that ideal of universal German brotherhood which for forty years past has been spinning its threads from north to south, gradually smothering the memory of that

'brother-war,' which is beginning to be looked back upon remorsefully, as upon a crime.

Impossible, of course, to make more than a very restricted selection among the flood of volumes which the last year or so has brought with it. Old names and new names, veterans and recruits, are here represented. It is superfluous to apologise for beginning with one of the latter. Has not *Place à la jeunesse!* long since become the order of the day?

In the foremost ranks of these 'new men' stands Rudolf Hans Bartsch, that Austrian artillery officer who has turned his sword into a pen, and doubtless finds the latter instrument about a hundred times more lucrative than the former. The very title of his latest work, *Das Deutsche Leid* (*German Sorrow*), is significant in the extreme. Inevitably we think of *Weltschmerz*, but are at fault here, inasmuch as this particular variety of *Weltschmerz* might more correctly be termed *Seeschmerz* (*Sea Sorrow*—not to be confounded with that other sort of 'Sea-sorrow' which affects only the baser portion of our being), since the theme of the novel, stripped of its trappings and somewhat brutally expressed, is the striving of the German nation—perhaps we might say of the German Empire?—to get a firm hold upon the Adriatic. Not all Bartsch's undoubtedly poetic vein, not all his rather exuberant flowers of speech, can hide this naked and quite prosaic fact. Listen to this:—

> Those few hundred thousands, that language and hatred stand between the German nation and thee, the object of her yearning, thou blue flame, thou classic brine upon whom sailed Odysseus, thou dreamer in the land of sun, *thou road to the empire of the world*: Adria!

That sounds pretty plain, does it not—even without the italics, which are mine?

For the information of the English reader let it here be remarked that the South of Styria has a pre-eminently Slav population, while it owes its culture and most of its towns to German settlers, who ruled supreme until that period of national awakening which, some fifty years back, swept across Europe. Shaken out of their lethargy, the Southern Slavs made the same discovery which elsewhere others were making—the discovery that they were a nation; and there followed the inevitable developments. The original possessors of the soil turned upon their masters, in whom they had come to see usurpers, and another of those fierce national struggles which tear the entrails and paralyse the force of the Austrian Empire has since been raging. It is in the name of culture and of their historic past that the Germans claim political power, while the Slavs do the same on the strength of previous possession. 'We were here

... says: 'But you were nothing ...' replies the other, 'You have got no Past!' 'But we have a Future!' Thus the retorts fly backwards and forwards. In this case the bitterness of the national struggle is deepened by the fact that the dense mass of Slav population lies like a bar between the Germans and that 'Adria,' which we have just heard sung as the object of their yearning. It is the old story of the lion and the lamb. As Max Nordau somewhere says: It is impossible to blame the lion for wanting to eat the lamb, if he happens to be hungry; but it is equally impossible to blame the lamb for not wanting to be eaten. From a personal point of view each is completely in the right. Here the only doubt admissible concerns the rightful distribution of the *rôles*. Some people see a Teuton lion and a Slav lamb; while others—our author among them—very plainly behold a roaring Slav lion, and a much wronged, spotlessly innocent lambkin, drooping beneath the burden of 'German Sorrow.'

This, then, is the subject of the tale, so far as it can be called a tale at all, and not an artistically disguised Pan-Germanic pamphlet. Bartsch himself designates it as 'a landscape romance,' a sub-title which it fully deserves, since, in the art of word-painting of a rather highly-coloured type, I doubt whether this author has a living rival. Of this more anon. Meanwhile let us get to the story itself, or rather to the want of it, for in the ordinary sense of the word, there is next to none to tell. Almost everything that happens, happens within the soul of Erasmus Georg Botzenhardt, a German of the dreamy, in contra distinction to the practical, type, and whose mental and moral development we follow, step by step, from his fifth to past his fortieth year. Long before he has left school, and at an age when normally-constituted boys are busy with games and mischief, his soul is groaning under the weight of the 'German Sorrow,' and his mind sketching vague plans as to how to relieve it. Here is an example:—

> As children are apt to think in pictures . . . thus the troops of wild birds heading for the South with yearning cries, the evening sun . . . became for the boy symbols which he revered, almost superstitiously. . . . There began to burn in his soul unconquerable hunger for that land of vines, where he believed that he would feel nearer to Eternity and to its secrets. Everything drew him South. The most German, the most blessed and most unblessed, of all yearnings had awakened in him with strange force.
>
> Nothing that is said of the German nation is more wonderful than these two forces: the boundless, consuming need to reach God, and that wild suicidal yearning which draws it towards the blue fire of the South.

Which blue fire, please remember, is in point of fact a blue water, by name 'Adriatic.' 'Suicidal' may sound extreme; yet

there is no saying whether future events will not yet justify the selection of this particular adjective.

Granted such preoccupations in the boy, it is no wonder that the doings of the man should suffer considerably from 'the pale cast of thought.' To achieve something 'big' is the dream of his life; but in considering how to set about it he wastes half of that same life. The line between the man of ideas and th man of action is finely drawn in the following dialogue. Georg —who is about twelve at the time—has repeated to a schoolfellow a saying that has impressed him:—

'Blessed are those who seek great things!'

The small Thoss flung his short, sturdy legs apart, and stood still. 'Yes, that is it,' he cried, raising his forefinger . . .

'And?' asked Georg.

'Our teacher says that everyone should have a motto. This shall be mine: "Blessed are those who *will* great things."'

'Who seek them,' corrected Georg.

'I prefer the *will*,' decided the resolute Thoss. 'You can keep to the *seek*, if you like.'

And, truly, the two versions fitted the two youngsters very well.

Side by side with his adventures of the soul Georg, inevitably has adventures of the heart—a whole series of them. First an idyll with a Slav peasant girl, exquisitely described; next a romantic attachment to a wonderful piece of both physical and mental delicacy, called Babette—whom he knows to be dying of consumption; then a mild affection for the excellent but unexciting woman who becomes his wife; finally, a wild passion for a mere child, twenty-five years his junior, who impulsively makes him a present of her heart. It is only after a hard struggle, and as it were, by the skin of his teeth, that he saves himself from accepting it. But all these occurrences remain but accessory circumstances to the guiding idea of his life, and scarcely distract his attention from the problem of how to alleviate the 'German Sorrow.' Until he approaches middle age he has found no better way than the playing of German music—being German in this too, that he is a born musician. The record of his youth is practically that of a wandering fiddler, flitting about the threatened province, and using his violin bow as one might use a match wherewith to kindle the flame of national feeling. He is close upon forty when an unlooked-for heritage puts him in the position of acquiring a piece of Styrian ground, and his unquiet spirit finds rest at last in the narrow but concrete task of Germanising at least one spot of the disputed land.

A crowd of characters accompany the hero upon his thorny road; but—in accordance with the usual Bartsch method—they are not so much individuals, as mouth-pieces of the author. They bear different names, belong to different sexes, and even

possess different qualities, but all, or nearly all, speak with the tongue of Rudolf Hans Bartsch. With the exception of the few Slavs who do no more than flit across the pages, they are all as profoundly convinced as he is himself of the superiority of the German race to all others. Not that Bartsch is naïve enough to say so plainly. Indeed, he is too much of an artist not to throw a few shadows into the picture, and even to let a few stray rays of light rest upon his antagonists. Thus, among a wilderness of chauvinistic Slav priests, he places one solitary example of tolerance and evangelical charity. He admits that the Slav peasants possess both minds and hearts, and really would be all right, if only they would not listen to anti-German agitators. In one passage he goes so far as to express his belief that even among educated Slavs some decent men may be found. But these concessions are so obviously made for the sake of being able to say 'See how impartial we are!' that they alter nothing about the trend of the book. In the choice of passages to illustrate this there is a veritable *embarras de richesses*, but the following must serve:

'Reconquest!' [cried Georg]. 'What sort of a reconquest is this, compared to the German invasion of a thousand years back? The German came with the Bible and the book of Nibelungen in his hand; with song, fiddle, harp, and hero's tale. But he also cleared forests, dried swamps, built castles and churches, fortified towns, and brought with him a great breath of relief, a higher existence—as a god might do! Like the Archangel Michael, who soared down from the skies to kill the dragon, he conquered this land. But this nation crawls upon us out of the depth of venomous envy, and strikes from below into our entrails!' etc., etc.

And again, this passage of a speech made to German hearers:

'Out of the wealth of the German soul let us bestow gifts upon our antagonists, and continue to bestow until they grow up to become our brothers. Let us open to them the wonders of our language, of our culture, so that the souls of their children, flowering richly and reconciled, should one day stand up in testimony against their fathers, who would have destroyed what is German. For each sorrow, for each injury and each shame which they inflict upon us we will answer with a German school; shall we not?'

This remains the supreme offence of the Slav: the rejection of German culture, and the preposterous ambition to develop his own. Now, although I do not think that any sane and unbiassed person has ever dreamt of underrating German culture, it may perhaps be permitted to doubt whether this is the right way to set about spreading it. Certainly it is not to this method that the English language owes its world-supremacy. Can it be an

insult to the German tongue to suggest that it can safely be trusted to take care of itself? In their doings the Styrian Germans—as well as Bartsch himself—seem to have calculated without one deep-rooted quality of human nature: the spirit of contradiction. If the German school were not so persistently crammed down the Slav throat, it is more than likely that, by this time, its manifold advantages would have done their own work. In German ears the unbroken panegyric sounds sweetly, no doubt; but we others, while reading on page after page about 'the German soul,' 'the German heart,' 'the German mind,' as well as of countless 'dear German faces,' and 'dear German eyes,' and 'dear German lips,' are apt to get somewhat restive, and to wonder whether the 'dear German arms and legs, and fingers and toes,' are not coming next.

What makes the book significant is that it is written, not by a German, but an Austrian subject. There comes a moment in the tale when Georg, disheartened by his failures and unable any longer to look on at the 'sufferings' of his people, resolves to emigrate to his 'real home.'

'Yes, endless longing—home-sickness for the German Empire overcame him!'

He is at Salzburg when this happens; and on the top of a high tower, while watching the cloud-banks to the South, he makes the following reflections:

> 'So lie darkness, battle, and heavy clouds over Austrian minds, while over there, in the holy German Empire, the heavens glow like the golden ground of a royal, Byzantine picture! There is the sun—there the great light flames and shines—there all is fair, free, and clear! Oh, thou home of my soul, thou land of my great poets, thou mighty empire—to thee do I belong!'

Next day Georg makes a sort of '*general repetition*' of his emigration, by taking a walk to the Bavarian frontier, so as to get at least 'a mouthful of German air,' and press his foot upon the 'holy' soil. On the Austrian side he sees many things which displease him—even the trees, which are rare and scraggy. From time to time a cleanly looking village. 'Aha!' he comments, 'the German neighbourhood.' When crossing the bridge which marks the frontier he steps as people do in church. He would like best of all to throw himself on the ground and kiss it, but is deterred from this by the presence of a customs official sitting behind the blue-and-white barrier. On the other side of that magic line the world seems transformed. The very road appears to Georg about twice as broad as Austrian roads, and the trees which shade it twice as tall and luxuriant as Austrian trees.

[illegible] nodding horses would it be suitable to drive into the land of [illegible] and greatness. Tears started to his eyes.

'Germany! Germany! My Empire!'

Thus writes—or rather, rhapsodises—a man who, until lately, still wore the Austrian uniform—a fact which, especially when viewed in the light of the enormous success achieved by the book, furnishes food for reflection.

In the event Georg recovers from his rapture sufficiently to recognise his duty towards his co-nationalists in the South, and therefore to renounce the 'home of his soul' and that land of freedom in which police regulations thrive so luxuriantly. It is some time after this that he settles in Styria, and sets about paving a little bit of the way which is to lead to the Adriatic.

It seems hardly fair to close this notice without saying more of the wonderful word-pictures already mentioned, and which shine like gorgeously flaming, or tenderly tinted, landscapes through all of this author's novels—Styrian landscapes, by preference. Bartsch is—to express it un-academically—'cracked upon' Styria. This first became apparent in his *Zwölf aus der Steiermark* (*Twelve Men from Styria*), but *Das Deutsche Leid* beats it in this respect. According to Bartsch, there is no spot on earth worth living on—not even the holy German Empire, apparently—but Southern Styria.

> 'Ah!' [cries his mouthpiece Georg, in one of his ecstasies], 'if all the sick hearts in the German Empire knew how we live here—here in the Styrian infinity! In troops they would come and settle in this world, blessed above all belief, teeming with restfulness, a fulfilment above fulfilments!'

And further on:

> 'Come all ye who are weary of the toils of the market-place, the noise of the cities, the vanity of society, and enter into the wonderful rest of these hills! Ye Germans, do not let this paradise of peace, this dreamland of home-sick hearts, this sunny, southern Styria be torn from you!'

All through the book the southern vineyards lie as a glowing background, the miniature windmills rattle in the breeze, scaring the birds from the ripening grapes, the earth smells good, while the winter storms roar almost audibly, and the summer sun shines well-nigh palpably upon a world of which not a charm escapes this seer's eyes.

Although the subject is not much in fashion nowadays, I should like to mention that the morals of this novel belong to what has sometimes been defined as 'farmyard morals.' The couples pair and unpair again as light-heartedly as the birds of the air; conjugal fidelity is, at best, indulgently smiled at, and

its opposite treated as an excellent joke. It is true that the hero himself ends by conquering an illegal passion; but that is only because all along he has been too busy with his soul to have much attention over for less-exalted things.

But for once farmyard morals have their uses, since they are responsible for a regular treat in the way of character-drawing. For the sake of Willibald Himmelmayer alone it is worth while swallowing the Germanic raptures. In the person of this delightfully irresponsible, perversely fascinating musical genius and *roué* the system of morals aforenamed finds its concentrated expression. It is thus that Bartsch first introduces him:

> For the taste of light-hearted people he was the very distillation of an artist; his existence and his life were, in a sort of way, the ether-like essence of well-being. It was like the foam of champagne; for no earthly weight could trouble this divine profligate.

Besides a passion for music, Himmelmayer has a passion for Nature, with whom he lives on a footing of personal intimacy, into which he is eagerly ready to introduce others. Hence his influence over Georg Botzenhardt.

> 'Master, dear Master' [the young man pleads in one of his moments of love-sickness]; 'lead me into your life, and let me forget the girl who consumes my blood like poison; weave your magic moods around me!'

Upon which Himmelmayer says: 'Hah! then let us get into the country!' and carries him off to a hill-top.

> So once more they started off through the autumnal world on the search for impressions—one of those pilgrimages in which nothings are of all-importance. The mirror-like qualities of a black forest-pool were enough cause for rejoicing, as was also the turquoise blue of the heavens which, from another point of view, the small bit of water reflected. . . . The world seemed as deserted, as though nothing more than asters, turnips, and shreds of mist remained upon the scrap-heap of the year; but, with a word of joy and gratitude, the light-hearted musician enriched impoverished Nature. He said, while pointing to the mill in the valley: 'Listen, Georg, to the merry, digestive work! "Into the sack! Into the sack!" That is the great return into ourselves—the internal reception of all God's gifts.'

Presently Himmelmayer whispers: 'Hark!' for, long before his companion, he has noted the rising of the wind.

> And as though soft, innumerable drums were beating, the patter of the horse-chestnuts began. The many, many loosened fruits bounded against the earth, and rolled deliciously for nine, ten, eleven seconds. The trees still stood expectant, before settling back into calm; only here and there, like the titter of some tender reminiscence, a single chestnut dropped on the hard earth. And there was again nothing but suggestion, and the deeply transparent, tepid, splendidly shining night.
>
> 'Heavens—that was beautiful!' said Georg in a whisper.

Himmelmayer, to whom such trifles of Nature were just as important and rejoiceful as to the youngster, purred like a satisfied tom-cat.

'Ah, yes, *der liebe Gott* and I often make these little arrangements. This one was quite successful, was it not?'

Himmelmayer is so completely devoid of moral sense that scrupulous persons can only enjoy his society with an uneasy conscience, and yet cannot quite escape enjoying it. He who feels nothing but shocked when the frivolous musician sets off on a foot-tour, in the company of Georg, in order to visit a whole collection of old sweethearts—he has one in about every second village—must indeed be inexorable; and any person who maintains his gravity while the incorrigible Don Juan is building up artistic dams in the cart-ruts in order to shake awake the sleepers on the top of hay-wagons, and thus enable him to pass in review the rustic beauties of the neighbourhood, must be of resisting constitution.

But he is not a Don Juan alone. The scene in which, having at last become conscious of vanished youth, he first sinks into despondency, then, rising above it, takes refuge at the piano, in order to give musical expression to the emotions convulsing him, lends a touch of grandeur to this extravagant figure.

It was splendid; and Himmelmayer smiled, entranced, through the roll and the purling of the harmonies. He was delivered. *The approach of age* was to be the title of his work; a wonderful symphony which gave tongue to his lamentations, his terrors, his accusations against God, his useless prayers, out of which, with growing triumph the solution rose higher and higher: Work—clear and serene work!

Needless to say that anybody called Himmelmayer must be as German as his surroundings; yet his ways are refreshingly un-German. 'Politics and the national question give me pains in my inside,' he once remarks to Georg. Not that he is indifferent to his own people, but that he is, in first line, an artist. He wears his nationality gaily, 'like a nosegay in his buttonhole.'

While making our way through *The German Sorrow*, we were sometimes tempted to wish that others among the characters would wear it in this fashion, which, on the whole, seems preferable to wielding it as a sledge-hammer.

To those politicians upon whose programme the severance between Austria and German interests figures conspicuously, *German Sorrow* will not prove very comforting reading.

Among other novels of the 'national' category there are several which would deserve a fuller notice than I am here able to give them. *Lieb Vaterland*, for instance, by Rudolf Stratz—

another significant title. The moral and upshot of this excellently written story is that there is no happiness in the world compared to that of being born a German—and in particular a Prussian subject, as Margarethe von Teufern, the daughter of a retired General, learns by bitter experience. Partly out of ambition, and partly out of *pique* towards Lieutenant Lünemann, to whom she has been rather hopelessly engaged for two years, she marries Karl Feddersen, an international millionaire, who, German by origin, is naturalised in Russia and domiciled at Paris. Lünemann has been offered a business post, which would enable him to marry his 'Grete' on the spot; but hearing that he will be expected to act against the interests of German financiers, refuses on patriotic grounds; whereupon 'Grete,' whose ideas are broader, gives him back his ring and accepts Feddersen. Her family are both dazzled and horrified by her choice. Much good advice is given. 'Our wishes accompany you, dearest Grete,' says her uncle at the betrothal supper. 'May you cultivate a piece of Germany on the banks of the Seine—spread a genuine Prussian spirit in the strange land!'

To which Grete very rationally remarks:

'What do you expect of me? After all, I can't run about Paris with a black-and-white-and-red flag in my hand!'

When questioned as to what he considers to be his nationality, Feddersen answers: 'Perhaps several. The barriers between nations are daily falling.'

They look at him uncomfortably. A man without a nationality! Worse still, a man with a German name, of German origin, and who has voluntarily renounced this supreme privilege!

'Remain German!' is the burden of the warning which the old General gives his daughter on the way.

In point of fact Grete never has been very German, but she gradually becomes it—in Paris, of all places in the world.

This takes time, of course. She first has to pass through the inevitable intoxication of money; and she even feels rather shocked at the extremely tactless reminiscences of '71 which the General sees fit to air on the occasion of his first visit to his daughter. Gradually she develops wants which money cannot supply. She asks her husband for sympathy and understanding, and he gives her cheques. She sings and reads to him, and he either falls asleep or else does sums in his head. He cannot imagine what ails her. Are not the wives of his brothers and co-partners quite satisfied with exactly this sort of life? Yes, but she has far deeper needs—needs of the soul; and this again because she is a German, whereas the others are only American and Russian.

It is on the occasion of her child's christening, and in answer

[illegible]

[illegible] speech made by a fanatic Alsatian, that she rediscovers her nationality.

'I am the daughter of a Prussian General!' she proclaims; 'I forbid you to preach the *revanche* against my Fatherland—here, at my table!' Then, throwing back her head, and with challenging eyes: 'Try it if you will! March to the Rhine! You will soon come back with bleeding heads!'

To cut a long story short, the marriage is a failure; and, her boy being dead (nursed to death by French methods, in contradistinction to German ones, which would, of course, have saved him), her husband, moreover, having furnished her with ample grounds for a divorce, Grete flies back to her own country, a prodigal daughter, beating her breast and loudly proclaiming that she has sinned against Heaven and against her Fatherland. The closing tableau shows the repentant Grete in the arms of the faithful Lünemann, and standing in the shadow of a gigantic Bismarck monument which, 'built of massive stone, as though for eternity, stands sentinel at the gates of the Empire' (the scene being Hamburg).

The evening light lay around his mighty head. His eyes looked down upon the couple at his feet and, further on, towards final distances—blessing the German land.

It is safe to assert that, among those 'final distances' of Bismarckian dreams, there figures that same blue 'Adria' of which we have heard so much to-day.

I have said that the story is excellently written, and this not only because German chauvinism is here not paired with German heaviness, but also because the people are marvellously alive and the atmosphere convincingly real. Rarely has the *milieu* of financial Paris been better suggested, nor the all-devouring, all-paralysing effect of money been more vividly brought home. 'I am always afraid of mistaking him for his own money-safe in the corner,' says the General of his son-in-law; 'there is a confounded likeness between the two.' But although in time the human money-safe develops into something like a brute, one cannot quite suppress a sort of sneaking sympathy with the much-worried man of business, upon whom the 'needs of the soul' of his very superior German wife press so persistently.

I should have liked to do more than merely name Walter Bloem's *Das Eiserne Jahr* (*The Iron Year*), whose trenchantly vivid battle-pieces have been compared, not unjustly, to the painted ones of Vereschtschagin, but that a story of a very different type seems to call for more attention.

It is a woman's voice that speaks this time, and, in speaking, brings something like a discord into the chorus of glorification

Under the curious title of *Nach dem Dritten Kinde* (*After the Third Child*), Helene von Mühlau brings no less than an accusation against the Fatherland. 'From the diary of an officer's wife,' runs the sub-title; and it is behind the scenes of German military life that we are invited to throw a glance. It shows us a different picture indeed from its glittering front. That 'brilliant misery,' to which the uniform is so often but a mask, has, in Helene von Mühlau, found a new chronicler.

This is essentially a woman's story, and as poignant as only a woman's story can be.

Erich and Rose have married with the minimum of fortune demanded by the German Government. His subaltern pay barely suffices for daily needs, and leaves nothing over for the indispensable 'appearances.' The man himself is something of an egoist; but the record of Rose's married life is that of one of those small, daily martyrdoms which are reserved for women alone. Three children arrive in rapid succession—all girls. When for the fourth time she sees motherhood approaching, the unfortunate Rose, goaded by the half-insane dread of the announcement to be made to her husband, allows herself—without his knowledge—to be tempted to the commission of a criminal act. Blackmailed for months by a ruffian who has scented the secret, she finally sees herself forced to a confession, under the first impression of which Erich orders her from the house. In the end he comes to his senses, and the letter in which he sues for his wife's forgiveness is worth quoting in part. For its better understanding it must be explained that, after having, for years, vainly striven to attain either an appointment in the colonies or a civilian post at home, Erich has at last made up his mind to accept an American offer:

'The longer and the deeper I reflect upon all that you have done, the more unbounded does my gratitude to you become, and at the same time my anger against—how shall I say it? . . . against our Fatherland, which does not give us bread for ourselves and for our three children.

It has cost me a hard struggle before I said to myself: "In Germany and in German colonies we go to meet our ruin!"

I *wanted* to believe in my Fatherland, Rose—I *wanted* to remain German! But it is an impossibility!

If nothing else would have helped to persuade me, that which you have done—which you believed yourself bound to do—would have dispersed my last doubts. . . . Is it not terrible that the wife of a Prussian officer should be driven to such a step, should be forced to seek relief from material want in such a fashion? . . .

Our protectorates do not offer the required field. The population which in the best case they could accommodate would be supplemented at home within a few weeks.

And thus a man, who, like me, has wife and children to support . . . is virtually reduced to look for a living elsewhere. Here in Germany an

...er who, pressed by necessity, wishes to change his profession, meets only ...trust and closed doors. . . .

'That goal which, within our Fatherland, we strove for in vain, we hope ...reach out there, and to secure for our children a future free of that want ...ich could not have failed to be their lot in Germany.' . . .

As the sting of the wasp lies in its tail, so the point of the ...ok lies in this concluding letter, and the point of the letter, ...ain, is clearly the burning need of more colonies—and, conse...ently, of more ships—though these are not so much as ...entioned.

So, after all, this woman's story ends with a very man-like ...gument.

I have space left only for a single specimen of another sort ...novel, a sort in which the national trumpet is not blown, and ...cupied with a theme which stands far above nationalities. ...e *Beiden Hänse*—for which the English equivalent might be ...e *Two Jacks*—reads like the final conclusion of one whose ...tlook has grown wider, whose views have mellowed with the ...mbing of the steps of life. The disciples of Ernst Haeckl ...d Co. will perhaps retort that it is not Peter Rosegger's ...ews that have mellowed, but his brain that has softened. ...deed, it is not clear what else they could say. This is a point ...e settling of which can safely be left to the reader.

Not that this can be called a controversial novel. Dogmas ...e ignored. Never is there any attempt at reconciling Revela...on and Science. Indeed, I can fancy readers of the superficial ...rt getting half through *Die Beiden Hänse* before they discover ...at they are not reading a panegyric of Free-thought, joined to ...e inevitable attack upon the Catholic Church. More attentive ...more acute people will have had their doubts from the first. The ...ry virulence of the speeches made by a certain learned pro...ssor will have aroused their suspicions. The real inveterate ...emies of religion are apt to be more subtle than that. ...resently upon even the superficial reader it will have begun ...dawn that the subtlety, this time, is all on the other side. ...the plentiful abuse poured upon religion by the majority of ...e characters, no refutation is made. The one person who ...ight have been expected to 'answer back' never attempts to ...fend his theories, but simply *lives* them, with the result that ...e reader lays down the book, impressed, for the moment at ...ast, by the *débâcle* of materialism at the hands of simple-...inded faith.

The story itself is enthralling beyond the average.

The two heroes of the tale are two youths whom an identity ...name—both answering to that of Johann Schmied—has turned ...st to antagonists, and then into fast friends. Hans is short

for Johann; thenceforward they become known as 'Die beiden Hänse.'

Hans the elder is tall, supple, light-hearted to the verge of flippancy; Hans the younger, short, round-faced, cheerful, though the reverse of talkative. At the opening of the story both have just terminated their 'secondary' studies. The moment for choosing a profession has come. A fateful discussion upon this point takes place in an Alpine hay-loft—for our heroes are celebrating their exit from school by a mountain tour, and are held prisoners by a premature snow-storm, in the company of a mysterious elderly tourist, who presently discloses himself as Professor Weisspandtner, one of the lights of the medical world. Questioned by the friendly old gentleman as to their choice of profession, Big Hans replies that there is no hurry about that—he must first take a look round; while Little Hans stolidly announces that he means to become a priest. Upon the Professor the word has the proverbial effect of the red rag upon the bull. He lets loose a harangue, of which the following is a fragment:

'Every profession can bear the light of truth better than that of the priest. If he is true as man and thinker, he becomes a scandal to so-called pious souls, and the Church shakes him off. You, my young friends, have looked into the life of the mind. . . . Science has taught you the hollowness of Religion and the coming triumph of *Truth*. And now you would go back into the narrow, dark cell, will have to tell others what you do not know yourselves—assure them of things which you do not believe—*cannot* believe, since no one can tear out his own brain! Become a priest, indeed! Have you found no friend to tell you what that means?'

To which Big Hans makes the flippant retort:—

'To believe or not to believe, that wouldn't trouble me; all I want is a chicken in my cooking-pot.'

'Wretch!' laughed Little Hans, who took this for a joke.

The Professor goes on to extol his ideal of Truth:

'What our senses cannot prove has no existence . . . the recognition of this fact is what we call Truth—the real Truth, you understand—not the imaginary Truth of the rhapsodist.'

Little Hans here asked:

'Why is so great a difference made between real and imaginary truth? Is not the imaginary truth real too—firstly because it *is*, and secondly because it has results?'

'Dear me, how clever Hanserl has become!' called out the elder student.

'Listen to me,' said the little one, growing vivacious beyond his habit; 'among all my schoolfellows I had the least pocket-money, and yet you called me "Lucky Hans." That was because I imagined myself in possession of all the good things which the others could buy, and imagined them

[illegible] beautiful thing they really were. This I always was "Little" [illegible]. How, then, can something that is not real have such great [illegible]?'

[I]n reply the Professor kindly enlightens him regarding the [influ]ence of digestion upon imagination, and explains further that [the] only Science which in his eyes deserves the name of such is [the s]tudy of the human body. The words 'good' and 'bad'—[h]e teaches—express only different chemical consistencies of [b]lood; and the stomach is the workshop of all action, whether [men]tal or physical. 'The world's history, gentlemen, is brewed [in th]e stomach.'

[I]n this conversation the key-note of the book is struck: the [stru]ggle between the two sorts of truth—the material and the [...].

[A]s a result Big Hans resolves to study medicine, while Little [Han]s, smilingly unmoved by the Professor's arguments, remains [true] to his priestly vocation.

[N]ext day their roads part—for good. Only three times in [life] will they meet again.

[S]oon Hans the elder is sitting at the feet of Professor [...]sspandtner, who has taken a fancy to the gay, light-hearted [yout]h. Already the student has become a welcome guest in [the] Professor's family circle, and presently begins to wonder [whi]ch of his two daughters he would like best to marry, only [to c]ome to the conclusion that he would rather not marry either. [...]cha, the elder, the depressed possessor of a million in her [own] right, is anything but exhilarating company, while Evelana, [the y]ounger, is one of those brilliant, modern minxes who know [ever]ything about everything—in their own belief, anyway—and [who]se form of flirtation is scientific arguments with young men [—th]e more indelicate the theme the better, of course—the [defe]ated antagonist being comforted by generously dispensed [favo]urs. As she happens to be very pretty, the antagonists are [gene]rally not so stupid as ever to remain victorious.

[O]ne day Hans meets her fluttering down the steps of the [*Clini*]*que*, smiling, glowing, lively as an escaped butterfly. 'Com[rade]!' she cried, with arms spread wide, 'to-day you can have [a ki]ss!' He accepts the offer, and she flutters on, wreathed [in g]irlish laughter.

[T]he causes of her jubilation? The corpse of a dragoon whom, [unde]r the eyes of the medical authorities, she had just successfully [dissе]cted; and the compliments showered on the performance.

[B]ut although neither of the sisters hits off Hans's taste, he [has], nevertheless, resolved to make his choice between them, [sinc]e of course a money-marriage is one of the conditions of that [worl]dly success which, according to the Professor, is the one

thing worth aiming at. A man's only duty is towards his own social existence—so he has been taught; such things as pity, love, self-sacrifice, are but degenerate excrescences of culture, and have got to be healed, if humanity is to remain robust.

Acting upon these principles, Hans selects the elder Fräulein Weisspandtner, as being the better-dowered of the two, and on the day on which he takes his degree is solemnly betrothed to her.

But his heart is heavy in the midst of his triumph. In the Siebensterngasse, where he lodges, there is a certain brown-haired, gentle-eyed Lieserl, whose budding charms he has watched unfold. In unguarded moments he has indulged in dreams; but for matrimonial purposes she is, of course, not to be thought of; and for others—the mother is far too vigilant.

It is on the evening of his betrothal that Hans realises what Lieserl has become to him. From the festive board at which his double victory is being celebrated amid the popping of many corks, some power draws him irresistibly to the Siebensterngasse. His visit is ostensibly meant for Lieserl's sick mother; but his patient is asleep, and the unprotected girl, who knows nothing of his engagement, succumbs to his wine-heated passion.

In the next chapter we find the new-made doctor established in a handsome suite of apartments and waiting for his first patient. Here it is that, after a long pause, a sign of life reaches him from his old schoolfellow. Once only in the interval have the two namesakes met; it was during their first holidays, when Big Hans had noted, to his pain, that Little Hans remained as bigoted as ever, and attempts an appeal to his reason.

'Do you know, Hans,' he said regretfully, 'I am sorry for you? Do you not shudder at this bottomless hypocrisy? The stupid peasants know no better; but you! you with your straightforward mind, your education! You can't want to go on playing this comedy?'

The little one made no reply, and they continued along the dark, deserted road.

. . . Then he noticed that the theologian was softly sobbing. Instantly pity seized him. 'He is crying over his own misfortune!' he thought, and continued with fresh vigour: 'Hans, see here, I know you, and I know that Truth is your highest ideal. I have never caught you in a lie. . . . Truth, too, is that which I mean to live for when I am my own master. Have you never reflected, my friend, how great a thing Truth is? And have you ever asked yourself seriously what Truth is?'

The little theologian was silent.

'Have you really never asked yourself?'

Little Hans spoke not a word.

Thus they had walked on in the dark night. Now they reached a wood, where, under high trees, there stood an object, high and narrow, barely visible. Little Hans stood still. He took a box from his pocket and struck a match. In the circle of light a way-side pillar was disclosed—in a niche

the figure of the risen Christ, above it the roughly painted words: 'I am the Truth. He who believes in me shall be saved.'

That much was seen; then the little flame went out, and it was darker than before.

That had been three years ago. Now Hans holds in his hands an invitation of his friend to be present at his *Primiz*—the first Mass he is to read. Grimly Big Hans accepts—for the village in question is the very one at which he has engaged himself to hold a rationalist lecture. Lately he has joined a society called 'Progress,' whose chief task is to 'enlighten' the peasant mind. What an excellent opportunity for crossing arms with his retrogressive friend!

But matters take an unlooked-for turn. The thick-skulled peasants, always suspicious of the 'town-folk,' attempt to storm the lecture-room, which Hans, rather than preach to empty benches, has seen fit to fill with disciples of 'Progress,' telegraphically summoned; and only the personal interference of the new-made priest saves himself and his friends from extremely rough usage. It is thanks to Little Hans's influence that Big Hans is able to reel off his arguments to an audience to whom they are anything but new. This speech, so far as the noise outside let it be audible, started from Darwin's theory of descent, went on to natural selection, and ended with Nietzsche's 'Masterman.'

One single rustic hearer was present, who sat there as devoutly as though he were in church. A cow-herd. He told his family afterwards that the whole thing had not been so very sinful after all. The gentleman had spoken about the elections, and about cattle-breeding, but in so fine a language that you couldn't well get at the sense of it.

With rage in his heart, Hans returns to the capital and to his *fiancée*. Also to Lieserl. But not for long. Her mother is dead, which has removed the only obstacle to his sinful passion. One day a small packet is brought to him, and out of it fall the few trifling gifts he has given her—and a scrap of paper, bearing the words: 'Farewell. May God forgive you!—Elizabeth.'

She has discovered his engagement, and this is her reply to it. Hans hurries to the Siebensterngasse, and finds her flown.

Presently he is invited to take part in the dissection of a 'Donau Nixe,' the students' flippant nickname for a drowned woman. Hans has lately been dreaming of drowned women, and shudderingly questions his comrade:

'A murder?'
'No, evidently suicide.'
'Have you seen her?'
'Yes; she hasn't been bathing for long.'
'Have you seen her yourself?'

'Yes, I tell you!'

'Is she old?'

'Since when do old women go into the water?' laughed the other. 'Unluckily it is always the young ones.'

'Her height?' jerked out Hans.

'Oh, about middle, I think.'

'Any special marks?'

'Oh, bother this shop talk! I noticed only the beautiful hair.'

'Brown?'

'Maybe. It was wet, you see, and therefore dark.'

'Brown, then?'

'Oh, I have no objection to its being brown. You can look at her yourself, if she interests you.'

Hans, goaded as though by scorpions, goes back to the Siebensterngasse. Surely she will be back by this time. But the lodging is deserted. He drives at full gallop to the *clinique*. The anatomical section is locked up. And then begins the night—the long, terrible night, of which he spends a part pacing the shores of the Danube, and another part laughing at his own fears.

It is during this night that, amid pangs indescribable, his soul is born. The phases of the process are noted with the hand of a master.

Why should she be dead, after all? Why just she? Are not people daily fished out of the Danube? . . . He lay down in his clothes. . . . Pity, compassion—stupid weaknesses. And pity with the dead, who do not suffer! It was good to remember that. Strange that his legs should tremble. It had grown quiet all around. And now he slumbered. Of fair days of childhood he dreamed—for a few minutes only. Then she stretched towards him. From the bier which stood close to the bed she stretched a stiff, clay-cold hand. Upon his head she laid it, and stroked over his hair—with a stiff, clay-cold hand. He started up. What was this? The beat of his heart echoed in his temples. . . . 'Does she want to mock me all my life long? Has she done it, perhaps, in order to torture me?—No, Elizabeth, if you had really loved me you would not have done this.—So she *is* lying in the anatomical chamber. And you, Hans Schmied, have gone far'—thus he apostrophised himself; 'of others you demand everything, but you will neither give nor suffer anything. Never again was she to come to light, so that nothing should disturb your voluptuous life. . . . No breath of remorse should trouble the seducer, the betrayer who has destroyed her happiness, strangled her young life.'

When the grey morning looked in by the windows Hans had touched the depths of self-contempt. Beyond this point a man cannot go. Now he waited only for the truth; he must see her with his own eyes; and then . . .'

He goes to the *clinique*, but with a loaded revolver in his pocket.

'We have kept the nymph for you,' said his colleague of yesterday, 'since you seem to take an interest in her.'

Hans searched with his eyes. There, on the table by the window, lay the muffled object. He went straight towards it. With convulsed fingers

...k hold of the grey linen, to strip it from the shape beneath. 'Who... this veil shall see Truth!' A quick movement, and the body lay bare ...e him.

Is it—is it this one?' he asked, panting.

The one I told you of yesterday.'

Hans looked round the room and again at the body. The terrific strain ...xed. He fell upon a wooden chair, uttering a long-drawn sound. . . . students exchanged startled glances. That is the way madmen laugh, ...y bent over him—then he raised his head, grinning with amazement, eyes wide and empty, and spoke into the empty air: 'It is not she!'

After a short but sharp illness Hans recovers his health, but his plan of life; that lies shattered at his feet. The theories, ...ourse, are all right in themselves, but unfortunately he is the man to put them into practice, his will being corroded the canker of Pity. He breaks off his engagement and sets in search of his lost mistress. He searches in town and ...ntry, he searches for years, but Lieserl has vanished beyond ...ken. Sometimes, in moments of desolation, his spirit yearns ...ards his old schoolfellow, the only friend he has ever had. ...at has become of Little Hans? Big Hans scarcely knows. ... that has reached him is a report of a conflict with the ...esiastical authorities, and of the young priest's banishment to ...-called punitive post. An affair with a housekeeper, it is ...: quite an ordinary occurrence.

Six years have passed when Hans finds himself once more ...ibing his native Alps, in the company of an eccentric Yankee, ... doses himself with mountains as with medicine, but likes ...ave medical assistance at hand. And now it is that, reach... a bleak, stony spot, where a wretched little wooden church ...ds among half-a-dozen hovels, Hans finds himself face to ... both with his lost sweetheart and his lost friend. This ...ntain pilgrimage is Little Hans's exile, and Lieserl is the ...sekeeper who has been the cause of the banishment, while fair-haired boy who gambols by her side is the doctor's own ...ndoned son.

Wild jealousy seizes upon him. Although, from his school...ow's own lips, he hears the story of how he had picked up fainting woman, literally upon the high-road, and incurred ...vour by his refusal to turn her and her child out of doors; ...ough in face of Little Hans's candid eyes—as candid as in ...r old school-days—and of his straightforward: 'Nothing wrong happened—be sure of that!' suspicions droop, yet Big Hans ...s too profoundly guilty to be able to believe in such innocence. heart is torn between bitterness and pity; for Little Hans's ... is neither so round nor so rosy as it used to be, and his ...y voice tells the medical man that he is doomed, and that icy blasts of this exposed spot are hastening the doom.

When at last Hans gains speech with his old love, it is no gentle-eyed Lieserl who confronts him, but a stern-faced Elizabeth, with a hard line about her mouth and something like hate in her eyes. In answer to his passionate appeal he hears terrible truths. She will have none of this tardy atonement; nor will she, for his sake, desert the man who, without any claims of the flesh, has fulfilled towards their child those fatherly duties which he himself has so shamefully neglected—the man whom she reveres as a saint.

> Then Elizabeth straightened herself. 'So you think that I will go away with you—now? That I will abandon the only man who has ever sacrificed himself for us—leave him alone—and ill? Anyone who could think that——' She could not get the hard word to cross her lips.

Hans turns away, cowed at last by her merciless hardness, and Elizabeth, having watched him out of sight, falls sobbing upon a stone.

Before night a snowstorm sweeps over the mountains, and the household anxiously await the return of the young priest, who is scouring the neighbourhood, in search of struggling wayfarers. He returns after dark, with his cloak frozen on to his jacket; and five days later Hans and Elizabeth are kneeling, one on each side of his bed. 'If only I had not to miss my service!' he moans; then looks from one to the other: 'Be sensible—because of the boy!'

> Then softly he drew her hand on to his breast and then his. 'Stay by me. Say a prayer. After all, to die'—he paused, struggling for breath, 'to die is also a service.'
>
> That much could be heard. Then convulsively he drew the two hands closer, and breathed heavily, and breathed painfully, and breathed no more. It was the end.
>
> And when it was over, and Hans and Elizabeth awoke from their stupor, they found that upon his motionless breast, their two hands lay clasped.

I do not think that any reader of *Die Beiden Hänse* will consider that the name of Peter Rosegger, though old of sound, has cause to hide itself before the most brilliant of new names. In the midst of the desert of pessimism in which we wander nowadays, it is something to find an observer of life who does not despair of human nature.

DOROTHEA GERARD
(MADAME LONGARD DE LONGGARDE).

Vienna.

THE THEOLOGY OF MILTON

The influence of Milton, through his writings in prose and poetry, upon Christian theological belief in England and in the English-speaking world is one of the strangest paradoxes in literary history. For he was almost the last person who might have been expected to control or direct the thought of Christians within, as well as without, the Church of England. He was estranged by wide differences of belief and practice from the great body of his Christian fellow-countrymen. He was neither a Churchman nor an Episcopalian. What were his views of Episcopal Government is only too well known from his treatise *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, from his *Reason of Church-government urged against Prelaty*, and from his *Animadversions upon the Remonstrants' Defence against Smectymnuus*. It is true indeed, as this article will, I hope, show, that Milton was not always consistent in his theological or ecclesiastical position. But his treatise *Of Christian Doctrine* is sufficient evidence of the conclusions to which he was gradually led upon the main articles of the Christian Faith. He was not an orthodox Trinitarian in his doctrine relating either to the Second or to the Third Person of the Sacred Trinity. He was not a believer in the independent life of the soul apart from the body, or in the life of the soul at all between death and resurrection. In his estimate of matter he came at times perilously near to Pantheism. He decisively rejected infant baptism; he was opposed on principle to Liturgies and all set forms of prayer. He was an advocate of divorce, and in certain circumstances of polygamy. He was an anti-Sabbatarian, and at the last he was almost an alien from the rules and practices of Christianity. Toland says of him: 'In the latter part of his life he was not a professed member of any particular sect among Christians; he frequented none of their assemblies, nor made use of their peculiar rites in his family.' It is not altogether easy to define Milton's theological or ecclesiastical position; but he seems to have drifted surely, if slowly, away from orthodox or established Christianity into a Christian belief and habit of his own. Masson, speaking of his heterodoxy, says: 'His drift may have begun about 1643, when he changed his temporary

Presbyterianism or semi-Presbyterianism in Church-government or Independency or Congregationalism, breaking off from the Presbyterians and associating himself rather with the freer Independent and miscellaneous sects in the interest of his special Divorce controversy.'[1]

Yet Milton, in spite of his theological errors or eccentricities, has by his writings produced a strong and lasting, if not altogether happy, effect upon the mind of English-speaking Christendom. It is he more than anyone else who is responsible for the literal acceptance of the early narratives in the Book of Genesis. The story of the Garden of Eden is so lightly touched by the author of Genesis, and lends itself so easily to allegorical interpretation, that its literal accuracy was never a recognised part of the Christian Creed until after the Reformation, and, indeed, until after the publication of *Paradise Lost.* Fathers of the Church such as Clement of Alexandria, and still more Origen in the East, or even Ambrose, Augustine, and to some extent Jerome, in the West, were content to look upon the early chapters of Genesis as embodying spiritual truth under the guise of allegory or poetry. But to Milton and to the reformed Christian bodies in England after him, not only the Fall of man in itself, but the incidents and accidents of the Fall, the garden, the serpent as the tempter, the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and the apple as the fatal fruit of the tree, were actual prosaic verities. It is Milton too who has stamped the character of Satan with a certain moral dignity which finds no warrant in the Bible. Above all, it is he who has instilled into Christian hearts and minds the widely spread, if partly latent, Arian, or semi-Arian, conception of our Lord's Personality. Wherever Christians, or at least English Christians, in the last two or three centuries have consciously or unconsciously regarded the Second Person of the Trinity as a Being, however exalted in Himself, yet distinct from and inferior to the First Person, they have probably been influenced by the teaching of Milton in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, if not in his more explicit treatise *Of Christian Doctrine.*

It is probable that no part of Milton's religious or theological teaching has achieved so little practical result in Christendom, at least among orthodox Christians, as his theory of the relation between man and wife in Holy Matrimony.

He put forward his strange views not only in the treatise entitled *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, of which the first edition was published in 1643, but also in *The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce*, published in 1644, in *Tetrachordon Expositions upon the Foure Chiefe Places in Scripture*

[1] *Life of John Milton*, vol. vi. p. 839.

[illegible] of Marriage [illegible] *Colasterion*, a reply to a nameless answer against the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, published in 1644-5.

The principle of *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* is expressed in its full original title, *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce: Restor'd to the good of both Sexes, from the Bondage of Canon Law, and other Mistakes, to the true meaning of Scripture in the Law and Gospel compar'd. Wherin also are set down the bad consequences of abolishing or condemning of Sin, that which the Law of God allowes, and Christ abolisht not.* The treatise was addressed 'to the Parlament of England with the Assembly'; and, curiously enough in view of its subject, it is the treatise which contains the memorable words 'Let not England forget her precedence of teaching the nations how to live.' Still more curious is a chronological fact connected with *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*. It seems from the date, as marked upon the first edition in the British Museum, that *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* was published in August 1643. But it was in May 1643 that Milton married his first wife, Mary Powell. Milton then was, and perhaps, owing to his strange lack of humour, it may be said that he could have been, the only person who ever apparently devoted his honeymoon to writing a treatise in favour of divorce.

A single extract from *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* will show what was his general line of argument. It lay in his contention that divorce was essential to human happiness; that it was expressly sanctioned in the Old Testament, and nowhere prohibited by Christ or His apostles in the New.

> O perversnes! that the Law should be made more provident of peacemaking then the Gospell! that the Gospel should be put to beg a most necessary help of mercy from the Law, but must not have it: and that to grind in the mill of an undelighted and servil copulation, must be the only forc't work of a Christian mariage, oft times with such a yokefellow, from whom both love and peace, both nature and Religion mourns to be separated. I cannot therefore be so diffident, as not securely to conclude, that he who can receive nothing of the most important helps in mariage, being thereby disinabl'd to returne that duty which is his, with a cleare and hearty countenance; and thus continues to grieve whom he would not, and is no less griev'd, that man ought even for loves sake and peace to move Divorce upon good and liberall conditions to the divorc't. And it is a lesse breach of wedlock to part with wife and quiet consent betimes, then still to soile and profane that mystery of joy and union with a polluting sadnesse and perpetuall distemper; for it is not the outward continuing of marriage that keepes whole that cov'nant, but whosoever does most according to peace and love, whether in marriage or in divorce, he it is that breaks marriage least; it being so often written, that *Love onely is the fullfilling of every Commandement.* [1]

[1] *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, ch. vi.

But Milton was favourable to polygamy as well as to divorce, and he was favourable to it on much the same grounds. In the chief or only passage of his writings where he argues for polygamous unions, the treatise *Of Christian Doctrine*, Chapter X., it is by the examples of the patriarchs and kings in the Old Testament, and by the absence of any direct sentence against polygamy in the New Testament, that he tries to justify a system so abhorrent not only to the moral law, but to the moral sentiment, of all Christian nations.

The early narratives of Genesis, however they may be interpreted, are characterised by a striking literary reserve. The Garden of Eden itself, the serpent, the tree of knowledge of good and evil, the relation of the first man to his wife, their temptation and their expulsion from the Garden, are all more or less veiled in the shadow of mystery. But Milton has painted the story of man's Fall and of the agents or instruments in his Fall with vivid and almost lurid colours.

Thus the tempter is represented not only as a serpent but as a serpent with all his attributes of form and nature in high relief. Milton describes him as follows:

> So spake the Enemie of Mankind, enclos'd
> In Serpent, Inmate bad, and toward Eve
> Address'd his way, not with indented wave,
> Prone on the ground, as since, but on his reare,
> Circular base of rising folds, that tour'd
> Fould above fould a surging Maze, his Head
> Crested aloft, and Carbuncle his Eyes;
> With burnisht Neck of verdant Gold, erect
> Amidst his circling Spires, that on the grass
> Floted redundant: pleasing was his shape,
> And lovely, never since of Serpent kind
> Lovelier.[3]

Or again:

> Oft he bowd
> His turret Crest, and sleek enamel'd Neck,
> Fawning, and lick'd the ground whereon she trod.
> His gentle dumb expression turnd at length
> The Eye of Eve to mark his play; he glad
> Of her attention gaind, with Serpent Tongue
> Organic, or impulse of vocal Air,
> His fraudulent temptation thus began.[4]

Similarly Milton paints the tree of knowledge of good and evil, so that it becomes almost visible to the spectator's eye. He says:

> I chanc'd
> A goodly tree farr distant to behold
> Loaden with fruit of fairest colours mixt,

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[3] *Paradise Lost*, ix. 494-505.

[4] *Paradise Lost*, ix. 524-531.

Ruddie and Gold: I nearer drew to gaze;
When from the boughes a savourie odour blow'n,
Grateful to appetite, more pleas'd my sense
Then smell of sweetest Fenel, or the Teats
Of Ewe or Goat dropping with Milk at Eevn,
Unsuck't of Lamb or Kid, that tend their play.
To satisfie the sharp desire I had
Of tasting those fair Apples, I resolv'd
Not to deferr; hunger and thirst at once
Powerful perswaders, quick'nd at the scent
Of that alluring fruit, urg'd me so keene.'[5]

The belief, which has been so generally accepted in the Christian Church, that the forbidden fruit was the apple, is owing chiefly to Milton, if not to him alone.

It is not necessary to quote the famous lines in which the first parents of mankind are represented as driven out of Paradise; but the graphic literalness of the verses serves to make Paradise or the Garden of Eden itself a reality which, when once it has been felt, is never forgotten.

They looking back, all th' Eastern side beheld
Of Paradise, so late their happie seat,
Wav'd over by that flaming Brand, the Gate
With dreadful Faces throng'd and fierie Armes:
Som natural tears they dropp'd, but wip'd them soon;
The World was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide:
They hand in hand with wandring steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitarie way.[6]

The Christian world owes to Milton its conception of the Angelic Hosts, whether spirits of good or of evil, as ranged on the side of God or of His rebel enemy Satan. Let me cite his descriptions of Belial as typifying the supremely evil, and of Abdiel as typifying the supremely good, spirit:

On th' other side up rose
Belial, in act more graceful and humane;
A fairer person lost not Heav'n; he seemd
For dignity compos'd and high exploit:
But all was false and hollow; though his Tongue
Dropt Manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and dash
Maturest Counsels: for his thoughts were low;
To vice industrious, but to Nobler deeds
Timorous and slothful.[7]

Or again:

So spake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found,
Among the faithless, faithful only hee;

[5] *Paradise Lost*, ix. 575-588.
[6] *Paradise Lost*, xii. 641-649.
[7] *Paradise Lost*, ii. 108-117.

Among innumerable false, unmov'd,
Unshak'n, unseduc'd, unterrifi'd
His Loyaltie he kept, his Love, his Zeale;
Nor number, nor example with him wrought
To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind
Though single.[8]

But among the spirits of evil Satan himself stands pre-eminent. It is Milton's art which has invested the character of Satan with so striking a dignity that, in spite of his treason against the Almighty, he has commanded something of sympathy and even of respect from many Christians. It was remarked by Shakespeare, and after him by Sir John Suckling, that 'the Prince of Darkness is a gentleman.' But the Satan of Milton is more than a gentleman; he is a stern, indomitable, majestic figure. The reason or excuse for so telling a delineation of one who is the Prince of the Powers of Evil may perhaps be that *Paradise Lost* was originally intended not to be an epic, but a dramatic poem. It will be enough to cite the following passages descriptive of Satan's temper:

What though the field be lost?
All is not lost; the unconquerable Will,
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield:
And what is else not to be overcome?
That Glory never shall his wrath or might
Extort from me.[9]

Or:

Seest thou yon dreary Plain, forlorn and wilde,
The seat of desolation, voyd of light,
Save what the glimmering of these livid flames
Casts pale and dreadful? Thither let us tend
From off the tossing of these fiery waves,
There rest, if any rest can harbour there,
And reassembling our afflicted Powers,
Consult how we may henceforth most offend
Our Enemy, our own loss how repair,
How overcome this dire Calamity,
What reinforcement we may gain from Hope,
If not what resolution from despare.[10]

Or again:

Farewell happy Fields
Where Joy for ever dwells: Hail horrours, hail
Infernal world, and thou profoundest Hell
Receive thy new Possessor: One who brings
A mind not to be chang'd by Place or Time.
The mind is its own place, and in it self
Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n.

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[8] *Paradise Lost*, v. 896-903.
[9] *Paradise Lost*, i. 105-111.
[10] *Paradise Lost*, i. 180-191.

And what I should be, all but less than hee
Whom Thunder hath made greater? Here at least
We shall be free; th' Almighty hath not built
Here for his envy, will not drive us hence:
Here we may reign secure, and in my choyce
To reign is worth ambition though in Hell:
Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heav'n.[11]

But the interest of Milton's theological creed as affecting his writings, especially *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, lies principally in his strong inclination to the Arian or semi-Arian conception of Our Lord's personality. It is not necessary to discuss the varying phases of the theology which owes its birth and its name to Arius, the presbyter of Alexandria. Gibbon, whose insight into the *minutiæ* of Christian doctrine was as remarkable as his indifference to them all, defines the Arian position in the following words:

> The Son, by whom all things were made, had been begotten before all worlds, and the longest of the astronomical periods could be compared only as a fleeting moment to the extent of his duration; yet this duration is not infinite, and there had been a time which preceded the ineffable generation of the Logos. On this only-begotten Son the Almighty Father had transfused his ample spirit, and impressed the effulgence of his glory. Visible image of invisible perfection, he saw, at an immeasurable distance beneath his feet, the thrones of the brightest archangels; yet he shone only with a reflected light, and, like the sons of the Roman emperors who were invested with the titles of Cæsar or Augustus, he governed the universe in obedience to the will of his Father and Monarch.[12]

The Council of Nicaea A.D. 325, in the original form of the Creed now called Nicene, declared itself emphatically against Arianism. But the battle of the diphthong, as it has been caustically termed, or the controversy between the watchwords *Homoousion* and *Homoiousion*, was rather declared than decided by the Council of Nicaea. Arianism continued to flourish, and, indeed, to triumph, afterwards. The contemporaneous Councils of Seleucia in the East and of Ariminum in the West, A.D. 359, brought the Eastern and the Western worlds alike under the predominant influence of the Arian Creed. It was after the Council of Ariminum that Jerome wrote his memorable sentence 'Ingemuit totus orbis et Arianum se esse miratus est.'[13] The Council of Constantinople A.D. 381 dealt the death-blow to the prevalence of Arianism in the Roman Empire. But at a later date the invaders of the Empire still maintained the Arian theology. The Goths, whose great leaders Alaric, Genseric, and Theodoric have written their names in letters of blood upon

[11] *Paradise Lost*, i. 249-263.
[12] *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. iii. ch. xxi. p. 54.
[13] *Dialog. c. Lucifer*, p. 191.

Christian history, were Arians from the time of the famous Bishop Ulphilas, the translator of the Bible; the Lombards remained Arians up to the end of the sixth century, the reign of their Queen Theolinda; the Visi-Goths in Spain remained Arians until the reign of King Recared; nor was it until the Council of Toledo A.D. 589 that the clause 'Filioque,' or 'et a Filio,' was inserted in the Nicene Creed as a definite witness to the renunciation of Arianism in Spain.

Arianism is often set in opposition to Unitarianism; and, if the opposition, as it is generally stated, may be said to hold good, Milton was always rather an Arian than a Unitarian. To quote Masson's language about him:

> In opposition to those who contend for the merely human nature of Christ he maintains the doctrine of the two natures of Christ, holding that no name short of The-Anthropos or God-Man adequately describes the Christ who walked and suffered on our earth.[14]

But Unitarianism, as represented in the writings of Faustus Socinus, who is generally regarded as the author of Unitarian theology, went far beyond the meagre Unitarianism which has been advocated by some, although not perhaps the most illustrious, of his followers. Faustus Socinus held, it is true, that Jesus Christ was not pre-existent before His birth into the world, and that He neither stood nor stands in an eternal divine relation to God as His Father. But Faustus Socinus held also that Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin Mary by the operation of the Holy Spirit, that He came upon earth as God's commissioner to reveal God's law, that He exercised miraculous powers, that not only did He die, but on the third day after His death He rose from the grave, that His resurrection and His subsequent ascension were the attestations of His unique mission, that since His ascension He sits at God's right hand, and that He will one day return to the earth as the Judge of the living and the dead.

It is evident that such a Creed as this approximates to the Arian theology. History perhaps presents no stranger incident than the failure of Arianism after its brief and wide success. For the Arian conception of Christ's personality has commended itself to Christians of such high intellectuality and profound spirituality as Milton himself, Sir Isaac Newton, Locke and Samuel Clarke. Even John Stuart Mill, in the third of his posthumous essays, while decisively rejecting the divinity of Jesus Christ, could look with some appreciation upon an Arian or semi-Arian doctrine in regard to Christ's Personality.

There is little doubt that Milton, who in his early life was apparently an orthodox Christian, gradually lapsed into the

[14] *Life of John Milton*, vol. vi. p. 832.

acceptance of an Arian theology, and, indeed, towards the end of his life became almost a Unitarian after the model of Faustus Socinus. It is true that he always claimed the right of using as his own the language of the Trinitarian Creeds, but he interpreted the Creeds in an Arian and even in a Socinian sense. To quote one passage only; in his treatise *Of True Religion, heresy, schism, toleration and what best means may be used against the growth of Popery*, a treatise published so late in his life as A.D. 1673, the year before his death, he writes as follows:

> The Arian and Socinian are charged to dispute against the Trinity; yet they affirm to believe the Father, Son and Holy Ghost according to Scripture and the Apostolic Creed. As for the terms Trinity, Tri-unity, Coessentiality, Tripersonality and the like, they reject them as scholastic notions not to be found in Scripture.

It is interesting to trace the development of Milton's theology. His *Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, although it was written in 1629, was first printed in 1645. In that ode he asserts the orthodox view of our Lord's divinity. The following passages are conclusive:

> This is the Month, and this the happy morn
> Wherein the Son of Heav'ns eternal King,
> Of wedded Maid and Virgin Mother born,
> Our great Redemption from above did bring;
>
> That glorious Form, that Light unsufferable,
> And that far-beaming blaze of Majesty,
> Wherewith he wont at Heav'ns high Councel-Table,
> To sit the midst of Trinal Unity,
> He laid aside; and here with us to be,
> Forsook the Courts of everlasting Day,
> And chose with us a darksom House of mortal Clay.

Or again:

> Say Heav'nly Muse, shall not thy sacred vein
> Afford a Present to the Infant God?

Similarly the hymn within the ode contains such lines as these relating to the Infant Christ:

> Nature in awe to him
> Had doff't her gawdy trim,
> With her great Master so to sympathise:

and

> Confounded that her Maker's eyes
> Should look so near upon her foul deformities.

and

> Our Babe to shew his Godhead true,
> Can in his swadling bands controul the damned crew.

It is evident that Milton remained in this orthodox state of mind as late as 1641, when he published his treatise *Of Reforma-*

tion Touching Church Discipline in England, for that [illegible] contains the sublime prayer addressed to the Sacred Trinity: 'Thou therefore, that sittest in light and glory unapproachable, the parent of angels and men; next thee, I implore, Omnipotent King Redeemer of that lost remnant whose nature thou didst assume, ineffable and everlasting love, and thou the Third subsistence of divine infinitude, illumining Spirit, the joy and solace of created things, the one Tripersonal Godhead.'

Johnson must have been thinking of Milton's earlier writings in poetry and prose when he said of him in the *Lives of the Poets* that he appears not only 'to have had full conviction of the truth of Christianity and to have regarded the Holy Scriptures with the profoundest veneration,' but 'to have been untainted by an heretical peculiarity of opinion.'

Paradise Lost was published in 1667; *Paradise Regained* in 1671. In these two famous poems the development of Milton's theological creed is easily traced.

In *Paradise Lost* he regards the Son not as co-equal or co-eternal with the Father, but as a created Being, although created in an infinite past, upon whom the Father had conferred an unspeakable measure of His own divine glory. It is impossible to quote the many passages exhibiting this creed, but the following are enough to indicate what his view of our Lord's Personality then was:

> Now had the Almighty Father from above,
> From the pure Empyrean where he sits
> High Thron'd above all highth, bent down his eye,
> His own works and their works at once to view:
> About him all the Sanctities of Heaven
> Stood thick as Starrs, and from his sight receiv'd
> Beatitude past utterance; on his right
> The radiant image of his Glory sat,
> His onely Son; [illegible] ...

and again:

> Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance fill'd
> All Heav'n and in the blessed Spirits elect
> Sense of new joy ineffable diffus'd:
> Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
> Most glorious, in him all his Father shown
> Substantially express'd, and in his face
> Divine compassion visibly appeered,
> Love without end, and without measure Grace. [illegible]

So the Father addresses the Son in such language as this:

> O Son, in whom my Soul hath chief delight,
> Son of my bosom, Son who art alone
> My word, my wisdom, and effectual might,

[illegible] *Paradise Lost*, iii. 56.

[illegible] *Paradise Lost*, iii. 135-142.

> All hast thou spok'n as my thoughts are, all
> As my Eternal purpose hath decreed ;[17]

Elsewhere He says :

> Into Thee such Vertue and Grace
> Immense I have transfus'd, that all may know
> In Heav'n and Hell thy Power above compare,
> And this perverse Commotion governd thus,
> To manifest thee worthiest to be Heir
> Of all things, to be Heir and to be King
> By Sacred Unction, thy deserved right.[18]

With this address corresponds the descriptive passage :

> To meet him all his Saints, who silent stood
> Eye witnesses of his Almightie Acts,
> With Jubilie advanc'd ; and as they went
> Shaded with branching Palme, each order bright,
> Sung Triumph, and him sung Victorious King,
> Son, Heire, and Lord, and him Dominion giv'n,
> Worthiest to Reign : he celebrated rode
> Triumphant through mid-heaven, into the Courts
> And Temple of his mightie Father Thron'd
> On high ; who into Glorie him receav'd,
> Where now he sits at the right hand of bliss.[19]

Even more clearly is the relation of the Son to the Father described in the words :

> But whom send I to judge them ? whom but thee
> Vicegerent Son, to thee I have transferr'd
> All Judgement, whether in Heav'n, or Earth, or Hell.[20]

or immediately afterwards :

> So spake the Father, and unfoulding bright
> Toward the right hand his Glorie, and the Son
> Blas'd forth unclouded Deitie ; he full
> Resplendent all his Father manifest
> Express'd.[21]

The energy of the Son in creation is clearly defined in the following passage :

> Thy self though great and glorious dost thou count,
> Or all Angelic Nature joind in one,
> Equal to him begotten Son, by whom
> As by his Word the mighty Father made
> All things, ev'n thee, and all the Spirits of Heav'n
> By him created in their bright degrees,
> Crownd them with Glory, and to their Glory nam'd
> Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Vertues, Powers,
> Essential Powers, nor by his Reign obscured.[22]

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[17] *Paradise Lost*, iii. 168.
[18] *Paradise Lost*, vi. 703-709.
[19] *Paradise Lost*, vi. 882-892.
[20] *Paradise Lost*, x. 55-57.
[21] *Paradise Lost*, x. 63-67.
[22] *Paradise Lost*, v. 833-841.

Yet there are passages in which the subordination of the Son to the Father is clearly stated. For instance:

> Effulgence of my Glorie, Son belov'd,
> Son in whose face invisible is beheld
> Visibly, what by Deitie I am,
> And in whose hand what by Decree I doe,
> Second Omnipotence.[23]

The creation or birth of the Son Himself in time appears from the following passage, where the Father speaks:

> Hear all ye Angels, Progenie of Light,
> Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Vertues, Powers,
> Hear my Decree, which unrevok't shall stand.
> *This day I have begot* whom I declare
> My onely Son, and on this Holy Hill
> Him have anointed, whom ye now behold
> At my right hand; your Head I him appoint;
> And by myself have sworn to him shall bow
> All knees in Heav'n, and shall confess him Lord.[24]

For here 'this day'—*i.e.* the day on which the Son was begotten—clearly follows the creation of the angelic hierarchy.

There is an approach to the Christology of *Paradise Regained* in the lines:

> Because thou hast, though Thron'd in highest bliss
> Equal to God, and equally enjoying
> Godlike fruition, quitted all to save
> A World from utter loss, and hast been found
> *By Merit more than Birthright Son of God*,
> Found worthiest to be so by being Good,
> Far more than great or High; because in thee
> Love hath abounded more then Glory Abounds,
> Therefore *thy Humiliation shall exalt*
> *With thee thy Manhood also to this Throne;*
> Here shalt thou sit incarnate, here shalt Reigne
> Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man,
> Anointed universal King; all Power
> I give thee, reign for ever, and assume
> Thy Merits; under thee as Head Supream
> Thrones, Princedoms, Powers, Dominions I reduce:
> All knees to thee shall bow, of them that bide
> In Heaven, or Earth, or under Earth in Hell.[25]

For it seems that when Milton wrote *Paradise Regained* he conceived of the Son, not so much as a superhuman or divine Being, but as a man exalted by his human merit to a pre-eminent participation in the divine glory. The following passages prove the latest stage of Milton's Arianism:

> On him baptiz'd
> Heaven open'd, and in likeness of a Dove

[23] *Paradise Lost*, vi. 680-684. [24] *Paradise Lost*, v. 600-608.
[25] *Paradise Lost*, iii. 305-322.

The Spirit descended, while the Fathers voice
From Heav'n pronounced him his beloved Son.
That heard the Adversary, who roving still
About the world, at that assembly fam'd
Would not be last, and with the voice divine
Nigh Thunder-struck, th' exalted man, to whom
Such high attest was giv'n, a while survey'd.[26]

Who this is we must learn, for man he seems
In all his lineaments, though in his face
The glimpses of his Fathers glory shone.[27]

So to the coast of Jordan he directs
His easie steps: girded with snaky wiles
Where he might likliest find this new-declar'd,
This man of men, attested Son of God.[28]

He now shall know I can produce a man
Of female Seed, far abler to resist
All his solicitations, and at length
All his vast force, and drive him back to Hell,
Winning by Conquest what the first man lost
By fallacy surpriz'd.[29]

That all the Angels and Ætherial Powers
They now, and men hereafter may discern,
From what consummate vertue I have chose
This perfect Man, by merit call'd my Son,
To earn Salvation for the Sons of men.[30]

If he be Man by Mothers side at least,
With more than humane gifts from Heav'n adorn'd,
Perfections absolute, Graces divine,
And amplitude of mind to greatest Deeds.[31]

Elsewhere the tempter says:

Opportunity I here have had
To try thee, sift thee, and confess have found thee
Proof against all temptation as a rock
Of Adamant, and as a Center, firm
To the utmost of meer man both wise and good
Not more; for Honours, Riches, Kingdoms, Glory
Have been before contemn'd, and may agen:
Therefore to know what more thou art then man,
Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heav'n,
Another method I must now begin.[32]

It is evident that in *Paradise Regained* Milton does not shrink from speaking of our Lord as man. He can even go so far as to write:

To whom the Fiend now swoln with rage reply'd:
Then hear, O Son of David, Virgin-born;
For Son of God to me is yet in doubt.[33]

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[26] *Paradise Regained*, i. 29-37.
[27] *Paradise Regained*, i. 91-93.
[28] *Paradise Regained*, i. 119-122.
[29] *Paradise Regained*, i. 150-155.
[30] *Paradise Regained*, i. 163-167.
[31] *Paradise Regained*, ii. 136-139.
[32] *Paradise Regained*, iv. 531-540.
[33] *Paradise Regained*, iv. 499-501.

He does not indeed deny our Lord the title 'Son of God'; [illegible] is part of his theology that that title does not imply essential divinity. He expresses himself as follows:

> To whom the Fiend with fear abasht reply'd.
> Be not so sore offended, Son of God;
> Though Sons of God both Angels are and Men,
> If I to try whether in higher sort
> Then these thou bear'st that title, have propos'd
> What both from Men and Angels I receive.[34]
>
> Till at the Ford of Jordan whither all
> Flock'd to the Baptist, I among the rest,
> Though not to be Baptiz'd, by voice from Heaven
> Heard thee pronounc'd the Son of God belov'd.
> Henceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view
> And narrower Scrutiny, that I might learn
> In what degree or meaning thou art call'd
> The Son of God, which bears no single sense;
> The Son of God I also am, or was,
> And if I was, I am; relation stands;
> All men are Sons of God; yet thee I thought
> In some respect far higher so declar'd.[35]

Theological opinion is naturally more or less veiled in poetry; and many readers of *Paradise Lost* and even of *Paradise Regained* have, like Johnson, failed to realise the Arianism of Milton's theological position. Whether Coleridge was or was not justified in his dictum that 'John Milton himself is in every line of *Paradise Lost*,' Milton's theology admittedly lies hidden there. But it is from his treatise *Of Christian Doctrine* that his actual creed is most plainly ascertainable. The history of that treatise is remarkable. Milton himself entrusted the MS. to his friend Daniel Skinner. After Milton's death, Skinner under compulsion surrendered the MS. to the Government. It lay hid in the State Paper Office until 1823, when it was discovered by Lemon. The treatise, of which the full Latin title is 'J Miltoni Angli de Doctrina Christiana libri duo posthumi,' was translated and edited in 1825 by Sumner, afterwards Bishop of Winchester. It was the discovery of this treatise which gave occasion to Macaulay's celebrated essay on Milton.

The following passage represents perhaps the highest point of orthodoxy in Milton's conception of our Lord's Personality:

> With regard to Christ's divine nature, the reader is referred to what was proved in a former chapter concerning the Son of God; and from whence it follows that he by whom all things were made both in heaven and earth, even the angels themselves, he who in the beginning was the Word, and God with God, and although not supreme, yet the first born of every

[34] *Paradise Regained*, iv. 196-200. [35] *Paradise Regained*, iv. 510-521.

[illegible] may have been invented to evade this conclusion by [illegible] who contend for the merely human nature of Christ."[36]

But elsewhere he reduces his conception of that Personality to a lower level. Thus he writes:

> Certain however it is, whatever some of the moderns may allege to the contrary, that the Son existed in the beginning under the name of the Logos or Word, and was the first of the whole creation, by whom afterwards all other things were made both in heaven and earth.[37]

With this passage may be compared the following:

> That the Son is God, is a truth which I am far from denying but they will in vain attempt to prove from this passage (1 Timothy, III. 19) that he is the supreme God and one with the Father.[38]

And again:

> The Kingly function of Christ is that whereby being made King by God the Father, he governs and preserves, chiefly by an inward law and spiritual power, the Church which he has purchased for himself, and conquers and subdues its enemies.[39]

The pre-existence of the Son before His human birth, and His generation before all created things, are doctrines far from being equivalent to a belief in the Son's essential Divinity.

Milton expresses himself clearly in the words:

> He (the Son) is called the own Son of God merely because he had no other Father besides God, whence he himself said that God was his Father, John 18. for to Adam God stood less in the relation to Father than of Creator, having only formed him from the dust of the earth, whereas he was properly the Father of the Son made of his own substance. Yet it does not follow from hence that the Son is co-essential with the Father, for then the title of Son would be least of all applicable to him since he who is properly the Son is not coeval with the Father, much less the same numerical essence, otherwise the Father and the Son would be *one person*.[40]

And again:

> Thus the Son was begotten of the Father in consequence of his decree, and therefore within the limits of time, for the decree itself must have been anterior to the execution of the decree, as is sufficiently clear from the insertion of the word 'to-day.' Nor can I discover on what passage of Scripture the assertors of the eternal generation of the Son ground their opinion.[41]

Milton is fond of arguing from certain passages of the Bible that the ascription of the title 'God' to the Son is far from connoting the Son's equality with the Father. Thus, in reply

[36] *Christian Doctrine*, ch. 14, Sumner's Translation.
[37] *Ibid.* ch. 5. [38] *Ibid.* ch. 15. [39] *Ibid.* ch. 5.
[40] *Ibid*, ch. 5. [41] *Ibid.* ch. 5.

to persons who argue that Christ is called God in the Bible he says :

There would have been no occasion for the supporters of these opinions to have offered such violence to reason, nay even to such plain scriptural evidence, if they had only considered God's own words addressed to kings and princes, Psal. lxxxii. 6. 'I have said, Ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High'; or those of Christ himself, John X. 35. 'if he called them Gods, unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken. . .'; or those of St. Paul, 1 Cor. VIII. 5, 6. 'for though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or earth, (for there be gods many and lords many), but to us there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things;' etc., or lastly of St. Peter II. 1, 4. 'that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature,' which applies much more than the title of gods in the sense in which that title is applied to kings; though no one would conclude from this expression that the saints were co-essential with God.[42]

Similarly he makes use of the following strange criticism upon a memorable passage of St. John's Gospel :

Another passage is the speech of Thomas, John XX. 28. 'My Lord and my God.' He must have an immoderate share of credulity who attempts to elicit a new confession of faith, unknown to the rest of the disciples, from this abrupt exclamation of the apostle, who invokes in his surprise not only Christ his own Lord, but the God of his ancestors, namely, God the Father;—as if he had said, Lord! what do I see—what do I hear—what do I handle with my hands? He whom Thomas is supposed to call God in this passage, had acknowledged respecting himself not long before, v. 17. 'I ascend unto my God and your God.' Now the God of God cannot be essentially one with him whose God he is.[43]

Masson's estimate of Milton's theology in regard to the nature of Jesus Christ may be taken as a not unfair representation :

The Son of God, as he [Milton] concludes from an examination of all the relevant Scripture texts, did not exist from all eternity, is not coeval or co-essential or co-equal with the Father, but came into existence by the will of the Father to be the next being in His universe to Himself, the firstborn and best-beloved, the Logos or Word, through whom all creation should take its beginning. But though thus inferior to the supreme Godhead the Son is in a certain grand sense Divine. We are to believe that God imparted to His Son as much as He pleased of the Divine nature nay of the Divine substance itself, care being taken not to confound the substance with the whole essence.[44]

It may be worth while to quote one instance of Milton's teaching as regards the Third Person of the Trinity :

Lest however we should be altogether ignorant who or what the Holy Spirit is, although Scripture nowhere teaches us in express terms, it may

[42] *Christian Doctrine*, ch. 5. [43] *Ibid.* ch. 5, iv. p. 110.
[44] *Life of John Milton*, vol. vi. p. 824.

be collected from the passages quoted above, that the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as he is a minister of God, and therefore a creature, was created or produced of the substance of God, not by a natural necessity but by the free-will of the agent, probably before the foundations of the world were laid, but later than the Son, and far inferior to him.

There is however sufficient reason for placing the name as well as the nature of the Son above that of the Holy Spirit in the discussion of topics relative to the Deity; inasmuch as the brightness of the glory of God, and the express image of his person, are said to have been impressed on the one, and not on the other.[48]

Milton held, then, the superiority of the Son to all created beings, and among them to the Holy Spirit, but His inferiority to the Father. He held that the Son, being pre-existent, chose to become incarnate by a sublime act of self-humiliation, and, being incarnate, by his voluntary submission to the Divine Will in death as in life achieved the redemption of mankind. Between the *Paradise Lost* and the *Paradise Regained* the theological difference is that in the one Jesus Christ is regarded more as a transcendent Being who condescended to assume human nature, and in the other more as a human being exalted by a sublime and unique personal virtue to a special assimilation with the Godhead.

But whether the one view or the other be predominant in Milton's writings, they are alike, although in different degrees, unmistakable departures from the orthodox Creed. Yet that a poet and a thinker so deeply Christian in the whole mood and temper of his moral and spiritual nature as Milton should have lapsed into heresy, and in spite of his heresy should have been, and should still be, studied, admired, and in greater or less degree followed by the Christian world, is a lesson, which the Church may still lay to heart, in religious tolerance. The Creeds of the Church are serious and logical attempts of the human intellect to express Divine realities far surpassing the scope and range of that intellect itself. It may be that history is a warning against theological definitions. For every such definition, if it is closely scrutinised, reveals its inadequacy. Jesus Christ is called the Son of God; but human sonship implies both posteriority and inferiority; yet these ideas are both excluded from His Sonship. Arianism, even in the high form which distinguishes it from Unitarianism, falls sadly short indeed of the Christian orthodox Creed. Yet to repudiate it as wholly un-Christian would be to surrender the strength which Milton, and others like him, have afforded by their doctrine and example to the truth of Christianity. For amidst all varieties of faith and thought touching the nature of Christ's Personality, there remains the allegiance of devout and

[48] *Christian Doctrine*, ch. 6.

holy souls to Him who alone has spoken upon earth the accents of heaven, who stood and shall ever stand in a unique relation to His Father, and who reveals with incomparable authority, as the only Son of God, the spiritual and eternal verities in which alone the sin-stricken children of earth in their weakness and their sorrow are most powerfully enabled to live holy lives and to die peaceful deaths.

J. E. C. WELLDON.

INDIA AND THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON IMPERIAL TRADE

On the 16th of June 1911 the Premier of the Commonwealth of Australia submitted to the Imperial Conference—Mr. Asquith being in the chair—the following resolution of which his Government had given notice:

> That this Conference, recognising the importance of promoting fuller development of commercial intercourse within the Empire, strongly urges that every effort should be made to bring about co-operation in commercial relations and matters of mutual interest.
>
> That it is advisable, in the interests both of the United Kingdom and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, that efforts in favour of British manufactured goods and British shipping should be supported as far as practicable.

After the insults about 'banging and bolting the door' with which the British Radical Government had met the unanimous proposals of the Dominions for Imperial Preference in the Imperial Conference of 1907—after the incessant taunts of the British Radical party, particularly galling to the sensitive and high-minded statesmen of the Colonial democracies, as to the proposals of the Dominions being based, not on Imperial patriotism, but on their own interests regardless of British needs—and after the elaborate preparations and 'ground-baiting' of the Liberal Government, with the view of shunting this very question of Preference at the Conference—it argued no little courage and tenacity, as well as conspicuous magnanimity, on the part of the Australians that they should have dared to submit this Preferential resolution to the Conference at all.

But Mr. Fisher—able and conscientious patriot though he be—was no match for the wily politicians who were his adversaries. Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt affected to accept the resolution with unction—provided the Conference would accept 'a slight explanatory amendment'! And the 'slight explanatory amendment' explained away all reference to Preferential trading—explained away India and the Crown Colonies and Dependencies that obviously came within the scope of the original resolution—and restricted the work of this much-vaunted and costly Commission to the investigation of such local details as are already known

to us in such books as the *Canada Year-book* and the *Australia Year-book*, retaining only the inestimable advantage that it ma serve as an excuse for shunting the question of Imperial Preferenc for the next three years!

Mr. Harcourt was good enough to explain frankly, in th House of Commons on the 3rd of April, the artful pretence b which he and Mr. Asquith persuaded the Colonial Premiers a the Conference to assent to the stultification of their own wishe and opinions in this respect. He said:

> The exclusion of the fiscal question from the terms of reference wa agreed to by the whole Conference. It was quite clear from the discussio that it would be just as inconvenient and disagreeable to the Dominion to have a report of the Commission pressing Free Trade on them as i would be unpleasant to his Majesty's Government to have a report pressin a policy in which they, as a Government, did not believe.

This seems rather thin. Mr. Harcourt would have us believe that the Dominion Premiers were so devoted to the cause of Imperial Preference that they feared to expose it to the rude criticism of the proposed Royal Commission! I may admit, in passing that they might have had some fair cause for such an absurd fear if they could have foreseen the gross and outrageous way in which Mr. Asquith's Government have 'loaded the dice' by packing this Commission with some of the most extreme Cobdenites they could find, as I shall presently show. But the Premiers could not have anticipated such a flagrant abuse of the Royal Prerogative; and, as a matter of fact, a careful study of the proceedings of the Conference impresses one with the idea that the Premiers, in politely yielding to their hosts on this one great and cardinal point, were really out-manœuvred by them. They all expressed themselves as entirely in agreement with the original Australian resolution—as undoubtedly they were, for the object at which it aimed was the very one which they had been deputed by their respective Dominions to press. And yet they were ultimately cajoled into passing the following, which was little better than a derisory shadow of the original resolution:

> That his Majesty should be approached with a view to the appointment of a Royal Commission representing the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland, with a view of investigating and reporting upon the natural resources of each part of the Empire represented at this Conference, the development attained and attainable, and the facilities for production, manufacture, and distribution; the trade of each part with the others and with the outside world, the food and raw material requirements of each and the resources thereof available; to what extent, if any, the trade between each of the different parts has been affected by existing legislation in each, either beneficially or otherwise; and by what methods consistent with the existing fiscal policy of each part the trade of each part with the others may be improved and extended.

It should be remembered, in fairness to those who agreed to this resolution, that most of the old stalwarts of the Conference—including such men as Mr. Deakin, Sir Starr Jameson, Mr. Moor, Sir R. Bond, Sir William Lyne and Sir Thomas Smartt—were, for one reason or another, absent from the Conference of 1911, and their places were either vacant or occupied by new and comparatively inexperienced men; and in the case of some of those who remained, it may fairly be admitted that, while their opinions and convictions remained as firm as ever, their position in respect to the point on which they were in such direct conflict with the eager prepossessions and prejudices of their hosts was a peculiar and awkward one. I need not labour the point. It is obvious, for instance, that Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Brodeur, while retaining to the full their old and convinced belief in Imperial Preference, would honourably find some difficulty in offering to Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt the same uncompromising resistance as of old, seeing that they had received such strong support from the latter in their own alternative policy of American Reciprocity. Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt had thrown overboard their Free-Trade principles, and supported American Reciprocity with Canada, though bitterly opposing British Reciprocity—and this fact obviously made Sir Wilfrid Laurier's position a little awkward. General Botha, too, and his colleagues from the South African Union, had never adopted the strong Colonial views of such men as Mr. Hofmeyr and Sir Starr Jameson, and were, very naturally and properly, reluctant to oppose openly the Radical Government at Westminster.

Moreover, it should not be forgotten that, at the moment of the Conference of 1911, Canada had not given that striking lead to the Empire that she gave three months later in tones that thrilled the whole world—nor could it have been confidently predicted at that moment that, within less than twelve months, a long and unbroken series of by-elections in the United Kingdom itself would prove that the cause of Imperial Preference now only awaits a General Election.

But however this may be, the terms of the resolution which the diplomatic skill of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt imposed on the Imperial Conference of 1911 have enabled the Government to set up a bogus Royal Commission on Imperial Trade, with a reference which not only excludes from its investigations the main point at issue, the question of Imperial Preference, but also, by an unobserved side-wind, altogether shuts out India, Ceylon, the West Indies, and the other Crown Colonies, Protectorates and Dependencies from the scope of its inquiries—thereby excluding very nearly half the trade between the United Kingdom and the British Possessions beyond the Seas, and much more than half the total trade of those Possessions!

For the Blue-book of *Papers Laid before the Conference* (Cd. 5746-1) shows that the exports from the United Kingdom to the included Dominions are of an annual value of seventy-[illegible] millions sterling, while those to the excluded Possessions are of an annual value of seventy-one millions, and the imports to the United Kingdom in the former case are ninety-six millions sterling, and in the latter case seventy-four millions. The total external trade of India alone is of the annual value of 246 millions sterling—far greater than that of any other part of the Empire except the United Kingdom—the nearest approaches to it being 140 millions sterling for Canada and 114 millions for Australia. Mr. Page Croft, M.P., in his admirable little book *The Path of Empire* has shown that India purchases from the Mother Country 13,000,000*l.* per annum more than any foreign country—more than Belgium and Holland and Denmark and Japan put together—and that in this way she gives far more employment to British working-men than any other country in the world.

And, further, the circumstances of India are such as to give infinitely greater promise of future expansion of industry and commerce than almost any other land on the face of the globe. She possesses a rapidly increasing population, numbered last year at 315,000,000, who, taken in the aggregate, are more progressive in regard to their standards of civilisation and comfort than almost any, perhaps more sober and thrifty and docile, and certainly no less intelligent than any, with captains of industry and leaders of commerce of the greatest ability and enterprise. With an area greater than all Europe excluding Russia, she possesses every variety of climate and soil, and produces in vast abundance almost every commodity that is useful to man, either as food or as raw material for his industries. She has immense unworked stores of coal and iron and gold, and every other useful or precious mineral, with resources in forests and water-power almost unrivalled. She has vast areas of uncultivated fertile wheat-land, only awaiting the irrigation-canal and the plough; and other resources practically illimitable. Mr. Webb, C.I.E., the able chairman of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, gives a good summary of some of these resources:

We bring before our mind's eye the 109,000 square miles—an area practically as large as Italy—devoted solely to the production of rice; the 60,000 square miles—equal to all England—producing millets (*jowari* and *bajra*); next the 31,000 square miles (say the whole of Portugal) under wheat; the 16,000 square miles (the equivalent of Denmark) given up to the cultivation of cotton; the 4700 square miles under jute; the 4400 square miles under sugar-cane; and so on. Then we recall the many millions sterling that India can command by the sale of these valuable products, and by the disposal of her surplus oil-seeds, her tea and coffee, her hides and skins, her lac, indigo and spices, to make no mention of wool, silk, timber, tobacco, and a host of minor commodities everywhere in strong demand. Nor are

[illegible]

[illegible] in abundance—[illegible] tons were raised in 1906, whilst the manufacture of the latter is now receiving attention by the brains of some of her most distinguished sons. Gold, too, she possesses in handsome quantities—over 322 lakhs of rupees' worth being unearthed in 1906-7. Further, many of her resources are being developed with an energy and success that cannot fail to extort a tribute of admiration even from experienced England. Jute manufactures to the value of over 10,000,000*l.* sterling were exported in 1906-7, whilst nearly 14,000,000*l.* have been already invested in cotton mills, the annual yield of which is now of substantial proportions.

These are the circumstances of the particular State of the British Empire which—together with Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Mauritius, the West Indies, and other Crown Colonies, Protectorates and Dependencies—has been deliberately, by the strategy of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt, excluded from all participation in the attentions or inquiries of this precious 'Imperial' Trade Commission! On Wednesday, the 10th of April, in answer to questions in the House of Commons, Mr. Harcourt stated that:

> The intention of the Conference was well known to the Prime Minister and myself, who were members of it, and WE have drafted, in consultation and concurrence with all the Dominions, the Reference, which follows as closely as possible the terms of the resolution of the Imperial Conference.

On the same occasion Mr. Harcourt made a statement regarding the *personnel* of the Royal Commission, to which I shall return presently; and he read the following final form of the reference that was the *chef-d'œuvre* of the strategy of Mr. Asquith and himself, in which, it will be observed, not only is 'fiscal policy' to be sacred from the intrusion of the Commission (to which the Premiers had consented for fear of being forcibly made Cobdenites!), but the Commission is also strictly prohibited from making any impertinent inquiries as to whether the trade of any part of the Empire 'has been or is being affected, beneficially or otherwise, by'—any 'fiscal laws'! Could Cobdenite obscurantism and dread of the light of truth and free inquiry have a more lurid illustration than this? Here is the masterpiece of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt *in extenso*:

> To inquire into and report upon the natural resources of the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and the Colony of Newfoundland; and, further, to report upon the development of such resources, whether attained or attainable; upon the facilities which exist or may be created for the production, manufacture, and distribution of all articles of commerce in those parts of the Empire; upon the requirements of each such part and of the United Kingdom in the matter of food and raw materials, and the available sources of such; upon the trade of each such part of the Empire with the other parts, with the United Kingdom, and with the rest of the world; upon the extent, if any, to which the mutual trade of the several parts of the Empire has been or is being affected beneficially or otherwise

by the laws now in force, other than fiscal laws; and, generally, to suggest any methods, consistent always with the existing fiscal policy of each part of the Empire, by which the trade of each part with the others and with the United Kingdom might be improved and extended.

From the wording of this reference it is clear that the minds of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt, when drafting it, were obsessed by that wild and unreasoning panic that the mere whisper of the words 'fiscal policy' seems to suggest to Cobdenites, ever since the result of the Canadian elections and the report of Lord Balfour's Commission on the trade between Canada and the West Indies have shown which way the wind is blowing. It is doubtless felt that in the terms of reference of Lord Balfour's Commission far too much scope had been given for honest conviction. It had been thought sufficient for the sacred cause of Cobdenism, in the case of the Canada-West Indies Commission, if an advanced Cobdenite were appointed chairman—but it happened that the chairman was not only an advanced Cobdenite, but also a Scottish gentleman of the highest character and position, and not merely a party politician 'on the make.' And the result was disastrous to Cobdenism; for the report, now being happily acted on to the immense advantage both of Canada and of the West Indies, was solid for Imperial Preference between those countries. So Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt are evidently determined, when instructing this great 'Imperial' Trade Commission, to leave no loopholes for conscience or convictions—the dangerous question must be tabooed altogether.

Further, in the nomination of at least three out of the six British Commissioners, the selection has obviously been ruled primarily by the same considerations.

It is true that Mr. Harcourt, when announcing the names of those on whom the choice of the Government has fallen for this duty—which ought to be one of higher responsibility than almost any that has ever been imposed on a Royal Commissioner—unctuously declared that they had 'deliberately excluded all members of the House of Commons in order to exclude any possible question of party politics'!

A more audacious or hypocritical claim has probably never been made in Parliament. Lord Inchcape, the distinguished President of the Commission, is a most able and experienced gentleman, a great representative of Indian shipping, a director of the Suez Canal and other important companies, and the negotiator of a Treaty with China in 1902 that was much disliked in India. But his chief fame rests on the fact that in 1907 he was chosen by the Radical Government to be the 'representative' of India in the Imperial Conference of that year, with the idea—as Lord Reay publicly announced at a meeting of the East India Association shortly before the appointment was made—that as

an advanced Cobdenite he would prove 'a hard nut for the Colonial Premiers to crack' (*sic*) in the matter of Imperial Preference; and when it was subsequently pointed out in the House of Commons that Lord Inchcape, then Sir James Mackay, was about the most unsuitable person in the world to 'represent' India, seeing that every known politician of Indian birth is a Protectionist and nearly every Anglo-Indian is a Tariff Reformer, the Government evaded the difficulty by declaring categorically that Sir James had not professed to 'represent' anyone but the Secretary of State for India! However that may be, there is no doubt whatever that his supposed 'representation' of India had carried weight with those who were unacquainted with the true facts of the case.

Then, again, two other very eminent members of the Commission—Sir Edgar Vincent and Mr. Tom Garnett—are chiefly known for their extreme hostility to Indian views on fiscal questions. Sir Edgar Vincent is a prominent Cobden Club pamphleteer. He has been twice defeated as a Cobdenite in Parliamentary contests—once at Exeter as a Unionist Free Trader, and once in Essex as a Radical Free Trader. But some of his writings published by the Cobden Club have obtained a wide circulation by the aid of that powerful organisation, and he has spoken and written with especial vehemence against Indian Imperial Preference. And Mr. Tom Garnett, in 1895, as the Chairman of the 'Joint Committee of Employers and Operatives on the Indian Cotton Duties,' was the leader of the powerful and successful agitation that forced on Sir Henry Fowler (afterwards Lord Wolverhampton) and Lord George Hamilton the existing fiscal system in India, that imposes import duties on Lancashire cotton-goods, as well as the hated excise duties on the products of Indian cotton-mills.

But, when all this is well understood, some innocent-minded folk may still ask: 'Why should Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt be so desperately anxious to exclude India from the purview of the Commission? They cannot be altogether ignorant of the infinite importance of the Indian trade, not merely to Lancashire and South-West Scotland, but also to every industrial and commercial centre in the United Kingdom. If we supinely allow that trade to slip from our hands—and already immense inroads are being made upon it by the protected and subsidised traders of Japan and Germany and the other Protectionist foreigners—not only will Lancashire and Cheshire and Lanarkshire be ruined, but Yorkshire and the Midlands and all our manufacturing districts will suffer to almost an equal extent. Is all this nothing to the Asquith Ministry?' And the answer is, that all this is as nothing, when compared with the danger of Tariff Reform—which is absolutely

[illegible] as soon as ever the [illegible] of the Indian trade [illegible] stood by the industrial communities of the North.

The Government have awakened to the fact that India is destined to be the pivot of Tariff Reform. Long ago they admitted that every known statesman and economist of Indian birth is ardently Protectionist, and denounces so-called 'Free Trade' as the ruin of every Indian industry; and they have discovered that, with the enlarged councils and the other reforms of Lord Morley, it is impossible much longer, with even that small pretence at decency which satisfies modern Radicalism, to impose on India their obsolete Cobdenite bigotry. On the other hand, they are well aware that no British House of Commons will ever allow them to concede to India the right of protecting Indian industries against Britain, for that would be not only a most unfriendly act towards the Mother Country, but would undoubtedly produce widespread starvation in Lancashire and the cotton districts, and fatally injure almost every British industry. Some extreme Radicals, like Sir Henry Cotton and Mr. Lees-Smith, M.P., have not hesita[illegible] commit themselves to the absurdity of advocating Protection to India with Free Trade for Britain; but the majority of the Liberals who have any knowledge of or authority on I[illegible] matters, such as Lord Morley, Lord Crewe, and Mr. Mon[illegible] M.P., are well aware of the absolute impossibility of su[illegible] policy. And, on the other hand, they see that the vast b[illegible] Anglo-Indian opinion—headed by such experienced men as [illegible] Lansdowne, Lord Curzon, Lord Minto, Lord Ampthill, a[illegible] Viceroys, and numerous retired Indian officials—holds [illegible] Imperial Preference, fostering both British and Indian indus[illegible] and removing the causes of friction between them, is the rea[illegible] able and just solution of the Indian fiscal problem. S[illegible] solution is urgently demanded, and the Government know [illegible] well that it cannot be long delayed, now that every single In[illegible] member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, appointed un[illegible] Lord Morley's Act, insists upon it. More than two years ago [illegible] late Sir Edward Fitzgerald Law—the famous Indian Fina[illegible] Minister who signed Lord Curzon's despatch on Preferent[illegible] Tariffs, and wrote the elaborate minute on which it was founded— in the preface of a little book (dedicated to Mr. Chamberlain) advocating Imperial Preference for India, while he admitted it was too much for India to expect absolute fiscal freedom, declared that:

> If she fights for it, she will obtain some measure of that freedom which to-day is denied to her by all the protectionist countries of the world. These countries are delighted to accept from India, free of duty, those raw products which either fail altogether within their own territories, or are produced in insufficient quantities for their requirements; but whilst accepting such articles as raw jute, raw hides, oil-seeds, and uncleaned rice free of duty, they levy prohibitory import duties on India's jute manu-

[illegible] a cheap supply of raw materials for their [illegible] industries, whilst successfully obstructing industrial development in [illegible] is their natural desire to keep the peoples of India in the position [illegible] hewers of wood and drawers of water for their manufacturers. Ought such [illegible] situation to be tolerated when we hold the remedy in our own hands? [illegible] we expect the people of India to accept it with equanimity? Do we [illegible], by our present attitude, justify the Swadeshi movement, and wilfully add fuel to the flame of political unrest?'

Mr. Bonar Law, in an illuminating speech on the whole uestion of Indian Imperial Preference, delivered before the East ndia Association in the Caxton Hall, on the 5th of May 1907, after oting the immense stimulus that Indian Preference would afford our own British industries, declared plainly his strong conviction that, ' of all the parts of the British Empire, the one which vill benefit the most, and benefit most rapidly, will be the British ndian Empire.'

And it was also Mr. Bonar Law who, in his numerous ancashire speeches on this question, clearly explained the two reat and cardinal reasons why the Cobdenite system of so-called Free Trade has utterly failed in India, and has now become imossible there. The first reason is that Cobdenism has hopelessly trangled all the nascent industries of the country—and the rewakened national life of India under Lord Morley's reforms will ot stand this any longer. And the second reason is that Cobdenism renders absolutely necessary in India that odious and nquisitorial system of excise duties on the products of Indian nills and factories, which is more detested by the people than any ther form of taxation.

To see that Mr. Bonar Law is absolutely right, it is only eedful to understand what this excise system really means—a ystem that is unknown in any other country in the world, that e should not dare to impose on any one of our self-governing Colonies, and that our own British manufacturers and operatives vould spurn with the greatest indignation.

When it was imposed in 1895 by Lord Elgin, at the bidding f Mr. Tom Garnett and his friends, it was absolutely necessary ecause of the laws of Free Trade, for the following reasons :

(1) Indian finance cannot possibly do without import and xport duties. For, as the present Finance Minister explained wo years ago, when imposing import duties on the cigarettes nanufactured by Bristol and Liverpool working-men, the only lternatives under Free Trade are to impose increased taxation n the pinches of salt and the miserable little patches of paddyand of the poor *raiyat*.

(2) But the Draconian law of the Cobden Club—laughed at by ll the rest of the world, but a stern reality for India—is, that you must not put a tax on the goods of the protected and subsidised

Japanese or Germans, or on your own monopolies sold to them, unless you at the same time put an equivalent tax on both British and Indian goods.

(3) So, as the Indian revenues need, *inter alia*, duty on the imports of foreign cotton goods of 3½ per cent. *ad valorem*, Free Trade insists that the same 3½ per cent. shall be charged not only on the imports of all Lancashire and Scottish cotton goods, but also as an excise duty on the products of the Indian cotton-mills.

Now, consider how this excise duty works. Every cotton-factory in the country is liable to be overhauled by the underlings of the Government, to have its premises searched, its books examined, its operatives molested. Every Indian cotton-factory is compelled to submit monthly returns, showing:

(1) Every ounce of cotton yarn spun.
(2) A description of the 'count' of yarn spun.
(3) Every yard of cloth woven.
(4) A description of every variety of cloth woven.
(5) Details of bleached, or dyed, or printed cloths, if any.

And within fifteen days of the close of each month the factories have to pay the excise duty on the cloth made in the previous month, whether sold or not!

The abuses that must arise under such a system are obvious. Can even the most bureaucratic Radical imagine such a system at work in Lancashire or Lanarkshire? Would Mr. Harcourt dare to propose such a system to Canada or Australia, to countervail their much higher customs duties? But if not, what becomes of our vaunted 'trusteeship' of India?

The Radical says to India, 'If you want to get rid of your excise duty on Indian cotton, take off your duties on imported cottons—including those on the dumped Japanese cotton hosiery that has already killed the Bombay manufacture.' Yes, but what about the loss to Indian revenue?

The Tariff Reformer, on the other hand, says to India, 'You reasonably object to this odious tax—abolish both the import duty on Lancashire and other British cottons and the excise duty on Indian cottons, and recoup your revenues by moderate duties on all the imported manufactures of the protected and subsidised foreigner, and on the exports to those foreign countries of such Indian monopolies as raw jute and lac—and, in return for your remission of the duties on British manufactures, the United Kingdom and the other States of the British Empire will give your produce and your manufactures, such as gunny-bags and so forth, a substantial preference in every British port.'

As a matter of fact, a moderate duty on the export of raw jute to countries outside the British Empire would at once produce a revenue sufficient to recoup the Indian Exchequer for every rupee on the loss occasioned by the remission of all taxation on British

[illegible] and Indian cottons. As jute is an absolute monopoly, and enormously cheaper than any competing fibre, and as Germany and America and other manufacturing countries must have the raw materials for their flourishing industries, such a duty would not seriously affect the foreign consumption, while it would immensely strengthen and stimulate both the Calcutta and the Dundee jute industry.

Similarly, a moderate duty on the imports into India of foreign cotton and woollen goods and other manufactures, with complete freedom for British and Indian goods, would strengthen the British and Indian industries—while the remission of all taxation on British and Indian cottons (the chief sources of supply) would instantly cheapen the clothing of every one of the 315,000,000 of the Indian peoples.

Radicals sometimes advance the futile objection that Indian Protectionists would not be satisfied with the modified protection of Imperial Preference—but surely, the half-loaf of Preference is better than the no-bread of Cobdenism? And as to the extremely foolish bogey of foreign retaliation, Lord Inchcape's chief argument at the Imperial Conference of 1907, this is what the great Indian Finance Minister, Sir Edward Fitzgerald Law, said of that:

> I am aware that many who have not studied the details of Indian trade fear that if India adopted a policy of retaliation her foreign customers would refuse to receive her exported produce, and that India would consequently suffer severely in her all-important export trade; but, if the position be examined in detail, it will be found that India has a practical monopoly of production of certain important raw materials, and that as regards many others, where she has not a monopoly, her production forms such a large percentage of the whole that its exclusion from any market must necessarily enhance prices in that market in a manner most prejudicial to local industrial interests. It must be recognised that the countries which have built up important industries, on the basis of a cheap supply of raw material, cannot afford to see those industries threatened with a failure of that supply.

With such overwhelming advantages for India, and for the Indian trade with the rest of the Empire, that are offered by Imperial Preference, it is perhaps not to be wondered at that Mr. Asquith and Mr. Harcourt so dexterously evaded any impartial inquiry into the subject. And on the 16th of April Mr. Harcourt, replying to questions in the House, refused to hold out any hope of a subsidiary commission to deal with India and the Crown Colonies and Protectorates. But the interests thus obscured and neglected are so immense that they cannot long be suppressed, even by the most skilful Parliamentary legerdemain.

ROPER LETHBRIDGE.

THE TREATMENT OF FEEBLE-MINDED CHILDREN

The feeble-minded, as defined by the Royal College of Physicians, are 'persons who may be capable of earning a living under favourable circumstances, but are incapable from mental defect existing from birth, or from an early age, (a) of competing on equal terms with their normal fellows; (b) of managing themselves and their affairs with ordinary prudence.' They are not to be confounded with imbeciles and idiots, though they may easily sink into the ranks of these. We can all recall examples: the 'innocent' of the village, the child who is growing up 'not quite all there,' the gentle, foolish girl who is 'not quite like other people.' The following points have also been emphasised: that a really feeble-minded child will always remain feeble-minded; that feeble-mindedness is hereditary.

From results collected by the Royal Commission on the care and control of the feeble-minded, which issued its report in 1908, it is estimated that there were in England and Wales in the previous year 149,628 mentally defective persons, other than certified lunatics; and of these, 66,509 were urgently in need of institutional care. Harmless in themselves, such persons become a source of weakness to the country, a danger to which we are only becoming fully alive as it threatens to grow almost unmanageable. The mentally deficient are peculiarly sensitive to sexual influences; evidence collected affords ample proof of their rather abnormal fertility and of the almost invariable degeneracy of their offspring. In one case, the descendants of a feeble-minded woman have been traced, showing a line of forty-eight persons, every one of whom is of deficient intellect or has alcoholic tendencies. In one workhouse sixteen feeble-minded women gave birth to 116 children. A woman was recently brought to a Home who had had eighteen children, sixteen of whom had died; the remaining two were imbecile. Another defective woman is instanced as having one apparently normal child, one who is a violent epileptic and two who are criminals—another manifestation of the same disease. The normal child and one criminal have no children. One son has five, all criminal like himself; the

... imbeciles and three criminal children ...
... examples could be multiplied *ad nauseam*.

In one gaol alone, moreover, 600 mental defectives passed through in a year. Seventeen cases had at least forty convictions each, while three had 102 and another 94, yet not one of these could be classed as detainable. The Royal Commission gives such figures as the following: From 45,000 to 50,000 of the school-children of the country, from one-fourth to one-fifth of all the inmates in workhouses, one-tenth of the prisoners, about one-half of the girls in Rescue Homes, one-tenth of the tramps all over the country, and two-thirds of the inmates of Homes for Inebriates, are mentally defective. During four years the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children dealt with ..13 cases in which either the parents or the children were of weak intellect.

Present conditions involve untold suffering to these unhappy beings. The greater number are quite unable to earn a living, and drag on a miserable existence, involved in poverty and disease, the butt and sport of the town or village, often ill-treated and punished, starved and beaten, for faults which are beyond their own control. Their criminality is generally owing to their having no strength of will to resist temptation; their idleness may be ascribed to inability to work steadily without skilled supervision. Yet practically no classified provision, no provision at all on any adequate scale, is made by the State for this large body of dependent persons. Feeble-minded children who commit lawless actions cannot be sent to any ordinary Industrial School: as soon as their mental condition is discovered the school refuses to keep them. The deficient child offender coming from a poor home is sent back to that home, to knock about the streets, to fall further into crime, to be the cat's-paw of every sharp and unscrupulous companion he may come across, and often to undergo long terms of imprisonment as the only way magistrates can devise for dealing with him.

Dr. Tredgold, in a paper read at the Manchester Poor Law Conference, says:

> Those who are fortunate enough to have means are kept by their relatives. For those who are not so fortunate the State does not provide any definite system of care. It makes no effort to supply the favourable conditions under which these people might earn a living. It simply looks on, furnishes neither protection nor control, and allows them to prey upon it. It is no matter for surprise to find that in a very short time the youth ... the young woman is in the prison or the Rescue Home. But there is no power to detain them in these institutions—they are very soon at large again, and the process goes on indefinitely. During their whole lives they are bandied from pillar to post, and it is no exaggeration to say that the existence of many of them is a continuous round of prison, workhouse, Rescue Home, and street.

The girls are in and out of the Maternity Wards year after year, without anyone having power to detain them, and it is not uncommon to find working-men taking half-witted girls to wife.

Mental deficiency, in short, stands high among the causes of destitution and crime. It has been a repeated subject of legislation, and the principle, as a principle, will hardly be questioned, that a state of things exists which calls upon the State to subordinate individual liberty to national interests, and to exercise the function of parent and guardian towards those who have no one to take them in charge.

There was a time when the ducking-stool was the only remedy which suggested itself for the half-witted woman, and when the 'softy' and the 'innocent' shared in the treatment meted out to the insane. By degrees other ideas have established themselves, and now the main principle laid down in dealing with this class is that their circumstances shall be in every case improved.

The causes that have chiefly contributed to make them what they are lay a heavy responsibility upon England. We look back to the past, down a long vista of generations of workers, in our agricultural districts, in our mining country, in our manufacturing towns, enfeebled by unwholesome surroundings and crippled by grinding conditions. 'In all her catalogue of achievement,' says Mr. George Peel in a recent book, 'England has neglected her own breed of men.' Her wage-earners in the last century were unable for many years, even with the most careful management, to procure the necessaries of healthy life. Their offspring grew up under-nourished, poorly clothed, degenerate in physique; they had families prone to early deterioration, and the extreme point was reached in those members who fell below the normal in mental capacity.

The fact that their numbers are rising and that they are becoming a grave and progressive danger to the country has, in all its urgent significance, been taken to heart at last.

The Prime Minister, speaking on the 20th of November, said that the care and control of the feeble-minded was occupying the serious attention of himself and his colleagues, and he earnestly hoped it would be possible to deal with it at an early date. Since then we learn that Mr. McKenna intends to bring in a Bill this session for dealing with the situation, and it seems the moment for examining the present position and for considering various proposals.

We are bound not only to keep the feeble-minded alive, but we are bound to do our best for them If, as seems scarcely to be doubted, it will be judged fair in the future to deprive them of liberty, we must see that they are made happy, and it is a task that will entail lifelong care, for it is urged even more

ingly by those who have the fullest knowledge of them, that, whenever possible, detention should begin from early years, when they are easily restrained and do not feel the loss of freedom. As I have said, these defective members of society usually belong to a poor class, and are apt to be the outcome of generations of want, vice, and alcoholism; numbers of them are illegitimate, and even when they have families who are kindly disposed towards them, they are a dead-weight upon these relatives, who are totally unable to provide the proper care and control needed for training them, and who are hampered and economically hindered by their presence.

As children, their effect upon other children in a small home where all live at close quarters cannot but be a bad one, and those parents who are fondest of their deficient children are often anxious and harassed at the thought of their future, and express their misgivings in such words as 'Who will care for them when I am gone?' On the other hand, when such children are trained and taught a trade in an institution, it is not at all uncommon for the parents to take them home as soon as they become profitable, and sometimes even to overwork them, disregarding the almost universal experience that their work only remains really effective when carried out under the supervision to which they have grown accustomed. Girls who are admitted to maternity wards are often determined to go out. Kindly officials may plead, lady visitors may offer every argument that can induce towards honest and respectable living; but they have just sense enough to know they can go if they like, and, if they are at work, they are capable of arguing that they can work outside and have the money they earn for themselves.

The destitute feeble-minded of any age come under the jurisdiction of the Poor Law authorities, who are compelled to provide accommodation for them; but even if these had the power to detain them personally, it does not follow that the workhouse is the proper place for them. It cannot provide the sort of training they require, and their services are utilised as children's nurses, or in other ways for which they are wholly unfit. More especially is the workhouse the wrong place for the children. In the evidence given before the Royal Commission it was stated that feeble-minded children were often placed among the imbeciles and that there was no place where they could be trained. One witness said:

A recent visit paid to workhouses showed imbeciles, idiots, and slightly feeble-minded living in wards together; all ages from fourteen to ninety. Hardly any attempt was made to teach or occupy the children; the accommodation was cheerless, and the life idle and dreary. Six of the children had formerly been in special schools. Five of them had greatly deteriorated;

[illegible]
of [illegible], who had made considerable progress at the special school, [illegible] associated with a roomful of low-type imbecile women.

In fact, one of the gravest charges brought by the Royal Commission was the want of classification in the workhouses by Boards of Guardians.

Yet the Guardians have not been indifferent: in many cases the problem has been constantly before the Boards, and of late years some of these have made efforts to use the power they possess to combine, in order to provide special institutions. Conferences have been held at many centres, where the need for some such experiment has been almost unanimously admitted, where one member after another has deplored the waste of money and pains, on account of the children being allowed at sixteen to return to normal life, and where the establishment of additional special institutions and colonies, which should provide continuous care and treatment from childhood onwards, has been advocated.

Oldham Board has a special school in which small classes and qualified teachers are obligatory, and in which great stress is laid on the teaching of manual occupations. Out of seventy-seven children who have attended for periods varying from six months to ten years, four have been removed as normal and forty are working, or making themselves of use at home; but here, again, the children, after sixteen, are subject to no organised control, and deteriorate when removed from the influence of the school. Yorkshire has just come to the determination to establish a Village Community, in which children under the age of thirteen can be received, chosen from the high-grade imbecile and the feeble-minded, who can be trained to lead a simple country life, working in house, farm, and garden, and earning at least a part of their living. It is hoped that they will become so accustomed to their surroundings and so fond of their life that when the age-limit is reached there will be no desire to leave.

Boards have combined with good effect in the Manchester and Birmingham districts, and important conferences have been held all over England, when Homes of Industry and Farm Colonies have been advocated. A suggestion which has found considerable favour is that one workhouse should be set apart in each district for the reception of all classes of the mentally deficient, but, pending proposed legislation, there has on the whole been little positive action taken.

By the Elementary Education Act of 1899, local authorities are empowered to provide special schools for the children in their district who are unfit for work in the normal elementary schools of the country. This Act is, unfortunately, permissive, not compulsory, and, owing principally to the cost involved, few districts

[illegible] children in England and Wales are being dealt by the Education authorities. These schools are of necessity costly; they involve special tuition, expensive equipment for various kinds of manual work, yet the Imperial Exchequer only bears a quarter of the cost.

These special schools [says Mr. Joseph Hudson, writing in the *Municipal Journal* for February 1912] have proved beyond a doubt that in the majority of cases the mentally defective can be trained to perform much useful and remunerative work. But they have done something more. They have shown how difficult it is to distinguish at a comparatively early age between true mental defect and retarded development—between mental defect due to want of proper care or nourishment or to accidental circumstances, which may therefore be remediable, and defect which is inherent, and therefore probably irremediable and transmissible. They have shown also, and this is very important, that some 40 per cent. of the pupils, although sufficiently mentally defective to require special school treatment, and in some cases apparently hopeless, brighten so much and develop such technical skill and become so sensible and self-supporting, that it would be nothing short of a crime to deprive them of their liberty.

Altogether, Local Education Committees have provided 150 special schools under the Act. These afford accommodation for about 8000 mentally defective children, and London accounts for eighty-nine schools, providing for 6485 children. In 1897 London Guardians were empowered to hand over the mentally defective children dependent on them to the Metropolitan Asylums Board, and these were provided for in small Homes established within easy reach of special schools. By 1901 some of the children had reached the age of sixteen. It was felt it would be cruel to send them back to the workhouse, and further resolutions empowered the authorities to continue to keep them.

In 1903 an order was made to detain them till twenty-one, and it was considered necessary to provide colonies to which they could be drafted. At the present time some 400 are so detained, of whom about half are children, and many more are awaiting admission.

Guardians of the Poor, all over the country, have power to avail themselves of voluntary Homes, and about sixty Boards have done so, paying 10*s*. or 12*s*. a week for a child's keep. The establishment of voluntary institutions dealing with the class in question has developed very remarkably of late years, and the feeble-minded have derived real benefit from the philanthropic effort that goes hand in hand with public help and which ought to hold a position of increasing importance in the future. As long ago as 1887, the Metropolitan Society for Befriending Young Servants laid the foundation for this sort of help, by starting a special school for troublesome, helpless, and mentally defective

girls. In 1890 the Council of the Charity Organisation Society took into consideration the special needs of these hitherto neglected people. The following year saw four Homes opened by private philanthropy, and in 1895 the representatives of these Homes, widely scattered as they were, combined with others interested in the question to found the National Association for the Feeble-minded, which has been incessant in its propagandist and educational efforts, was mainly instrumental in securing the appointment of the Royal Commission, and has continually urged the case of this helpless class on public authorities. The question of permanent care has long been recognised as an essential factor of the many Societies under voluntary management which have gathered round the Association. To all intents and purposes it is carried out in the majority of the Training Homes, when it is proved that the inmates can never do battle with the world; and wherever the individual is caught in early childhood and his happiness is studied, there is comparatively little knowledge of the outer world to unsettle, and the idea of leaving the Home seldom suggests itself, unless instilled by outside influence.

It is not, however, only the wish to profit by the power of the feeble-minded to earn that leads parents to take out their children. When these are taken charge of by the Poor Law it constitutes the parents paupers, though they may not be in receipt of any other relief, and till this stigma is removed it will be a bar to securing the custody of many of the children. The Education Authority contributes a grant of *4l.* a head for schooling, and this, of course, does not disfranchise those parents who are able to pay for their children's support. The money paid by Guardians is not sufficient to finance the voluntary Homes, which depend largely on charitable subscriptions, and are also helped by the inmates' labour.

With the wider interest awakened and the proposals for legislation, a tendency at once arises to enlarge institutions and to mass the dependent together, with the idea that it is easier, more thorough, and more economical to deal with them on a large scale. The recommendation that one workhouse in each district should be reserved for all the imbecile, idiot, and feeble-minded persons of that district, by a combination of Boards of Guardians in neighbouring counties, seems a popular one, and the Local Government Board has issued an Order by which the small Homes of the Metropolitan Asylums Board are to be broken up, and the feeble-minded now under the control of the Children's Committee are to be transferred to a large asylum.

The main institution for the reception of imbeciles and idiots belonging to the London authorities is Darenth Asylum, in Kent. In a huge aggregation of buildings, standing high upon the

ls, in a bleak but healthy situation, upwards of 1900 improvable and unimprovable imbeciles are now confined. About 400 these are unimprovable—that is to say, are creatures living death-in-life existence; many of them mere inanimate sacks flesh, content, like animals, as long as they are warm and ell fed. It is proposed to remove the whole of these (who not now mix in any way with the improvable class) to a natic asylum, and to fill their place by the feeble-minded, who, their turn, are to be shut off from the remaining imbeciles, ıd to receive the same careful training and supervision as in ıe small Homes.

Where adults are in question, there is no objection to be .ade to this arrangement. Their fate is decided; they are never kely to be any better, and, with all that can be done with em in large colonies, they become not only in some measure f-supporting, but are as happy as it is possible to make them.

Those who have never seen one of these great colonies can ardly form an idea of the busy, cheerful round of life which ın be planned even for the imbecile. The visitor passes from ıe workshop to another—airy, well-arranged buildings, filled th busy, interested workers. The carpenter, the tinman, the sket-maker, the printer, the laundress, the sewing-machinist, l turn out their work excellently well, are proud of it, and ealthily tired when it is over. Men who are suited to agricultural employment work upon the farm which lies round the sylum. They feed pigs and chickens, look after sheep, manage ıe dairy, work in the gardens. There is no question but that ıey love and enjoy their work, and hang like children on the ords of praise or blame of their teachers and overseers, who ıow boundless tact and patience in developing and encourag- g their efforts. Everything that kindness can do is done, and reat and beneficent gifts are exerted on their behalf. The life varied by dances, magic-lanterns, shopping expeditions, cricket ıd football matches, and, unless they are tempted away by elations who become alive to the good work they can do, there little difficulty in retaining a hold upon them. The same ort of arrangements will probably come into force in the proposed district asylums, which can be made far happier places ıan the workhouses.

But it is when we turn to the children, when we learn that om three years of age, onwards, these are also to be massed ı large colonies, that we doubt the wisdom of applying the ıme treatment to them. Defective children of the type in uestion are not so very unlike other children, except that they re slower in development, and for the most part of weaker ıysique, more fretful, needing more tender care and coaxing.

While they are small, or even till they are grown up, it is difficult to decide what their mental status will be. Among doctors who have studied them most carefully, there are those who challenge the assertion 'Once a feeble-minded, always a feeble-minded,' and who contend that it is not rare to find cases in which, after defectivity has been established by the most exhaustive scientific tests, the children have been restored, and the cells developed the absence of which constituted disease.

It is acknowledged that the line which divides the highest grade of the defective from the normal is an exceedingly fine one, and that many cases exist in which privation and cruelty have contributed to make a child appear wanting. The mind recoils from the possibility of placing even one child among the half-witted for the whole of its life, if it is capable of entire recovery; nor would we willingly place little, feeble-minded, frail-bodied children, who need loving care even more than other children, in institutions which can never be quite like a home, and where it is hardly possible that they should be given the individual study which is their best chance. If all these children are to be placed in batches of forty in an enlarged Darenth, to grow larger still as time goes on, even though they are divided from improvable imbeciles, many of them must needs be associated with those much below them in intelligence. The dividing line between the lowest and the imbecile is a very faint one, too, and among the forty there will be many who are not very distinguishable from the imbecile and the idiot of the better class. It is well known that these children benefit in a marked way by mixing with those who are on a higher mental level, and that they deteriorate correspondingly when their companions are of lower grade. It will be almost impossible, even by making large and expensive alterations, to prevent all association—in chapel, in school, in lecture hall—between the two classes of children, and the arrangement by which they come under the care of the same medical man and attendants as imbeciles and idiots, is bound to lower the standard of mentality by which they are judged.

Some disappointment has been expressed as to results obtained by the small Homes of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, which are now about to be suppressed. Very much was expected of these small Homes, and in the reaction they are now spoken of as failures. It is true that, as might have been predicted, they have failed to turn out children up to the normal standard, yet it is difficult to see why shortcomings should not be rectified, and impossible not to prefer them to the institution. The small house looking into the street or the garden, with little rooms and a bright kitchen, where girls or boys can help with the

[illegible] individuality has a good deal of [illegible] substitute for the little, shabby homes to which [illegible] children's thoughts and affections often cling. The shops [illegible] which they can run errands, the neighbours who ask them out to tea, offer a much more human environment than long corridors with processions forming up, and vast wards, gaily decorated, but where toys are put away because the children break them and no one has time to teach them not to do so. A lady Guardian speaks of a little girl of feeble mind, who had been for some months in one of these great caravanserai, saying that she was so changed as to be quite a different child. She used to be a bright, smiling child, and now had a dull, fixed look, and no one could get a smile out of her; and she adds, she had had a favourite toy which had been taken away from her 'because they did not have these little toys.'

The Homes of the Metropolitan Asylums Board have suffered from various causes: they have been too tightly tied up with red tape. Their superintendents are not given a free hand. The matron has not sufficient liberty in providing occupations and amusements for her charges. Not a single sixpence may be spent without a form filled up and an order received, and it is astonishing that a scheme carried out on these lines should attract persons of the devotion and resource it has done. Another drawback is want of sufficient classification. There is no doubt that this lies at the root of a great deal of want of success, and that need exists for more thorough winnowing, especially if compulsory detention is to be resorted to. A mistake is made, too, in special schools and Homes, in insisting on brain-work. It is nothing short of cruel to torment these children with learning in the ordinary sense; whereas they are remarkable for manual dexterity, and to this they had better be allowed to devote all their powers.

It is, perhaps, too late to urge the retention of the small Homes, but there remain the voluntary Homes, which might be utilised in preference to large institutions, and which could be encouraged, multiplied, even financed. It will cost enormously to enlarge existing asylums, and the State might very well support smaller Homes instead, which have been proved to be more economical.

How happily the Education Authorities and those of the Poor Law may work together with voluntary institutions [says a writer to the *Spectator*] has been shown by the Lancashire and Cheshire Society, which some fourteen years ago was founded with the express purpose of calling public attention to the need for permanent provision for those who could not take care of themselves, and were, by the hereditary nature of their defect, a menace to the stability of the nation and a source of immediate danger to those about them. Its first Home was opened eleven years ago,

when fifteen little boys were taken into its care. The intention of the founders was to carry their principles into action and convince the public of the possibility of detaining and making happy for life all who might become their wards. Acting on the ascertained fact that the feeble-minded are commonly without any power of self-direction, they determined to admit young children to a school which should be conducted under the Board of Education, and since these children would inevitably be guided by someone, to make sure that they were guided entirely by those who could protect them from evil. . . . The outcome of the experiment has been surprisingly what was hoped for. The Society, which was incorporated under the Board of Trade, now owns about 120 acres of land. It has six residential houses, providing accommodation for children, adolescents, and adults of both sexes. There is a school-house with 180 school-places, two sets of farm buildings, cottages, a laundry, and several large glass-houses. . . . Some 285 children have been admitted since the first house was opened: of these 233 are now in residence. Seventy-six of them are over the age of sixteen. More than twenty young men and about the same number of young women are between the ages of eighteen and twenty-three. Some of them are very low-grade cases; nevertheless there is only one of these grown-up children who is not usefully employed. The men and boys work on the land, in farm and garden; the young women in the house and laundry, where they are doing excellently well. The pecuniary success of the work on the land is remarkable. There has never been any loss; now there is, year by year, a very substantial profit!

The writer goes on to speak of the grief it has been to see children, brought up safely, persuaded to go away by unscrupulous parents. 'The children never *want* to go; there are no runaways, though it would be impossible to prevent the young men from walking off if they chose to do so.' About fifteen trained cases have been lost, and while, had the law given assistance, they might have been happy for life in their contented retirement, they have become waifs and strays, to become, probably in every case, the parents of other waifs and strays. And the writer urges further that it does not seem reasonable that the workers for a society such as this, which is saving the rates out of all proportion to its outlay, should be constantly hampered for want of money.

Space does not allow of a detailed description of the varieties of these voluntary Homes. There are several Farm Colonies: self-contained villages which provide special instruction, and in which boys and girls learn to make boots or clothing, baskets, rugs, to do printing, carpentering, household and agricultural work, and to do it creditably and well. There are also small Homes for children of both sexes, from which drafts can be made to the larger settlements. The small Homes are conspicuously free from the institutional flavour. They are not isolated from the outer world. The writer visited one a few weeks ago, which is only divided by a low fence from a high-road along which traffic of all kinds passes. Of the twenty-five

[illegible]
boys it contains, many are allowed to walk in small parties to church and to the villages round, and can be trusted to behave well, without supervision. A band of Scouts has been formed, and, with their energetic Scout-master, the boys go all over the country. For boys who are debarred from free intercourse with their fellows, and whose sensitive minds are keenly alive to the fact that they are not like other boys, the value of this scouting is very great. The uniform, the successive portions of which they earn by good conduct; the drill, the learning and practice of Scout-law; the notions of honour and trustworthiness conveyed to minds hazy on such points; the long days in the country, cooking and fending for themselves—all tend to develop self-respect and self-help. In summer they go into camp, and this is perhaps the happiest event of their lives. An older boy, who was about to be transferred to 'a colony,' spoke with pride of going to work on 'a farm,' with no suspicion of its exceptional character. In those Homes which are devoted to the care of mothers with first infants, unlike the workhouses, no difficulty is found in retaining the inmates. They are made happy and kept safe. The children, also, can be kept till their mental condition is ascertained, and though they may seem quite normal at ten, it is not for twice that number of years that a safe opinion can be formed.

Self-respect? Self-control? It has been found possible by training to instil these qualities, and to send the boys and girls who have acquired them, under proper safeguards, to earn their living in the world. In the neighbourhood of certain of the Homes the young men are employed as day-labourers by the farmers, and bring their wages back punctually. Young women become good servants under kind and patient mistresses, and have been awarded grants for years of faithful service.

It must be remembered, in contradistinction to the usual dictum of the responsibility of parents, that *we want to persuade parents to entrust their feeble-minded children to systematic care*. If the trained child can at best become self-controlled and self-respecting, and at least can be rendered docile and partly self-supporting, the same child left to the care of needy and injudicious relations will almost certainly become a danger to the community. To assure ourselves of this, we need only visit the special schools, in which the state of half-witted children, who come from and go back to their homes in the outer world, is often sad and shocking, and defies the efforts of the handicapped teachers. The difference between the daft, dirty, neglected children who are received at the Homes and the cheerful, controlled beings they become in the course of a few months, is nothing short of astonishing. They are more open to sug-

gestion than normal children, less capable of collusion, and ... a simple vanity and pleasure in their surroundings which make them easy to manage. Homes for non-pauper feeble-minded are required as urgently as for paupers, but in order to persuade parents to take advantage of them the Homes themselves must be rendered attractive. Many poor parents are devotedly attached to their deficient children, and often do them as muc harm by pampering and over-indulgence as by neglect. Suc parents can be more easily persuaded to entrust them to a sma Home than to the huge *institution*, and the children, in mor homely and more accessible surroundings, are less liable to . cut off from the pleasures of family affection. It is well know that poor parents have a horror of asylums and, partly owin to the past reputation of these, partly to the knowledge th large numbers of imbeciles and idiots will still be housed i them, many will strain every nerve to prevent their littl ones from entering them, while there is no difficulty in gettin them to make use of the voluntary Homes, which are alwa full to overflowing. We wish to secure the power of detentio but, in order to make the public agree to any system of inc ceration, it is important that the Homes should in no sense b or have the appearance of being, prisons or asylums in the usu sense.

An order has lately been issued by the Local Governme Board which has some connexion with this point of compulso detention, and which is more far-reaching than at first appear Rescinding the order of 1897, which established the Homes und the Metropolitan Asylums Board, it facilitates the transfer defective children to asylums. They are to be admitted at an age, under twenty-one, *uncertified*, on the recommendation the medical advisers of Boards of Guardians. No reviso examination is compulsory at twenty-one, or any other time, ar they may be kept in the asylum as long as the authorities choos Any presumably weak-minded child, incapable of maintainir itself by work, may be sent to any asylum by any Board Guardians. Boards will have every temptation to transfer t burden of weak-minded and often troublesome children to t care of an all-embracing institution. Their medical advisers . not mental experts, and are *often* so ill-paid that it is doubtf if the best skill would be available. On the other hand, t authorities of the great asylum, thoroughly imbued with the lo of organisation, and utilising to the full the excellent manu powers of the feeble-minded, are not, we submit, in the b position to discriminate as to the powers latent in young childre When these are massed with only slightly lower intellects, a live the routine life that is inevitable, the delicate brain in

[illegible] time takes the wrong turn. Children coming under this order may have been improvable, almost to a normal type; but no safeguard exists that they will not be engulfed for the rest of their lives in these huge, unexplored aggregations of defective humanity: lost sight of—it being to the interest of no one to seek for them.

It is no secret that among medical men a strong opinion has arisen in favour of sterilisation. It is hardly necessary to discuss a course which does not at present come within the range of practical politics and which would certainly meet with considerable, perhaps insurmountable, opposition. At the same time, it is evident that a sufficiently wide scheme of care would obviate the need for such drastic methods, while it is difficult to help a misgiving that, if self-interest no longer entered into our calculations, one of the incentives for dealing generously with the mentally defective would be removed, and they might suffer from its loss.

We may sum up certain conclusions:

That no feeble-minded delinquents should in future be condemned to imprisonment as criminals.

That the time has come when it is imperative to legislate for detaining and making due provision for all such mental defectives as cannot be satisfactorily controlled by their friends.

That feeble-minded adults can be satisfactorily dealt with in large colonies.

That children should be placed on a different footing. That they should be classified and re-classified, the lower grades being kept together till such time as they can be sent to the adult colonies, but that the best class, the substratum, should be carefully collated, housed in moderate numbers, and given special treatment; and in proportion as they answer to training, should, as they grow older, be passed on to special colonies or adult Homes, where their lives can be spent among companions of the same sort of mental calibre as themselves.

That the Government should utilise more liberally and assist and encourage the formation of small associations.

It remains to be seen whether the Government will do more than appoint authorities, and whether the feeble-minded will be brought under the care of the Lunacy Commissioners or the Board of Education, or whether, in view of the large numbers it is proposed to add, a new Central Authority may not be constituted to deal with all classes of the mentally deficient.

The task which confronts the nation is a huge one, but it is far more likely to be successfully carried out if varied methods are adopted, than if the attempt is made to sweep the whole mass of feeble-minded humanity into one channel. The re-

modelled workhouses will gather feeble-minded adults into their net in every district. The children will be better served by village groups, with houses, holding not more than twenty-five inmates each, built round their own school, and by a variety of small Homes, which will give power to draw for organisation and inspection upon the vast reserves of voluntary service which, if the State would *only* believe it, it still has at its call.

Our instincts of self-preservation warn us that we *must* check this canker that is poisoning the roots of our social life, but it may be borne in mind that the task will not be an increasing, but a diminishing one. The more thoroughly it is taken in hand, the smaller will be the numbers concerned in each succeeding generation. About 4000 of these children are born every year in England. Every birth that can be prevented is something subtracted from the great burden of incapacity which we are preparing as the heritage of those who come after us.

EVELYN MARCH PHILLIPPS.

A PHYSIOLOGICAL BASIS FOR EDUCATION

EDUCATION has hitherto for the most part been treated as having no physiological basis, and only an empiric psychology; the time seems to have arrived when an attempt should be made to bring it into line with other arts, since unscientific methods mean waste of material and energy, and the material wasted is that of which the nation should be built. As the development of the muscles and other organs of our bodies depends on the kind of physical culture they receive, so also does the development of our psychical or mental powers depend on the systematic training, or education, which the living substance of our brains receives. Included in this living matter there are elements whose function it is to receive and to become impressed by energy derived from the outer world and from the movements of our limbs and bodies; these impressions are reproduced when these charged elements are re-excited by appropriate stimuli. Action of this kind is well known and is included in the term Memory. In addition to these mnemic elements the human brain contains a large mass of living matter whose function it is to transform the energy derived from our sensations and ideas into psychical force, that is, into thoughts and into intellectual processes which act on certain motor cerebral centres and become manifest in the movements of our limbs, or, it may be, in silent or articulate language. Lastly, the function of other parts of the human brain-substance is to elaborate those hereditary instinctive and primitive emotional tones of feeling which, to a large extent, form our personal character and that of the race or society to which we belong.[1]

[1] *The Psychology of Education*, by J. Welton, M.A., Professor of Education in the University of Leeds, pp. 7, 40, 70. Throughout the following pages the term personal character is employed to signify those hereditary instinctive and emotional processes which, it is conceived, form the substratum of our *actions*, and to a large extent rule our whole life. (See International Scientific Series, vol. xcvii. p. 2.) These primitive emotions include among others anger, hate, fear, joy, sorrow, disgust, etc. To these instinctive hereditary processes Mr. Edmond G. A. Holmes would add from his experience of child-life the following—communicative, dramatic, artistic, æsthetic, inquisitive, and constructive instincts. *What is and what might be*, by Edmond G. A. Holmes, late Chief Inspector of Elementary Schools, pp. 165-188.

Our subject may be treated in two sections: in the first, the explanation of the nature and the development of that of living matter the orderly working of which is necessary for the manifestation of our instinctive and emotional faculties; and the consideration how far this kind of matter can be influenced by education. We shall then proceed to show that thoughts and reasoning powers result from work performed by elements of our central nervous system, whose development depends on the culture they receive, especially during childhood.

In the first place, however, it is necessary to refer to memory, without which neither mental nor emotional tones of feeling could have come into operation; it is not confined to elements of the nervous system, but appears to be common to all forms of living matter—in fact, to constitute one of its fundamental properties.

Professor F. Darwin, when referring to the nature of the memory-like character of movements made by the leaves of sleeping plants, states that if plants of this kind are placed in a dark room after they have gone to sleep at night they will be found next day in the diurnal position, and they again assume the nocturnal position as evening comes on.[3] These plants normally drop their leaves at the stimulus of darkness, and raise them at the stimulus of light. But here, as we see the leaves rising and falling in the absence of the accustomed stimulation, these movements must result from the internal 'physiological' conditions which habitually accompany them.

The possession of memory is indicated by the fact that the result of the stimulation of light on the living substance of the leaves of these plants was not momentary in its effect, but left a trace of its action which regulated the subsequent movement of the leaves; not only does the living matter of these plants retain impressions it has received from former stimuli, but it is in consequence of the action of these impressions that its subsequent movements are effected.

The movements of many of the simplest forms of animal and vegetable beings indicate the possession of memory. An amœba, for instance, consists of a minute particle of protoplasm, which has been seen to seize a smaller amœba: the latter escaped from its grasp, but was pursued and re-captured. In Professor Jenning's opinion, these movements of the amœba indicate a power on the part of its living substance to act on former experience, or by the aid of its memory. Another of these unicellular beings, known as the stentor, possesses vibrating hair-like processes which encircle the opening leading into its body cavity; these processes move in such a way as to direct

[3] Presidential Address of the British Association for the year 1908.

[illegible] of food(?) in the surrounding water into the [illegible]'s body-cavity, or, by a reversed movement, to push disagreeable materials away from this opening. This power of choice involves the use of memory, a fact which is confirmed by an experiment made by Professor Jennings on a stentor, in which he subjected this being to the influence of a stream of water containing grains of carmine. The stentor did not at first react, or move away from the stimulus or impact on its body-substance of the carmine particles; but after a time it bent its body first to one and then to the other side, as if to avoid the shock caused by the grains of carmine. After this mode of treatment had been repeated several times, the stentor at once responded to the stimulus, reversing its ciliary movement, and finally contracting into its tube. The important thing to note is, that after several repetitions of the above treatment, the stentor 'contracted directly the stream of carmine came in contact with its body.' We refer such a movement as this, in the case of the higher animals, to the result of 'memory, association, habit, and learning.'

Mnemic and purposive elements appear to be distributed throughout the living substance of the bodies of unicellular organisms; in the lowest class of multicellular beings we find that these elements have separated into structures, each of which possesses the power to do a particular thing, and to work in a particular way. This separation of living elements into definite forms appears to result from the action of the environment. Thus we conceive that the mode of energy we call light, by its action on those elements of living substance which possess a special aptitude for receiving such stimuli, has gradually produced coloured structures such as those known as eye-spots, which are common in unicellular beings; from these simple structures the complex eyes of the higher animals have gradually been evolved. In the same way energy derived from contact or touch has in the course of time effected molecular changes in certain of the living elements of the simplest form of multicellular beings, and has moulded these elements into 'receptors' of this mode of energy, or into tactile sense-organs with their system of nerve cells and fibres.[a] For example, a network of nerve-cells and fibres exists in polyps beneath their outer or skin layer of cells. These nerve-cells consist of small nucleated masses of protoplasm from which fibres extend in all directions, like wires from a central telegraph station. There are on the surface of the polyp's body upstanding protoplasmic processes adapted to receive the impact of energy from the outer world, and to conduct such stimuli to the mnemic and purposive

[a] *International Scientific Series*, vol. xcv. pp. 108, 113.

elements of a subjacent nerve-cell, thus setting free [illegible] working energy, which becomes manifest in the movement of a contractile muscle-cell or fibre under the control of this particular form of energy. A structural arrangement of this kind constitutes the simplest form of what is called a tactile sense-organ, with its corresponding nervous and muscular system. By a sense-organ, therefore, we mean an arrangement of elements adapted to receive, sift, and transmit energy derived from various sources to corresponding nerve-cells; this energy is transmuted into nerve-force by the constituent elements of the nerve-cell, and is conducted to muscular structures, producing definite movements of the animal's body. These movements are, as a rule, purposive, that is, they tend to promote the well-being of the organism. The brain of higher animals, including human beings so far as our subject is concerned, consists of a vastly complex arrangement of nerve-cells and fibres. The living substance of these cells consists of elements adapted by their molecular arrangement and motion to transform physical forms of energy into specific modes of nerve-force, which becomes manifest in mnemic, purposive, psychical, motor, or other kinds of work. The whole of these cells are brought into relation with one another by means of their communicating fibres. Energy discharged by the living matter of a nerve-cell passes along those nerve-fibres which, from constant use, have become highly tuned as conductors of that special form of energy which controls the action of certain groups of muscles, and thus causes the movements of the body and limbs of the animal.

Experiments on ants demonstrate that the action of the instinctive and emotional elements of insects depends on energy they receive through means of the sense-organs acting on their brain. M. Forrel has proved that the olfactory-sense-organs of these insects are located in their antennæ, and that it is through these organs that the ants' instinctive actions and emotional feelings are brought into play.[4] If an ant's body is smeared over with fluid pressed from the bodies of its companions and the insect is then returned to its nest, its companions take no notice of the stained ant. But if an ant is smeared with fluid pressed from the body of ants of a hostile species, and is then returned to its nest, its companions immediately attack and kill it. Different genera of ants, which under ordinary conditions are deadly enemies, live together on friendly terms after having their olfactory organs removed; having no olfactory-sense-organs they fail to distinguish friend from foe; the mnemic, instinctive, and emotional elements exist in the nervous matter of their brain,

[4] *The Evolution and Functions of Living Purposive Matter*, by N. C. Macnamara, pp. 60, 67, 68.

[illegible] no longer be brought into play, because the [illegible] source of their excitation has been destroyed. From these sense-organs nerve-fibres extend to sensori-motor nerve-cells, located in what is known as the insect's mid-brain; this corresponds to the portion of the brain of vertebrates hereinafter called the cerebral basal system or primitive brain. It is, we contend, the function of this part of the brain to elaborate the hereditary instinctive and emotional processes displayed by all orders of animals, and out of this matter the psychical areas of the human cerebrum have been evolved.

In the three lower classes (fishes, amphibians and reptiles) of the five into which vertebrate animals have been divided, the central nervous system may roughly be said to consist of a rod-shaped mass of nerve-cells and fibres known as the spinal cord, which, when it passes into the skull, expands so as to form the lower brain, and is continued into the mid- and inter-brain, which, with their associated lobes, form the primitive brain or *basal nervous system.* The brains of these three lower classes of vertebrates have no *true* cerebral hemispheres: that is, they do not contain nervous structures similar to those which in the higher orders of beings elaborate psychical processes. Consequently the nervous energy causing the hereditary instinctive and emotional movements of these beings is derived from their basal nervous systems, lower brain, and spinal cord. The movements of fishes, amphibians, and reptiles therefore, like those of insects, result from reflex or from automatic processes: that is, they are effected independently of psychical or mental nervous energy. Nevertheless, the animals included in these three classes possess retentive memories, and show by their actions not only instinct but also emotional feelings. For instance, Mr. Pennell states that, in company with the superintendent of the Zoological Gardens, he visited the building in which the glass tanks containing perch were located. The keeper of these fish was also present, and so long as he moved about in front of the tank the fish took no notice of him, but when he walked from the tank towards the cupboard where he kept the net used for introducing food into the tank, the perch swam rapidly across their tank with their fins erect, evidently in a state of high emotional excitement. The instinctive actions and emotional feelings of fish are still more conspicuous in the way sticklebacks build their nests and guard their young from injury. That these mnemic, instinctive, and emotional characters are hereditary qualities in fish and the two other classes of animals we have referred to, is shown by the fact that they are passed on by germ-cells from one to succeeding generations of the same order of beings inhabiting all parts of the world.

Further evidence bearing on the functions performed by the basal nervous system of the three lower classes of vertebrates is afforded by experiments made on frogs. If the cerebrum of a frog, including its basal system, is removed, the animal may continue to live; but if an obstacle is placed in its way, the frog when touched from behind makes no effort to avoid the obstruction in its path, but will leap or crawl against it; its mnemic and instinctive powers are abolished with the destruction of its basal nervous system.[5] Experiments made on some of the higher animals lead to a similar conclusion, and prove that the living nervous substance of the basal system controls the emotional and instinctive actions of these beings.

Instinctive and emotional actions need no teaching; they are inherent qualities of the living substance of the basal system and become manifest *immediately* this substance is brought into action by an appropriate stimulus. On the other hand, between the reception of a stimulus and the discharge of psychical nerve-force a measurable interval of time occurs, due to the complicated nerve-paths which the latter form of energy has to traverse before it can act on the muscles. Beyond this, thought-reactions must be practised and learnt by each individual during his life-time, and they pass away at his death. The greater number of basal reactions become by use habitual, though some of them, as for instance the egg-laying of certain insects, are but once performed.[6]

The opinion we advance that the structural arrangement and functions performed by the nervous substance of the basal system are hereditary, rests on the fact that the brains of the three lower classes of vertebrates do not possess psychical nervous structures comparable with those in the brains of the mammalia, while each order of the lower classes of vertebrates manifests characteristic instinctive actions and emotional feelings, which are passed on to succeeding generations of similar beings, although these may be placed under very different environmental conditions.

We cannot in human beings obtain the same kind of evidence regarding the functions performed by their basal system as that

[5] Professor W. H. Wilson, of Cairo, finds that stimulation of the basal system of the large Egyptian iguana causes definite movements of various parts of its body, and that there is a distinct and precise motor localisation in the mid-brain of these reptiles, determined by the ending of the tactile tracts of their bodies in this part of the brain. The Arris and Gale Lectures, by Professor Elliot Smith, *The Lancet* (1910), p. 222. See also *Psychology of Education*, by Professor J. Welton, pp. 71-4.

[6] *First Book of Psychology*, pp. 89, 231, by Professor M. W. Calkins. In an article on 'The Human Brain in Relation to Education,' published by me in *The Westminster Review* for December 1900, I gave a case illustrating the possession of well-marked hereditary powers of observation possessed by an Andamanese lad, p. 635 (N.C.M.).

[illegible] in the case of the lower animals; [illegible] the clinical evidence we possess on this subject tends to confirm the idea that specific forms of energy received by this part of the human brain are transmuted by its elements into instinctive actions and emotional feelings, and that these elements are hereditary.[1] The history of Laura Bridgeman and H. Kellner affords us further evidence as to the hereditary properties possessed by the living substance of the basal nervous systems. From the second to about her tenth year of age, although the psychical capacities of Laura Bridgeman were dormant, her emotional feelings ran rampant, and were frequently displayed in uncontrolled fits of passion and unmeaning laughter. She could not have learnt as a child how to express her ill-temper, or to laugh or cry, by imitating these emotional expressions of feeling as they appeared in other people, since she could neither see nor hear. It seems evident, then, that these emotional feelings and actions, as in the case of the lower animals, were inherent qualities of the child's basal nervous system, brought into play by energy which it received through tactile-sense organs. These manifestations of emotional feeling constituted the only prominent traits of the child's personal character.

The living nervous elements of the basal system, then, constitute the mechanism by which instinctive actions and emotional feelings are elaborated; and unless through the orderly working of these elements, the manifestation of these faculties is impossible. From a racial point of view the instinctive and emotional faculties are of far greater antiquity than the psychical faculties; and consequently have become fixed or hereditary characters and, to a large extent, rule the actions of the various classes of animals throughout their lives. The instinctive and emotional powers, however, which were sufficient for the preservation of the different orders of the lower animals, do not suffice to maintain the order of primates (including human beings) in their struggle for existence is an ever-increasing complexity of environment. Under the laws, therefore, of natural selection, the living substance of the basal nervous system of man has developed a form of matter possessing psychical powers, by the means of which human beings have been able to gain and to maintain their commanding position in the world. The consideration of this latter subject must be postponed to another section; we now have to deal with the question whether hereditary qualities are amenable to the influence of culture.

To some extent they certainly are, even in the case of animals,

[1] Charles Darwin was the first to show that the emotional expressions of human beings, such as those of anger, hate, fear, joy, sorrow, &c., have been gradually evolved from similar movements made by the lower animals.

The fighting propensities of Irish terriers, for instance, whi are among the most pugnacious species of dogs, when they a carefully trained and kept in control may be restrained for time; but when left to their own devices their heredita qualities soon re-assert themselves, and they will attack witho provocation almost every dog they may happen to meet.

By careful management young people may be brought to cu their primitive emotional feelings; but persons who have ha extensive experience in rearing and educating children, and wh have lived long enough to see these children reach the middle a of their lives, state that when these individuals are left to the own devices, as a rule their hereditary qualities assert themselv and exercise an abiding influence over their conduct througho their lives. A selfish and sly child grows up to be, more or les a scheming, unsatisfactory individual. The generous, frank la grows up to be a manly, self-reliant person. This principle i applicable not only to individuals but also to families and race of human beings; their hereditary racial qualities contribut directly to mould their destinies. As an example, we may poin to the contrast which, as a rule, exists between the phylo genetic characters and destinies of the Teutonic and Iberia peoples of Europe.[8]

We cannot wipe out or effectually alter the structural arrange ment and motion of the elements which form the basal nervou system : it is there, and there it will remain throughout our ow lives and the lives of our children, asserting its presence in ou instinctive actions and emotional feelings. It is clear, however that education to be effective must take into consideration th animal as well as the mental side of our nature. One of ou most astute and at the same time sympathetic observers of huma nature, writing on the subject of education in the year 1829 states[9] that the wisdom of our ancestors seemed to have deter mined that the education of youth was so paltry and unimportan a matter, that almost anyone might undertake the charge; an many an honest gentleman may be found to the present day who takes good care to have a character with his butler whe he engages him, and will not purchase a horse without th strongest warranty and the closest inspection; but will place hi

[8] *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, by Houston Stewart Cham berlain, vol. i. pp. 320, 340, 567. See also *Origin and Character of th British People*, by N. C. Macnamara, pp. 213, 214, 222. Professor Welto states, 'Nor can innate disposition be absolutely changed, though doubtless i can be modified by the firm exercise of the personal will,' p. 127, *Th Psychology of Education*.

[9] *The Works of William Makepeace Thackeray*. Smith, Elder & Co. 1899 edition. *Book of Snobs*, p. 347.

[illegible] at a school for no better reason than that he, some forty years previously, had been a pupil in this establishment.

A great change has doubtless been made in the management of our preparatory and public schools since the year 1829. But it seems to us that knowledge concerning the nature of mental phenomena, and of the functions performed by that form of living matter the orderly working of which is necessary for the development of a high order of personal character, may tend to establish on scientific principles much that is good in the existing methods of education, at present merely empirical, and enable us to improve what is defective in them. Nothing can be of greater importance in the training of young people than a knowledge of the trend of the individual inherited qualities which, we repeat, to a large extent influence their career throughout their lives.[10]

Few parents who have attained middle age are ignorant of the nature of their own good or bad hereditary qualities; consequently they are in a position to form a fairly accurate estimate of the predominant traits of character their children possess, and which of these qualities should be fostered and which suppressed. Young people may easily be made to understand this, a knowledge which may doubtless in many cases be turned to good account. The same principle applies with even greater force to the schoolmaster who takes charge of a boy fresh from home. It is generally taken for granted that a lad's character will soon be known from his conduct. No doubt there is much truth in this, but the building up of a boy's character is far too important a matter to be left to chance. If the father, and the head of the school under whose care he proposes to place his son, could be brought to appreciate the importance of a free and clear understanding as to the lad's hereditary qualities and interests, it would much tend towards promoting the proper development of his personal character, and thus of his happiness and usefulness in his subsequent career in life.[11]

The question as to how far any special training can permanently affect the action of the basal system is an open one; after a young person has attained the adult period of life we can hardly hope permanently to modify his hereditary qualities. But so far as this country is concerned, it does not seem that in either our schools or universities is the subject of character seriously considered: the attention of teachers and pupils being, so far as education is concerned, mainly absorbed in the book-work necessary to enable candidates successfully to

[10] *The Psychology of Education*, by J. Welton, pp. 70-75.

[11] *International Science Series*, vol. xcv. p. 177. Also *The Psychology of Education*, by J. Welton, pp. 17, 215.

compete for appointments in one or other branch of the Government Services; and to develop into a good sort of fellow.

On the other hand, at West Point, U.S.A., the American Government has established and maintains a college in which a succession of six hundred lads is constantly under training for either a military or civil career. Each member of the American Senate has power to nominate two lads annually to West Point; the course of study extends over four successive years and its cost is nearly covered by a Government grant. Each pupil on entering the college has to state the career which he intends to follow; he is then assigned to a special department for training so as best to qualify him for *his future* calling.[12] But the ruling principle at West Point is, first and foremost, the development of a lad's character, which implies self-knowledge, self-control, and self-reliance. As the College authorities emphatically state, class-room work, though essential, is but a very poor article unless grounded on a high standard of personal character. In order to attain this end, the cadets of West Point are subjected to a system of discipline and training which would astonish the students of our public schools and colleges. The result, however, of this system is admirable—the knowledge, patriotism, manners and customs of the West Point men are proverbial throughout the United States, and would seem to be all one could desire.

II

In the previous section reasons were given for holding the opinion that the function of the living substance of a certain part of the brain was to transform the energy it received from the various sense-organs into instinctive actions and emotional feelings. The specific form of living matter which constitutes this part of the brain was shown to be hereditary in structure and functions, and to exist in the brain of all vertebrate animals, including man. The reflex and automatic processes effected through the instrumentality of the living substance of the central nervous system were sufficient for the protection and the reproduction of the three lower classes of vertebrates; but in the course of time, as the environment became more complicated, some special protective apparatus became necessary for the preservation of the individuals of each of the ascending orders of animals. To meet this want a gradual evolution of the primitive nervous system has taken place, culminating in the power possessed by human beings to think and to reason. It is to the nature and properties of this latter form of matter that we now desire to draw

[12] *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, vol. ix. pp. 68, 131. Mr. M. E. Sadler's conclusions, p. 160, of this Report should be carefully studied by everyone interested in the progress of education in this country. Wyman & Son, Fetter Lane. See also vol. xiii.

[illegible] so far as it bears on the physiological basis of [illegible]

When the upper half of the human skull is removed, masses of grey nervous matter are exposed, known as the right and left cerebral hemispheres. The outer layers of nerve cells and fibres of these parts of the brain form the cerebral cortex (pallium), or more correctly, the neo-pallium, since the brains of the three lower classes of vertebrates, viz. fishes, amphibians, and reptiles, possess only rudimentary forms of the five layers of nerve cells and fibres which enter into the formation of the human cerebral cortex. It is to the living substance of these layers of cells that the power of transmuting the specific modes of energy it receives from the sense-organs into psychical or intellectual processes is attributable.

The nerve-fibres which pass from the nervous elements of our eyes, ears, and other sense-organs, terminate in connexion with nerve-cells located in definite areas of the cerebral cortex; these areas are known as sensori-mnemic nervous centres. Thus human beings have visual sensory centres situated in the posterior parts of the brain, auditory nervous centres at the sides of the cerebral cortex, and so on. The nerve-cells of these centres are brought into close relation with one another, and with other parts of the brain by what are called association fibres, because it is along these fibres that the energy discharged by one centre passes to others, and thus an associative system is formed.

The sense-organs are adapted structurally to receive and sift the streams of energy or stimuli which reach them from the outer world and from the movements made by our muscles. By means of the specialised nervous substance which enters into the construction of each of these organs, the energy they receive is transmuted into such a form that on reaching the corresponding cortical nervous centres it produces what we term a sensation.[18] The sensation soon passes away, but it leaves an impress on the living mnemic elements of the nerve-cells of cortical centres. This impression takes the form of a latent idea or mental image of the object or movement which has given rise to the impression. Ideas therefore mean the things or the movements, and the contents of an idea, the features of things or of muscular movements. On being re-excited, the living substance on which latent ideas have been established discharges a portion of their working energy, which, in its passage to motor centres—those areas of the brain which control our muscular actions—must pass

[18] 'What sensations are, we know not, and how it is that anything so remarkable as mental images or ideas comes about as a result of irritating nervous tissue is just as unaccountable as any other ultimate fact of nature.' T. H. Huxley, *Elementary Physiology*, p. 188.

through what we know as the psychical areas of the cerebra cortex, where it becomes transformed into psychical nerve-force This, by its action on the elements of the motor centres, leadi to the intelligent co-ordinate movements of certain groups r muscles such as those which work the vocal apparatus, or othe parts of our bodies or limbs.

The evidence by which the existence of and functions per formed by sensory cortical centres is substantiated must here b considered. If, in the lower animals, those parts of the cerebra cortex which are known as the visual centres are destroyed, th animal is rendered completely blind. The same result follows ir human beings when the whole of the nervous matter of these centres is destroyed by disease. Under these conditions, althoug the individual cannot distinguish objects he may be able to thin about them, and to hear and have perfect use of his othe faculties. On the other hand, if a certain portion only of the visual centres is destroyed, the individual may by aid of th rest of this centre be able to see, but cannot comprehend th meaning of the objects seen; he is mentally blind, because tha part of the cerebral cortex has been destroyed on which th latent visual ideas or mental images have been impressed. I another part of the visual cortical centre is destroyed, a persor so affected loses the power of distinguishing one colour fron another, but may continue to see objects around him and t appreciate their meaning.

Again, the auditory nervous centre is situated in the lowe part of the sides of the cerebral cortex. The function performed by one portion of the nervous elements of this centre is to become impressed by the vibrations of sound which reach it through the ears. Latent images of words repeated by another person thus become established in the mnemic elements of this part of the brain. Under ordinary conditions, these charged elements respond to the action of life or of allied stimuli to those whicl had produced the impression, and the word-sound is reproduced in our memory. If, however, the nervous matter constitutin this part of the auditory centres is completely destroyed by disease, a person so affected becomes speechless; the substance in which his latent mental images or ideas of words had been established has been destroyed, and with it the individual's powe to make use of the words which formerly existed in his brain and which he had learnt to employ as symbols to express his thought. And so with the other cortical nervous centres.

In addition to its sensory nervous centres, the human cere- bral cortex contains what are called sensori-motor or kinæsthetic centres; that is, the brain possesses aggregations of nerve-cells the functions of whose living matter is to transmute the energ

it receives from sensory centres into nerve-force capable of controlling the movements of groups of muscles. If in a living animal the brain is exposed and a weak electric current applied to definite parts of its motor-cortical area, movements of the animal's limbs, or of special organs, such as the vocal, are brought into action. We may thus map out the motor area of the cerebral cortex into definite spaces, each of which controls the action of a group of muscles, such as those of the fingers, hand, arm, etc.[14]

Our sense-organs are, therefore, the receivers of energy derived from the outer world and from muscular movements of our bodies and limbs; the cortical sensory centres transform this energy into sensations and latent mental images, or ideas; and discharges of energy take place from the motor-cortical elements which produce definite muscular movements. But in human beings a vast mass of nervous matter intervenes between the sensory and motor centres: energy in its passage from the former to the latter has to traverse this mass of intervening cortical matter; and, as we shall endeavour to show, in its passage it becomes psychical nerve-force, and in this form plays on the motor centres, and thus imprints thought and intelligence on our movements or actions.[15] The sense-organs have been compared to the receiving station of a telegraphic system, where messages are taken in and despatched to the central office (representing the sensory and psychical nervous centres), where, through the instrumentality of an intelligent agent, the message is despatched to its proper destination, and delivered by a messenger representing a motor centre.

The human brain, unlike that of any other animal, possesses a fully-developed motor speech-centre, which Broca called 'the organ of speech,' because it is through the action of its living matter on the muscles of the vocal apparatus that human beings are able to express their thoughts in spoken words.

It is probable that as a child when we first saw a flower such as a 'rose,' we asked what it was called, and child-like imitated

[14] The size of the sensori-motor cortical areas in the various classes of animals depends on the delicacy and complexity of the movements habitually performed by the muscles under its control, rather than upon the bulk of these muscles. This fact may be demonstrated by comparing the relative size of the sensori-motor cortical centres which control the movements of the muscles of the trunk of a skilled workman with that of the sensori-motor centre which directs the movements of his fingers. Human beings possess a large, well-developed sensori-motor centre of speech; in anthropoid apes this area of the cerebral cortex exists only in a rudimentary form.

[15] The cerebral cortex, or more correctly the neo-pallium, of human beings covers a superficial area of some 200,000 square m.m.; its cortex is 3 m.m. thick, and contains five layers of nerve-cells. The average bulk of the human brain, the greater part of which consists of its cerebral hemispheres, is 1500 c.c., that of the gorilla is 600 c.c., the bodies of the two animals being of nearly equal weight. See Fig. 16, p. 132, *International Scientific Series*, vol. xcvii.

the sound and repeated the word 'rose' once or more, etc. In thus articulating this word we brought those muscles of our lips and other parts of the vocal apparatus which are necessary for the production of the word-sound 'rose' into play. Muscular action of this kind is accompanied by the excitation of the sense organs which form a part of these muscles; their excitation liberates a certain amount of working energy, which passes to corresponding nervous elements located in sensori-motor centres of speech, and leaves on its elements a latent mental impression or idea of the word-sound which has produced the impression. The word 'rose' thus becomes established in some one or more of the cell-contents of our 'organ of speech.' If these motor elements are re-excited by similar, or, it may be, by other forms of energy to that which produced the impression, they react in such a way as to excite the muscles of the vocal apparatus to reproduce the sound 'rose.' If from disease that part of the cerebral cortex which forms the motor speech-centre is destroyed, an individual so affected can no longer make use of vocal sounds: he may be able to see, hear, and think, but he cannot express his thoughts in articulate word-sounds, since the specialised nervous matter which regulates the working of the muscles of his vocal apparatus no longer exists.

An object therefore, such as a rose, gives rise at one and the same time to visual, olfactory, and tactual sensations, and to corresponding latent mental images in the cerebro-cortical nervous centres. In addition to these impressions a part of the auditory centre has received and retains in a latent form the word-sound by which we have learnt to distinguish this flower. Lastly, as we have shown, the word 'rose' has become established in a latent form in the nervous elements of cortical-motor centres. As these impressions have been established by energy derived from the same source and at the same time, they become closely connected or associated with one another.[16] Consequently the re-excitation of any one of these centres, as by the sight of a rose, will bring the other centres into action, with the result that a concrete conception of a rose is formed. This conception or thought is the outcome of work performed by the mass of living matter contained in the nerve-cells of the psychical areas of

[16] Two principal laws govern the action of associative processes: the first law affirms the principle that 'each idea reproduces as its successor either an idea that is similar to it in content, or an idea with which it has often appeared simultaneously.' The second law of association is as follows: 'The first idea which is associated with the introductory sensation is determined by its complete likeness or, more frequently, its similarity to the latter.' Dr. A. Bain states that 'the assigning of these laws was the first contribution to a science of human intelligence; while the ultimate shape given to them, whatever that may be, will mark the maturity of at least one portion of that science.' 'Association Controversies.' See *Mind*, xii. 161.

[illegible] energy, derived from the [illegible] our ideas, must pass on its way to the motor-cortical centres.

By the excitation or stimulation of the charged elements of the nerve-cells in which latent ideas have been established, a portion of their working energy is released, which passes to those parts of the brain whose function it is to combine (associate) and transform this energy into psychical processes. When we refer to energy released from elements in which latent ideas have been impressed, we mean that this form of energy is derived from the various contents of the idea: that is, from the special features of things or movements from which each idea was derived. Streams of this form of energy enter the psychical cortical areas, by preference along those paths that have been most perfectly trained, and there it becomes transformed into psychical nervous force: that is, into thoughts or conceptions which, acting on the word-charged motor centres, become manifest in intelligent speech or in the other skilled movements which have enabled man to exist and multiply in the ever-increasing complexity of his environment.

The reproduction of acoustic latent ideas of words sets free energy which, in conjunction with energy derived from other mental images, constitutes the units of thought. The conception of the genesis of thought may therefore be reduced to this formula: that our thoughts consist of the association of the contents of ideas, and consequently that our intellectual faculties are derived from energy received from external objects and from the movements of our bodies, acting through the sense-organs on corresponding cortical nervous centres. Sensations, with their correlated latent ideas, form the raw material of thought at rest; the same material, brought into action through the agency of the psychical elements of the brain, acting on motor centres, becomes manifest in the co-ordinated movements of groups of muscles such as those which work the vocal apparatus and other parts of our bodies.

We thus come to appreciate the meaning of Mr. G. J. Romanes' statement, in his admirable lecture on 'Animal Intelligence' which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* for October 1878 (p. 653), that words contain a vast body of ideas in an abbreviated form, which we employ in a manner analogous to that in which mathematical symbols are used. As these contain in a manipulated form the whole meaning of a long calculation, so in all other kinds of reasoning the symbols, which we call words, contain in a concrete form vast bodies of signification (ideas) derived from all parts of the living matter constituting the psychical areas of the cerebrum, but brought as it were to a focus on the elements of the sensori-motor centres of speech.

These centres are fully developed only in the brain of human beings; and when their nervous substance is destroyed, the power of expressing his thoughts in intelligent language which man under ordinary conditions possesses is abolished.

In addition to the evidence already given of the part played by the cerebral cortex in the transformation of the contents of ideas into thoughts, the following considerations are of importance. From the dawn of their independent life young infants display instinctive acts and emotional feelings, the nervous structures of their basal systems being fully developed; but it is not until later in life that the nervous structures of the psychical areas of their brains are matured; *pari passu* with this development their psychical powers come into operation. Individuals born with imperfectly developed cerebral hemispheres possess intelligence of a no higher order than that displayed by an ape.[17]

In the lower animals destruction of the cerebral hemispheres is attended with the loss of intelligence and of everything they may have learnt previously during their lives.

From the earliest stages of the well-recognised form of disease known as 'general paralysis of the insane,' degenerative changes are found in the living substance of the nerve-cells of the cortex of the psychical areas of the brain. One of the earliest symptoms presented by persons suffering from this disease is a peculiar hesitating and irregular movement of the lips and other muscles concerned in the production of articulate speech, indicating faulty action of the nerve-cells constituting the motor-centres of speech. At the same time the individual unconsciously drops syllables in forming sentences or in writing. When attempting to think, he finds his memory for certain words is defective, and thus he loses the power of continuous thought: so much is this the case that persons affected by this disease, even in its early stages, are often unfit to manage their own affairs. The progressive degeneration of the living substance of the nerve-cells of the psychical areas of the cerebral cortex is marked by corresponding deterioration of the memory for words, and the power to think or form correct judgments. The various sense-organs may continue for a time to perform their respective functions and ideas may be formed of external objects and of movements made by our bodies, but with the progressive degeneration of the living matter of the psychical elements of the cerebral cortex its work becomes impaired, it fails to associate and co-ordinate the contents of the ideas which reach it, and thus leads to faults in the mental processes of the individual,

[17] *International Scientific Series*, vol. xcvii. p. 135.

and to the loss of the control which, under ordinary conditions, they exercise over the motor-centres of the vocal apparatus.

The potential powers possessed by the living substance of the cortical or neo-pallial areas of the brain, unlike that of the basal system, can only be developed by use or education through the instrumentality of energy derived from the various sense-organs. As the cases of Laura Bridgeman and H. Kellner show, if the principal sense-organs are destroyed in childhood, the intellectual powers of such a person remain dormant until brought into action by careful training of the tactile sense-organs. Knowledge acquired during an individual's lifetime cannot be passed on to descendants through the germ-cell. It is even questionable how far a special aptitude for any kind of knowledge is hereditary, *i.e.* whether parents who for several generations have shown more than ordinary powers of observation, of thought, etc., pass on such qualities to their children. This subject, however, has been ably discussed in a recent article in this Review;[18] we shall not attempt therefore to offer any further comments on it, but only emphatically reiterate the fact, that we know and learn from what we see, feel, hear, taste and smell.

The histories of the deaf and dumb children referred to above show that so long as their psychical powers remained undeveloped their emotional feelings ran rampant, but as soon as their intellectual powers had been brought into play they were, to a considerable extent, able to control their hereditary instinctive and emotional actions. The automatic movements of young infants predominate until their psychical nervous system has become fully matured, and brought into healthy action by proper training. These facts lead us to consider the effect of the reciprocal action constantly at work throughout every part of a well-organised brain.[19] Although, for convenience of description, we have referred to the basal, sensory, psychical, and motor-cerebral areas, it is obvious that these and other portions of the brain are so many parts of one system, and that any action taking place in one part of the brain implies compensating action in some other part, in order that the two may arrive at a state of equilibrium. In this way we can form an idea of the reciprocal action of psychical and emotional nervous forces, and the influence, therefore, which the large psychical areas

[18] 'Eminence and Heredity,' by W. C. D. Whetham, F.R.S., and Mrs. Whetham, *Nineteenth Century and After*, May 1911.

[19] If the intensity factors of any particular form of energy in a system are not equal, the system will be in a state of unstable equilibrium. Such a condition will not be permanent, and energy will flow, so to speak, from one part to another until the different intensity factors become equal.

of the brain, if properly developed, may exercise upon the [illegible] nervous system.

The reciprocal action of one or more cerebral centres on oth parts of the brain may probably be best realised by referring an example such as the following:—

While driving along a country lane, my horse fell dow and I was thrown on to the road and rather severely bruise Some three weeks after the accident, when driving along th same lane, I experienced an unpleasant emotional feeling c reaching the place where the accident had occurred. This to of feeling may be explained as follows: On the first occasion a I drove along the lane the hedges on either side of the road we of no particular interest, and consequently made no marke impression on my visual nervous centres; but my sudden fall ou of the dogcart was accompanied by a painful sensation, wit its corresponding mental latent image. Although at the momen the accident happened my visual sensation and ideas of surround ing objects were of an indifferent character, they had bee established in my cerebral cortex simultaneously with the painfu impression caused by my fall, so that these visual and tactil impressions were closely associated; if they differ in their inten sities, they modify each other so that an equilibrium may b established between the differing factors. In this way part o the painful (negative) tactual tone of feeling, excited in m emotional centres by my fall, passed on to my less intense visua nervous centres, which latter, on my returning to the spot wher the accident had happened, were re-excited by visual impressions which had been primarily indifferent, but had become charge with a stream of negative tone of feeling from my emotiona centres. A process of this kind is technically described as a nervous 'irradiation' or overflow—of an emotional tone in th instance referred to—to a psychical area of the brain, a process akin to radiation or diffusion in physics. We can thus realise the processes by means of which the transference of tone of one to another idea takes place, and how energy derived from the cerebral cortex of the human brain comes to influence primitive emotional feelings elaborated by the basal and its associated system, or *vice versa*. For instance, we may thus comprehend how, having heard a certain musical combination produced frequently in conjunction with a set of mournful words, while the succession of tone in the chord itself does not partake of a mournful character, the words that are sung to this series of tones produce mournful ideas. The negative emotional tone of the latter is thus gradually imparted to both the musical sensation and its correlative mental image; finally, the chord is sufficient to produce a negative change in the tone of feeling quite inde-

[illegible] memory of a [illegible] a disagreeable odour is as a whole disagreeable; the component idea of its odour transmits its emotional tone to the entire conception. Professor Ziehen states, when discussing this subject, 'our entire emotional and psychical life is ruled by these irradiations, our antipathies and sympathies, prejudices and prepossessions flow chiefly from this source. The numberless movements constantly performed for the satisfaction of some desire are emotional.' [20]

We have thus endeavoured to show that human beings possess in their hereditary basal nervous systems a form of matter which transmutes energy derived from the sense-organs into instinctive action and emotional feelings. They have inherited this form of matter from the lower animals, a fact which must be reckoned with in any rational system of education. Human beings, however, differ from the lower animals in that large masses of nervous matter have been developed in their brains, whose function it is to elaborate a higher order of nerve-force than that which any of the lower animals possess: further, the human brain has evolved a specific form of cortical substance whose function it is to control the muscles of the vocal apparatus, to enable men to think in words, and to express their thoughts in intelligent speech.

We have further come to recognise the fact that the quality of our intellectual processes mainly depends on the kind of training which the psychical elements of the brain receive during the early years of an individual's life. We have shown that the force which drives the psychical mechanism takes its rise from energy received from the outside world, and from muscular movements acting through the sense-organs on sensory-cortical centres; impressions thus received are transformed by the living substances of these centres into sensations and latent ideas. Doubtless the inherited structural arrangement of the elements forming the cerebral cortex, and its proper nourishment and use, have much to do with the efficiency of its working powers.

Energy derived from the contents of ideas extends to the cortical-psychical elements, and through their instrumentality is correlated and transmuted into thoughts and other intellectual processes. Consequently the main effort of primary education should be directed to an endeavour to awaken related ideas in a child simultaneously, *i.e.* to combine them by means of external associations. Training of the kind we have referred to must be commenced and carried on systematically from childhood, in order to bring all parts of the living nervous matter of the cen-

[20] *Introduction to the Study of Physiological Psychology*, p. 176. By Prof. Dr. J. Ziehen.

brum into co-ordinate action, and thus form well-establish paths of communication between its various parts. By developin the innate properties possessed by cortical elements at an earl period of life, we have good reason to hope that the nerve-forc derived from this source may be brought by practice to bea with good effect upon the basal system, by processes such a those to which we have referred, and so to control its undesirabl and augment its desirable, qualities; especially if the trend o these qualities in an individual has been seriously taken int consideration, so that those responsible for his education ma possess definite ideas as to what they have to deal with. I not a few cases, especially among our city-bred children, th nerve-material has been derived from parents who, in commo with their progenitors, have existed from childhood under terribl defective hygienic and other conditions. The psychical element of their brains have been subjected to little but vicious treatment Judged by the ordinary standards of civilised human beings, suc people are mentally defective: their conduct is not their ow fault. In too many instances they fall into the crimina classes, because they have no power of control over their anim propensities, and possess only human intelligence of a low order By the time these individuals have reached the adult period c life but faint hopes can be entertained of any improvement i their personal or intellectual qualities; we can then only trea them, as we do persons of acknowledged unsound mind, b separating them from the rest of the community. At the sam time we are bound to secure the control of their young childrer and by careful management to rear them up to become self reliant, useful members of society.[21]

In the existing system of compulsory education, carried on i our publicly-supported infant schools, the Froebel system of teach ing is extensively in use, and is well adapted to mould the livin cerebral matter of young children into a form capable of furthe development in primary schools; especially if the head of th school into which the child passes is made acquainted, throug information received from the infant-school teacher, with th character of his pupil, and when possible, those of the child' parents. With knowledge of this kind at his command, th head of the primary school knows where to place, and how t treat, his pupil. The object to be kept in view in the child' further education is, first and foremost, the building up of self-reliant, loyal, and true personal character; mentally the air should be, not so much to increase the stock of what boys girls know, *as of what they can do*, so that they may carry ou with satisfaction to themselves and their employers the dutie

[21] *The Education of Neglected Children in Germany.* Special Reports o Educational Subjects, vol. ix. p. 605.

... to perform. This appear to have been the aim of the system hitherto followed [in] our primary schools; for we learn from a report recently issued [b]y the Board of Agriculture that 'in numerous places many of [t]he small landowners hoped to place their children to work on [t]he land, but they are doubtful whether the education given in [t]he elementary schools is of the best form to fit them for work [o]f this kind, and the impression prevails that an extended system [o]f technical education is needed, and that more object-lessons [a]re required; apart from reading, writing, and arithmetic, several [o]f the men declare that the education they had received had [p]roved to be of no use to them whatever.'[21] The tax- and rate-[p]ayers, who for the past forty years have had to provide the [f]unds to pay our expensive Educational Department and the [c]ost of its primary schools, have a right to look for something [b]etter than failure of this kind.[22]

A large percentage of lads leaving our primary schools at the [a]ge of fourteen are then thrown on their own resources, having [b]een taught neither how to work nor how to think, and [b]eing without habits of self-reliance, they find it well-nigh [i]mpossible to obtain any fixed employment. They are consequently obliged to take to job-work; they learn little, if any[t]hing, that is likely to advance their future prospects; their earn[i]ngs are insufficient to enable them to feed or to clothe themselves [p]roperly. Accordingly, many of these young people before they [h]ave reached the adult period of life have contracted lazy and [o]ften vicious habits, and drift into the unemployed class with [a]ll its attendant misery. This condition of affairs might be [a]voided if within a year of leaving school a lad who had not become an articled apprentice to some trade, or obtained some fixed employment, should be obliged to undergo a course of training for [t]hree years either as a seaman or as a military cadet, and at the same time be taught a trade or occupation which would enable him subsequently to gain a living wage, if not higher remuneration as [a] skilled workman. By treatment of this kind a healthy, well-[o]rdered, and useful population would be reared up, who in times [o]f emergency would be able and ready to defend their homes and [t]o save their country from even the threat of invasion.

N. C. MACNAMARA.

[21] *The National Review*, August 1910, p. 937.

[22] See Professor Welton's account, p. 203, in *The Psychology of Education*, [o]f the system of education at Cheetham's Hospital.

THE SWORD AND THE LANCE VERSUS THE RIFLE

AN ATTEMPT TO EXPOSE THE FALLACIES OF THE EXTREMISTS

The title of this article defines the two extreme schools of thought on cavalry tactics and training at the present day. The civilian who takes an interest in such matters cannot understand why such divergent views should exist among soldiers, and consequently complains that he has no unanimous military opinion on which to rely. That he is right in this assertion cannot be denied, and is to be regretted; but he sometimes fails to appreciate the fact that an individual opinion is often formed from a special study of, or from personal experience in, one or two campaigns only. Every war, however, may be said to be abnormal, and unless the special conditions under which they were fought, and the quality and training of the troops and the leadership of both sides are taken fully into consideration, no fair or just conclusions can be arrived at; for war is not an exact science, but an art that has to be dealt with under varying conditions, and in which morale and the human factor predominate.

This divergence of opinion is, however, no new thing, and is not, as many think, merely the outcome of our experiences in the South African War. As long ago as the sixteenth century, when the old firearms fully demonstrated their value, it was considered that cavalry should abandon the charge at high speed and attack slowly, firing from the saddle. Later Frederick the Great proved to Europe that the charge at the gallop with the *arme blanche* and cohesion in the shock was not dead. The rest of the Continent following his lead, his tactics lasted, with but little change, till the introduction of rifled firearms; since then every improvement in the rifle has invariably reopened the question as to the impossibility of the further employment of cold steel and shock, till to-day, ten years after the Boer War, the same old arguments are produced.

Though there is much truth in their contentions, the two schools of thought are generally so biassed and prejudiced in

ness of their own theory that they are blinded to any advantage the other side; and no difficulty is found in bringing forward arguments in favour of either opinion, if the disadvantages are made light of or omitted altogether.

The four great wars of the last fifty years, in which the breech-loader and later the magazine rifle were important factors, are the American Civil War (1861-1865), the Franco-German War (1870), the Boer War (1899-1902), and the Russo-Japanese War (1904). All these were so widely divergent in character that each school of thought finds in them ample material for upholding its own views and condemning those of the other. The question, therefore, may never be decided to the entire satisfaction of either side, even in the next war; since, whatever the results, every disputant, especially if a theoretical one, will find plenty of authority of some kind for supporting his own special theories.

The object of this article, therefore, is to endeavour, by a study of these four great campaigns and their local conditions and characteristics, without partiality and without a brief for either school, to take a broader view of the subject and, if possible, to come to a more satisfactory conclusion. For this purpose each campaign will first be dealt with separately and in sequence before coming to such final conclusions as, it is hoped, their combined study may produce.

The American Civil War (1861-1865).

Taking the American Civil War first, we find at the commencement the cavalry of both sides, with a minute exception, raw, undisciplined, and untrained, relying mainly on the firearm for offensive and defensive action; later we see one side obtaining the superiority by a somewhat rough and ready combination of fire and shock, after realising by experience that the sword was a necessary adjunct to the rifle.

The war is one on which the adherents of fire tactics base many of their strongest arguments, and at a first glance it would seem that these arguments are convincing. The action at 'Five Forks' may be taken as a good example of fire tactics; in it Sheridan's troopers, acting dismounted, checked the advance of a strong force of Confederate cavalry and infantry, and finally held the Confederate infantry to their trenches till their own infantry came up. The battle of Winchester is another; here the Federal cavalry carried out a flank attack mainly by dismounted fire tactics.

These are only two out of innumerable similar examples. The question asked is: Would these American troopers if

trained in the cavalry methods prevalent at the time in ... have accomplished all they did?

The ground at Five Forks was thickly wooded and offered little scope for mounted tactics, and the situation demanded delaying fire action; for, even had the ground allowed, mounted action, if it had succeeded at all, would have done so at enormous loss without any compensating advantage. The same may be said of Winchester, but in this, as in Five Forks, where the ground allowed, in the later stages of the fight, mounted action was freely used finally to crush the enemy, spread confusion, and break down his morale. Such results, when the opportunity and occasion arose, would not, however, have been obtained so rapidly or so completely if the army had been deficient of an *arme blanche*. The moral effect of cold steel, even in the hands of irregular cavalry untrained to cohesive shock action, is far greater than your rifle enthusiast will allow, and is often completely ignored by him. In the action of Cedar Creek, for example, the knowledge of there being a force of cavalry capable of using the *arme blanche* as well as the rifle completely paralysed General Ewell's action. It was shock action, combined with dismounted fire action, that also raised the morale of the beaten Federal infantry at this fight, and incited them to take the determined offensive that they did. Again, in the action of Tom's Brook the Confederate cavalry were utterly routed mainly owing to many of their regiments lacking an *arme blanche* and to the Federal cavalry being capable of using fire and shock. The Federal cavalry were here, it may be argued, numerically superior; but this is all the more a proof that the inferior cavalry, acting dismounted, cannot hope always to succeed against cavalry capable of both tactics and determined to come to close quarters.

Now for the other side of the question. The supporter of shock tactics invariably insists that troops trained to rely mainly on the firearm, and to look on the *arme blanche* merely as a weapon of opportunity, will not use this latter weapon when the opportunity occurs. To refute this argument one can quote many examples in this war where cold steel was used without hesitation by small and large bodies when the situation demanded and the opportunity arose, as at Brandy Station and Gettysburg, and innumerable other places besides those already mentioned above.

At Brandy Station repeated charges took place. The troops being undisciplined and untrained, these charges were disconnected and delivered unevenly, even by small bodies. A properly disciplined cavalry brigade, acting in cohesion, would have swept either side away, as is proved by the successful charge

[illegible] cavalry, which was, however, [illegible] advantage of. This battle also proves the great [illegible] fect produced by cold steel and shock tactics. Before it the Federal cavalry did not consider themselves equal to that of the Confederates, but after it their morale was raised considerably, and was never lost during the rest of the war.

At Gettysburg we have shock action between cavalry masses and of cavalry against infantry. In the first the fight commenced by dismounted skirmishing and ended in a charge by two brigades of the Confederate cavalry, proving that mounted troops armed with and relying mainly on the rifle are quite capable of offensive action, mounted, when the occasion offers. Individually the men were of the highest morale, but as a body they were untrained in combined shock action and often ignorantly led. Had the charge of the Confederates been made in a more suitable formation and from a different direction it might have produced very different results. No irregular cavalry, or even regular cavalry trained only in irregular tactics and incapable of rapid manœuvre in mass and lacking in cohesion, can ever obtain all the advantages from shock.

In Farnsworth's charge against the Confederate infantry in another part of the field at Gettysburg, we see a handful of men sent on a desperate charge to relieve their own infantry, not dissimilar to Von Bredow's charge at Mars La Tour seven years later. The ground was of the worst description, yet this charge of 300 men disorganised for a considerable time Law's Confederate infantry brigade; the confusion thus caused was not, however, again taken advantage of. The cavalry spirit was exceptionally well developed in the American trooper, but through lack of training and lack of co-operation he was unable to make full use of it.

A study of this war, therefore, forces one to consider how formidable cavalry could be made if, added to perfect dismounted tactics, they were also perfectly disciplined and trained in cohesive shock action and able to hold the balance evenly between the two.

Franco-German War (1870).

The next in order is the Franco-German War of 1870, where we have the opposing cavalries trained to a high standard in shock action but untrained in fire tactics—useless and idle in country unsuitable to cavalry action, and often checked in reconnaissance by small bodies of infantry and even by *francs-tireurs*. The Prussians, however, were not asked to do impossibilities without adequate reason; while the French were, and failed in consequence. In their charges against infantry the Prussians had generally to meet disorganised and shaken corps with units

composed of any recruits or reservists. The French never attempted to reconnoitre any ground they may have had to operate over; the Prussians sometimes did.

Compare the action of the French cavalry at Woerth wit that of the 1st Guards Dragoons of the Prussian cavalry at Mar La Tour. By being well handled the Prussians succeeded at Mar La Tour; while at Woerth the French cavalry, had it bee capable of doing so, might have been better employed in di mounted fire action, having failed by lack of reconnaissance t observe that a more favourable mounted attack could have bee delivered from a different direction. Fire action at Mars L Tour by the Prussian Dragoons would have exposed it to th close fire of infantry and a mitrailleuse battery, would hav been too slow, and probably would only have stopped a portio of the French attack. Again, it might be argued that V Bredow's famous charge on the same day might have been just a well carried out by a dismounted attack through the woods nort of the Roman road, but the French Fourth Corps was approacl ing, and rapid action was needed to relieve the pressure. A rein forcement of these 600 cavalry dismounted would not hav achieved anything like the same result. A charge skilfull manoeuvred for, boldly led, and carried out with determinatio accomplished all that was desired; and, but for the ill-luck o finding masses of the French cavalry in rear of the infantry the losses would have been small.

Again, also at Mars La Tour, we have an example of shoc between large masses of highly trained cavalry. The desire o both sides was shock, and, combined with the undulating ope terrain north of Mars La Tour, the natural result followe Both sides were practically numerically equal, both sides brougl up their regiments and brigades in successive lines, and wei drawn towards one another by their own magnetism. Ther was no real co-operation and no fixed plan, and both combatan withdrew equally confident that they had each been successfu The Prussians were superior in that they were under one con mander and therefore under better control; and the initiativ of their officers brought about flank attacks against the Frenc line, which was the turning point of the whole affai There seem to have been excellent opportunities for th French to manoeuvre by combining at the commencemei dismounted action with shock against the advancing Pru sians, until the remaining divisions came up; but the Frenc cavalry divisions were under three separate commanders, eac with a very dim idea as to what was going on. The chief facto that underlay the whole operation was: 'There's hostile cavalry Charge!' Boldness, dash, and the cavalry spirit were display

[illegible]

[illegible] sides, but badly handled and misspent; hence the [illegible] argument that cavalry shock tactics are useless.

The lessons of this war thus show that cavalry, intelligently led and boldly handled, can, by their mobility, charge infantry when the occasions demand, but that their usefulness is curtailed by the lack of a firearm; in fact, although from the reverse point of view, the lessons are the same as those of the American Civil War.

THE BOER WAR (1899-1902).

After a long period of time, the next campaign to throw light on our subject is the Boer War of 1899. In this war we have one side wholly composed of mounted men, untrained and undisciplined, individually experts in the use of the rifle, but with shock tactics and the *arme blanche* a sealed book to them. On the other side cavalry, disciplined and highly trained in shock tactics, but with only a rudimentary knowledge of the firearm and its tactical uses, and moreover, most important of all, vastly inferior in numbers. To draw conclusions, therefore, without taking these factors into consideration, from these two perfectly different and unequally matched combatants would be wrong.

Later in the war we see one side, in order to compete on more level terms with its opponent, increasing its mounted troops, mainly by men trained only in the use of the firearm and ignorant of the *arme blanche*. The regular cavalry, overshadowed by this new type of cavalry or mounted rifles, imitated their tactics, and frequently, later in the war, failed from sheer forgetfulness and, in many cases, through having abandoned the weapon, to take advantage of the opportunities for the *arme blanche* which did occur.

During the last phase of the war these opportunities were numerous, but generally only offered to men armed with rifles alone, who, like their predecessors thirty-eight years before in the American Civil War, felt themselves severely handicapped by the lack of an *arme blanche*, and in sheer despair had at close quarters to resort to the clubbed rifle, with, however, but poor results. The Boers, however, themselves often attacked mounted, firing from the saddle; but enthusiasts of this form of offensive tactics forget the fact that these attacks were hardly ever delivered against columns which contained any regular mounted troops, and that they were not resorted to till late in the war, when many of the British mounted troops were raw and undisciplined and when only the best and most determined of the Boers were left, and these in great straits for both supplies and ammunition. At neither Bakenlaagte nor Roodeval, to take two examples, were these tactics, strictly speaking, successful. At Bakenlaagte the Boers surprised and

rushed Gun Hill, dismounting, however, [illegible] it was only after thirty minutes' hard fighting at close [illegible], and after suffering 100 casualties, that they succeeded in gaining the hill held by very inferior numbers.

At Roodeval they failed altogether. Here they also effected a surprise, and, thanks to this, had every advantage, as they were not heavily fired on till within 600 yards of the British line; yet they halted 300 yards from it and retired. These two examples, I think, prove that the Boers understood the moral effect of surprise followed by a charge; but when the moral effect desired was not produced they were totally unable to complete the charge without, in addition to want of discipline, the extra confidence of a weapon for work at close quarters. If the moral effect was produced, however, as unfortunately it was often in South Africa, a broomstick would have been sufficient to complete the rout. With the lessons of the two previous great wars to support us, it is not too much to say that a squadron of cavalry or any mounted troops with an *arme blanche* thrown against the Boer flank at either of these fights would have routed them, and that the fire from the British line at Roodeval would not have checked a determined charge of 600 to 800 cavalry armed with the *arme blanche*. This firing from the saddle is considered by many a wonderful performance, but in reality it is not—our men tried it often. The effect, though unpleasant, is mainly moral, and against good troops it is perfectly useless. Against poor, undisciplined troops, especially if surprised, the moral effect has it all its own way. Such tactics entail wide intervals, and if intended to demoralise troops or gallop through them, a charge without firing is just as successful; such as our charge at Klip Drift, which was very similar to the later Boer tactics, being only greater in depth. Its moral effect was just as effective; and it is this moral effect of cavalry that many writers miss altogether. We secured it at Elandslaagte, but its lesson was unfortunately forgotten by us, though learnt and remembered by the Boers. If our regular cavalry had been able, in that battle, to act against the Boer right flank as the Imperial Light Horse did against the left, and if the Imperial Light Horse had been capable of executing a charge, how much more useful both would have been to us on that day, provided that their officers knew how to hold the balance correctly between the rifle and the *arme blanche*!

The main lessons of this war, then, are

(1) The great moral effect of the charge and surprise, even in these days of magazine rifles; and

(2) The extraordinary extra power for offensive and defensive action that a rifle gives to cavalry, when without it they would have to carry out impossibilities or remain inactive.

[illegible] by the rifle is well exemplified [illegible] position on the Tugela, which was nothing more nor less [illegible] large cavalry screen covering the siege of Ladysmith. Eight thousand undisciplined Boers kept a British army nearly three times its strength at bay for months. Imagine what 8000 disciplined cavalry, trained both in fire and shock tactics, boldly handled, well led, and with plenty of the offensive spirit, would have accomplished.

Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905).

Lastly, we come to the Russo-Japanese War.

Its literature is already prolific, but it is striking how comparatively little the performances of the mounted troops are mentioned, the reason given being that no useful lessons for cavalry can be learnt from its study. I think, however, that the somewhat poor show made by the cavalry on either side affords information, if we can deduce correct conclusions from negative results.

The Russian cavalry numbered roughly about 30,000, and numerically were thus vastly superior to the Japanese, who had only some 5000 to 6000. The bulk of the Russian cavalry were used in masses which dominated, by their numbers, the weaker Japanese cavalry. These latter had no chance against their opponent, and consequently dared not put into general practice the shock tactics taught in peace.

At such a disadvantage, they were forced to fight generally backed up by infantry, and saved themselves from annihilation by their own individual superiority in intelligence and training, and by the inability of the Russian cavalry to come to close quarters.

The reason of this failure of the Russian cavalry can be traced to the fact that they were not trained in the orthodox cavalry fashion or handled in a manner consistent with cavalry tradition. They were trained to fight as mounted rifles, were badly led, generally in the wrong direction, and allowed themselves to be shepherded by Japanese infantry and brought to a standstill and compelled to retire by numerically inferior but better handled cavalry.

Had both sides been equal in cavalry, trained to rifle tactics only, I do not consider that anyone is justified in saying that their operation would be a proof that the days of cavalry proper were over. That side would have been successful who were the better trained and better led. Had the Japanese had a force of cavalry approximately equal to the Russians and trained to a high standard, this doubt and uncertainty concerning cavalry tactics and training might have been finally settled. But at the same time, in the case of Japanese failure, we would have had

to have taken into account the fact that the Japanese were far from expert horsemen, and wretchedly mounted; so that a final decision might still have had to be postponed to another war.

As a contrast to Manchuria we see excellent work done by the Russian cavalry in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, especially during Gourko's advance-guard operations. Here, however, the Russian cavalry employed were Don Cossacks and regular cavalry, and therefore superior to the type in Manchuria. They were, moreover, opposed to an enemy inferior in everything except courage. The Russian method of fighting in this war was mainly dismounted, and the bayonet was frequently employed. The Russo-Turkish war, however, as a whole does not help us very much in our solution, except to teach us what cavalry can do when armed with a rifle and bayonet, as is shown in the attack on Tirnova and the defence of the Balkan passes.

Conclusion.

It is difficult to understand why those who hold extreme views on this subject never seem to entertain the idea that cavalry trained equally in the use of the firearm and of an *arme blanche* might be made far more effective than if only taught to rely mainly on one weapon.

The weak point in the *arme blanche* theory lies in the repeated assertion that the 'cavalry spirit' will be destroyed by too much reliance being placed on the rifle. This so-called 'cavalry spirit' is, in other words, the 'offensive spirit' coupled with morale. We try to imbue our infantry with the same spirit, and do not expect to lessen it by giving them rifles instead of only pikes. We give our infantry a bayonet, not because we expect it to be used more often than the rifle, but simply as a weapon to increase confidence and to stimulate the desire to get to close quarters and use it.

There are limits to pure cavalry action, just as there are to infantry. In the attack on siege works infantry resort to the tactics of the sapper, and cavalry, if 'held up' by impossible ground, superior numbers, or a strong entrenched position, should not have, from sheer inability to cope with it, to give up the task as hopeless, but should be able to resort to infantry tactics of every description. The American War shows us that cavalry do not lose the 'cavalry spirit' by resorting to these tactics if their morale is good. If their morale is poor the most deadly repeating rifle will be useless to them.

On the other hand, the 'firearm theory' loses its strength in the total ignoring of morale and of human nature; men are treated as automata, and rifle fire is looked on as the be-all and end-all of all fighting. Just as the infantry bayonet or

even the threat of it will finally destroy the morale of an enemy, so will the threat of cold steel in a cavalry charge. The American Civil War and the Franco-German War prove this; and our South African War proves in addition that without an *arme blanche* troops will not ride home in the attack, and that rifle fire alone will not always bring decisive results.

The Franco-German War shows us that to obtain satisfactory and continuous results cavalry must have a rifle; the American Civil War and the South African War that they must have an *arme blanche;* and all the wars of recent years point to the fact that cavalry trained in the use of one arm only will probably succumb to that trained scientifically in both; and if trained only in the use of the firearm it will, by avoiding conflict in the open, have the superiority over that trained in the use of the *arme blanche* alone; but its operations will be slower, and time is a factor not to be neglected in modern war.

The deductions, therefore, that can be drawn from the above studies of four great campaigns seem to be as follows:

That good fire tactics, when employed, have often been the means to shock action with the *arme blanche;* that the possession of a rifle and ability to use it has, by enabling it to take greater risks, incited cavalry to even bolder and more offensive tactics; that for moral effect and decisive results mounted action with cold steel has no rival; and, finally, that to enable cavalry to play its important *rôle* to the best advantage both weapons should be the complement of the other, the rifle assisting the sword as at Winchester, for example, and as the sword should have assisted the rifle at Mars La Tour, for the moral victory of the Prussian cavalry division under Von Barby placed them in a favourable position to check the advance of the French Fourth Corps by dismounted rifle fire, instead of the complete and useless withdrawal that was carried out.

In no war as yet, however, has cavalry been employed which has been equally efficiently trained in both arms; and the practical results of such training must be left to be decided in a future war. The difficulty of such training lies in the careful selection and education of officers, and their power by previous study and practice to hold the balance evenly between the rifle and the sword or lance; for cavalry, more than any other arm, is at the mercy of its leaders.

The ideal to be striven for is no doubt a high one, though not impossible; but until the fallacies of extremists are ruthlessly exposed the lesser evil is, as these wars teach, to be too bold by mounted action rather than too cautious by dismounted tactics.

H. E. BRAINE.

ROBERT BROWNING

BORN MAY 7, 1812

Sooner or later every writer about Robert Browning has to face the vexed question of his alleged obscurity; and one may as well make it the starting-point, refusing to be brow-beaten by those arrogant persons who not often affirm that his writings are easily intelligible, but disparage the intellects of people whom his poetry perplexes. Browning's poetry is no more to be called simple because Professor Furnivall understood it than the Chinese language is to be called easy because it yielded its secrets to Sir Robert Hart. It has perplexed many readers whom poetry, as a rule, did not perplex. The story of Douglas Jerrold's exultant delight at the discovery that he was not the only person to whom *Sordello* was incomprehensible is well known. Frederick Tennyson, who met Browning in Italy, found the poet charming, but his poetry 'bewildering.' It has even been related that Frederick Tennyson's greater brother once declared in conversation that Browning would be an unsuitable successor to himself in the office of Laureate because his meaning could only be grasped by the elect.

In the face of that evidence—to which a great deal more evidence of the same kind could be added—the difficulty of Browning can hardly be disputed even by those who claim to have overcome it, and to have placed others in the way of doing so; and it only remains to define the nature of the difficulty and indicate its causes. For, of course, there are many different kinds of literary obscurity: some of them real, and others only apparent. The most pellucid writer may seem obscure to the mass of readers if the subjects of which he treats are complicated and abstruse. Apart from that—and apart from the artificial difficulties attributable to muddle-headed fluency—obscurity is generally due to one of two causes. A man may be obscure because he is over-anxious to explain—and consequently explains too much; or he may be obscure because he explains too little, writing, as it were, chiefly for himself, thinking aloud rather than conversing, taking the line that his meaning is his own business, and leaving his readers to make what they can of it.

[illegible] of Mr. Henry [illegible] [illegible] explains more elaborately, or appears more pathetically anxious to make his precise meaning clear. He gives one the impression of a writer perpetually striving—year after year, and decade after decade—to make a plain, straightforward statement of fact which shall embody the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. But truth is a gem with many facets, and, in order that there may be absolutely no deception, Mr. James finds it necessary to exhibit all the facets simultaneously, in long sentences, intricately constructed and ingeniously qualified. The plain, straightforward statement is indubitably there; but it is only by readers whose intelligences are at once as comprehensive and as subtle as Mr. James's that it is readily recognised as such. The others, not being able to think of so many things at once as he requires them to, are a little apt to mistake his careful candour for disingenuous dubiety.

Of that fault, or virtue (whichever it may be), Robert Browning has never been accused. He does not try to lay his mind alongside his readers', but expects his readers to lay their minds alongside his. His poetry, in short, is a record of the working of a mind which has worked without reference to the working of other people's minds. Such an unadorned and unannotated record of the working of any mind would probably be puzzling; the puzzle is necessarily the greater when the mind is at once infinitely complicated and indefatigably restless. The association of ideas in the record appears to proceed by jarring jerks. The unaccustomed reader is continually pulled up and puzzled by the perception of a missing link or the necessity of thinking out the significance of an unusual symbol. The difficulty disappears, or at all events diminishes, when the reader has undergone the influence sufficiently to have learnt to think somewhat in Browning's manner—to have acquired, in short, something of Browning's mental twist. The reader who has not undergone the influence—the hypnosis, as one may almost say—may be of gigantic intellect and yet be baffled by everything except such simple pieces as *Evelyn Hope* and *How they brought the good news from Ghent to Aix*.

The deduction has sometimes been drawn that the value of Browning's work is not so much poetical as philosophical and metaphysical; but the people who say that sort of thing are not the metaphysicians and the philosophers. They know better; and anyone else may know better who will take the trouble to compare one of the many Handbooks to Browning with one of the many Handbooks to, let us say, Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*. There are plenty of people to whom the two texts

so long as they are left unexplained, seem equally [illegible]; but there is a world of difference in the intelligibility of the two explanations. The essential message of Kant, reduced to its lowest terms, still conveys no particular meaning to the average man in the street, but requires a further explanation which it is impossible to give to him. The essential message of Browning, as set forth by Mr. Chesterton, or Professor Dowden, or Mrs. Orr, is as easy to apprehend as *Little Arthur's History of England* or the *Proverbial Philosophy* of Martin Farquhar Tupper.

To say that is not, of course, to disparage Browning, but merely to refuse to praise him for the wrong reasons, or to apply to his work inapplicable epithets which are not really eulogistic, though they are doubtless meant to be so. Metaphysical speculation is an impersonal thing. To be conducted profitably it needs to be conducted with the precision which is only possible in prose. Let anyone who thinks otherwise try to compose a metrical version of Green's *Prolegomena to Ethics*, or F. H. Bradley's *Logic*. The result of the endeavour will be equally bad as poetry and as metaphysics. Browning was far too wise a man to make any such foolish attempt; far too wise to submit himself to the limitations which such a task imposes. His strength lies not in abstract thought, imposing recondite impersonal conclusions, but in rendering the experiences of the individual soul—or, rather, of diverse individual souls—in the presence of urgent but vexatious problems. That, whatever it may be, is not, in the metaphysician's sense, metaphysics. The metaphysician would say of Browning's poems, as the Senior Wrangler said of Milton's, that they 'prove nothing.' At the same time, they are more convincing than if they did, because their appeal to reason is mingled (as the metaphysician would say that it ought not to be) with the appeal to emotion, and because the conclusion to which they lead is simple and desirable, but is not stripped of its plausibility by being made to appear too easy of attainment.

The one word which is always appearing and reappearing in every exposition of Browning is optimism. It is in the nature of the case that optimism should be popular; but the obvious facts of life are such that a great deal of the current optimism, whether of poetry or of the pulpit, arouses our suspicion and mocks our intelligence. Such optimism, in short, is only pessimism in a thin disguise, instantly and scornfully penetrated by those who have learnt 'how easily things go wrong.' The bald statement, for instance, that 'All is for the best in the best of all possible worlds' is really a pessimistic

[illegible] view is that, however [illegible] realities, the possibilities are always better.

Browning's optimism is not of that shallow platitudinous kind, and is not, like the conventional optimism of the pulpit, imposed authoritatively without reference to the facts. It may be an emotional outburst, as in 'God's in His Heaven—all's right with the world.' Even when it seems to be reasoned, it rests upon an emotional basis: some sense, not logically demonstrable, of the good which informs, and may proceed from, even evil experience. Above all, it has not that invariable over-confidence which irritates and provokes contention. As it can rise from the probable to the positive, so it can relapse from the positive to the probable. It wrestles with obstinate facts—and the wrestling is sometimes too quick to be easily followed; and the substance of it is hope—not only inspired, but also justified, by love.

That, obviously, is not metaphysics. It is hardly, even in the Euclidean sense, argument. Its value is as an elaboration of an intuition, a record of an experience, and an appeal to an instinct. There have been devout Browningites who have felt that Browning's optimistic conclusions were wider than his premisses warranted. Professor Furnivall was such a one, as he admitted to the present writer only a few months before his death.

The talk had turned, somehow or other, upon Browning's expressions of belief—a belief which he had not always held—in the continuance of a personal life after death: a belief which so clearly had its source, if not its philosophical warrant, in his love for his wife, and the oppressive torture of the thought that there might be no renewal of it in any hereafter. 'I don't agree,' said the founder of the Browning Society. 'For my part I'm frankly an agnostic, prepared to wait and see. It's no use pretending that one knows when one doesn't, is it?' But he was none the less an enthusiast because he felt that Browning had dotted the i's and crossed the t's of his creed too precisely. He was under the spell, that is to say, not of the argument, but of the poetry and the personality: an optimist under Browning's influence, for all his agnosticism, abounding in the energy which alternately prompts optimism and results from it, albeit retaining doubts which Browning, in his later years, seemed to have overcome.

In the view of Professor Dowden, Browning's optimism was a reasoned conviction, arrived at not through personal experience, but in spite of it. He certainly did say, in his old age, that the unhappy days in his life had been more numerous than the happy ones; and his unhappiness, as certainly, never reduced

him to pessimism [illegible]

to very little. A census of happy days is a [illegible] impossible to take; and the case is hardly one in which [illegible] conviction can be separated from intuitive perception. [illegible] arguments for optimism (or pessimism) are not like the demonstrations of geometry which appeal to all temperaments with equal force. Conclusion first and argument afterwards is the normal order of thought in such matters; and, so far as it is possible for one man to judge of another's life, one would [illegible] that the circumstances of Browning's life—in spite of the gr[illegible] sorrow which cut it in half—were such as inevitably to sugg[illegible] the optimistic view. Let us consider.

In the first place, all the physical inducements to pessimis[illegible] were eliminated by the enjoyment of exceptionally vigoro[illegible] health. In the second place Browning knew what he want[illegible] and got it—wanted, that is to say, to be a poet, and was enabl[illegible] to be a poet without parental or pecuniary let or hindranc[illegible] In the third place his passion for romance was gratified, witho[illegible] the need of defying any social code, or setting himself at od[illegible] with the world; and his romance is one of the very few litera[illegible] love stories which have continued as happily as they began, an[illegible] have reached their end without any of the bitterness of di[illegible] illusion. To realise the force of that last fact, one has only [illegible] contrast the circumstances and sequel of Browning's and Mi[illegible] Barrett's elopement from Wimpole Street to Italy with those [illegible] George Sand's and Alfred de Musset's honeymoon in Venic[illegible] In the latter case we see a momentary caprice mistaken for [illegible] passion—a heart broken and thrown away—a lover transforme[illegible] into a cynic and convinced, in the twinkling of an eye, th[illegible] every woman was a grisette at heart. In the former our visio[illegible] is of love, spiritualised and inextinguishable—an organic an[illegible] ineradicable element of the two lives into which it had entere[illegible] Contrasting the two spectacles, we instinctively ask ourselves Who, if not Alfred de Musset, was entitled to be a pessimist Who, if not Robert Browning, was under an obligation to be a optimist?

One has no difficulty in naming poets whose lives were appa[illegible] ently more romantic than Browning's, or poets whom a severe emotional discipline has brought into closer contact with certai[illegible] realities. One can name none whose experiences have combine[illegible] in an equal degree the excitements of romance and the advan[illegible] tages derivable from placid accordance with the convention[illegible] Extremes seem to meet in the record: the headlong enterprise as it were, of Shelley, and the sober, well-regulated domesticit[illegible] of Wordsworth; and his happiness, in so far as we have th[illegible]

[illegible] ... [illegible] been [illegible] ... [illegible] enjoyed.

In the chronicles of Wordsworth's life we find rapture and ecstasy lacking. The great proof of the limitation is the fact that he invited his sister to accompany his bride and himself on his honeymoon. Shelley, on the other hand, though he knew rapture, knew disenchantment also. He was always 'seeking in a mortal image the likeness of what is perhaps eternal,' but always failing to find it there. The social boycott oppressed him indirectly by its oppression of his wife, who revealed herself under its influence as common-place, conventional, and peevish. He and she both penned confessions of failure: she in the poem wrung from her by Shelley's death, he in the 'Stanzas Written in Dejection near Naples,' which were no mere literary exercise.

Browning's case was far more fortunate. He achieved such romance in his life as lay beyond the range of Wordsworth's dreams; and he achieved it without breaking any of the rules to which importance was attached in his native Camberwell; and the joy which he had won he kept until the hour of the great tragedy. The world, recognising his romance as legitimately romantic, made no difficulties. Though he boasted himself 'ever a fighter,' he was never called upon to fight for his happiness as Shelley was. There was no special boycott, but a cooing chorus of sympathetic admiration; and he was never brought to face the doubt whether he had indeed found the likeness of the eternal in a mortal image. Everything, in short, happened in such a way as Camberwell could commend; and yet nothing happened which could give any scoffer an excuse for deploring the limitations of the Camberwell point of view. And so we come to, and may properly pause to dwell upon, the story of Browning's elopement with Miss Barrett.

We know all about it; and, of course, there are those who insist that we ought never to have been allowed to know. Even Mr. Chesterton expresses regret at the publication of the love letters: on the ground, apparently, that their peculiarities of diction tend to make sacred emotion ridiculous—a tendency which, it is to be feared, is no rare characteristic of love letters. One might reply that, when the sacred emotion stands the test, then no great harm is done; that it is precisely because romance triumphed so completely in the story that the world is curious about it; that the documents help us to visualise what seemed, in the early biographies, written without them, a bald and unconvincing narrative; and finally that they carry us back, as no mere summary of events could do, to those Early Victorian times in which the scene was laid. The essence of the love story is, of course, like the essence of all love stories, universal; but

the details and the *mise-en-scène* are nothing if not Early Victorian. The spectacle is not one of emancipated thinkers in revolt against Early Victorian restrictions. It is a spectacle of Early Victorianism accomplishing its own triumph in its own way, without doing violence to any single article of its accepted code.

There is nothing, it is true, characteristically Early Victorian in the actual language of the letters. Early Victorian language is, in a general way, intelligible; and the phraseology here is often as confusing as a corrupt chorus of the *Agamemnon*, or the less grammatical of the speeches in Thucydides. But the situation is Early Victorian; and so is the way of handling it; and so—most especially—is Miss Elizabeth Barrett. The present generation of unchaperoned, golf-playing, and revolting daughters would have as little patience and sympathy with Miss Elizabeth Barrett as with Miss Amelia Sedley, of whom Miss Barrett, in spite of her great gifts, sometimes reminds one. She was a *malade imaginaire*, stretched on a sofa, partly by compulsion, but partly also by conviction. At the age of forty, or thereabouts, and with a distinguished literary record behind her, she still feared to face an angry father, and harboured an old-world terror of strange men on the principle of *omne ignotum pro horrifico*.

She was, of course, in the language of her time, a 'blue-stocking.' She knew several languages, including Greek, and contributed to the *Athenæum* as well as writing poetry. One may say, no doubt, that she 'lived her own life,' in the sense that a certain intellectual, and even emotional, life of her own bubbled up in her whether she would or not; but she lived it in the face of Early Victorian protests, with Early Victorian submissiveness. Moreover, she went through life, especially when she walked abroad, with a complete set of the Early Victorian apparatus and paraphernalia: a lapdog, a carpet bag, a respirator, a flask of smelling-salts, and a supply of sal volatile, for use on the smallest emotional provocation. One seems to miss nothing—unless it be perhaps a talking parrot in a cage; and one feels a pleasure in filling up the picture with this Pre-Raphaelite accumulation of detail because it seems such a very unlikely *mise-en-scène* for a new setting of the old story of Prince Charming and the Sleeping Beauty.

Prince Charming assuredly was not expected either by the Sleeping Beauty herself or by those about her. It is seldom that a Prince Charming comes to look for his Sleeping Beauty in a darkened sick-room, reeking with a *malade imaginaire's* restoratives; and in this case the couch of the *malade imaginaire* was jealously guarded by anxious relatives who had accepted her

as an eternal invalid, and stood around her to protect her nerv
from any rude and sudden shock. They did not understand t
sudden shock is sometimes the most effective cure for weaken
nerves—as in the case, related in a well-known medical w
on hysteria, of the lady who imagined that she was paralyse
but found that she could jump up and run when a passing sold
stooped to kiss her in her bath-chair. Indeed, Miss Barret
father was a man who would probably have regarded the cu
by whatever means effected, of so confirmed an invalid as
blasphemous defiance of the declared will of Providence; a
herself, though nearly forty years of age, hardly felt hers
grown up, but had all the Early Victorian shrinking from cond
which could be classed as 'bold.' So events moved slowly, w
all the Early Victorian hesitations and lettings of 'I dare n
wait upon 'I would.'

It began when Browning, at the suggestion of Kenyon, w
was Miss Barrett's friend as well as his, wrote to Miss Barr
to tell her that her poetry had given him great pleasure;
one knows pretty well how a modern woman of forty—
romantic age—would have behaved in the circumstances. S
would have known whether she wished the correspondence
lead to acquaintance or not; and if she had decided in t
affirmative, she would have told Kenyon to bring the admi
of her genius to tea, or would herself have let him know th
she was always at home on the first and third Tuesdays.
simple matter, as it seems to us; and it had to come to that
or something of the sort—in the end. But there had also
be preliminary negotiations; and those preliminary negotiatio
took no less than five months to complete. So far was M
Barrett removed, in spite of her great artistic gifts, from t
frank and easy *camaraderie* of the present century.

If she was not actually afraid of being seen by a stran
man, she was, at any rate, quite sure that she ought to be, a
that both her family and the strange man himself would
surprised and shocked at her if she were not. So she put
off, and put it off, making one excuse after another—her heal
the weather, &c.—and protesting, with all the retiring femin
modesty of her epoch, that she was not worth seeing:

> There is nothing to see in me; nor to hear in me—I never learnt
> talk as you do in London. . . If my poetry is worth anything to
> eye, it is the flower of me. . . The rest of me is nothing but a r
> fit for the ground and the dark. And if I write all this egotism it is
> shame; and because I feel ashamed of having made a fuss about wha
> not worth it; and because you are extravagant in caring so for a
> mission which will be nothing to you afterwards.

It is just what Amelia Sedley might have said if she had been capable of such complicated sentences; and we may take it that Amelia Sedley would also have been capable of the postscript: 'If on Tuesday you should not be well, *pray do not come!*' One can imagine Amelia Sedley, too, hinting at the possibility of 'an unforeseen obstacle,' and enveloping the innocent visit in mystery, for all the world as if it were a guilty intrigue: 'My sister will bring you upstairs to me; and we will talk; or *you* will talk; and you will try to be indulgent, and like me as well as you can.' Moreover one may doubt whether Miss Barrett saw, any more than Amelia Sedley would have seen, any humour in Browning's playful expression of satisfaction that at least he was not suspected of any desire to 'make mainprize of the stray cloaks and umbrellas downstairs.' One feels when one reads these things that one is indeed back in Dark Ages, hardly comprehensible to us, when things happened very differently from now.

There is more than a suggestion, again, of the Dark Ages in the incident which so nearly broke off the intercourse as soon as it had begun: in Browning's apprehension, that is to say, that the pleasure of his society might be disturbing to Miss Barrett's peace of mind, and his offer to withdraw before irreparable harm was done. To us, of course, who look at the matter from the modern point of view, his self-consciousness in the matter seems infinitely vain and silly; but it was really an act of deference to the social tyranny of the times. The possibilities of comradeship between men and women had not yet been realised. An unmarried man could hardly speak to an unmarried woman without taking the risk of being asked his 'intentions,' especially in such parts of the town as Camberwell. It was supposed that the state of Miss Barrett's health forbade the entertaining of 'intentions'; and Browning's mistake was indubitably due to an excess of suburban delicacy. It was by the tact with which she helped him out of it that Miss Barrett proved her superiority to Amelia Sedley—and, incidentally, to her Early Victorianism. She sent the letter back, and Browning burnt it, with curses on a fatuity which was not personal but belonged to his period; and *camaraderie* was, in fact, established, and developed into the romance which ended in the most famous elopement in literary history.

It would take too long, and it would be superfluous, to retell the story in detail. All that one need do is to note how the Early Victorian atmosphere made dark and devious a situation which would nowadays be regarded as of absolute simplicity. Miss Barrett, it must be remembered, was forty, and had private means—some 400*l*. or 500*l*. a year—she was too unworldly to

have informed herself of the exact figure. Browning was socially eligible, and had a sufficient allowance from his father. It seems to us a case, if ever there was one, not for 'asking papa,' but for telling him; but Miss Barrett was equally afraid of telling and of asking. She had all Amelia Sedley's sense of subjection to her father, and more than Amelia Sedley's fear of him. She had to deceive because she dared not defy. Her lover had to give her the courage even to deceive; and, as for defiance—her dread of that course, and her grounds for it, are graphically put in one of the letters, in which she reports a confidential talk with her sister:

'If a Prince of Eldorado should come, with a pedigree of lineal descent from signory in one hand and a ticket of good behaviour from the nearest Independent chapel in the other——'

'Why, even then,' said my sister Arabella, 'it would not do.'

'Would not do,' indeed, was an understatement—a euphemism. Miss Barrett's position was, in fact, like that of a servant in a house which has for its guiding maxim: 'No followers allowed.' If Mr. Barrett should find out that his daughter had a 'follower,' and that 'that man,' as he called Browning, was something more than a mere literary adviser, who passed the time between the headaches in talking about the *Agamemnon* choruses, why then:

We would be able to meet never again in this room, nor to have intercourse by letter through the ordinary channel. I mean that letters of yours addressed to me here would infallibly be stopped and destroyed—if not opened.

So that there was nothing for it but for the lovers to do the thing which, having attained years of discretion, they had a perfect right to do, as stealthily as if they had been partners in some nefarious conspiracy. Miss Barrett had to fortify herself with sal volatile before doing it, and to collapse on to a sofa afterwards. That is one of the Early Victorian touches; and the other is the carpet bag, which Miss Barrett did not dare to carry out of the house with her, but had to dispatch as 'luggage in advance.' Most Early Victorian of all, however, is Miss Barrett's fluttering way of suggesting that, as her father had laid a plan for transporting the family to the country, in order that the Wimpole Street house may be redecorated and repaired, her lover might perhaps like to expedite his enterprise:

If we are taken away on Monday . . . what then? . . . It seems quite too soon and too sudden for us to set out on our Italian adventure now—and perhaps even we could not compass——. Well—but you must think for both of us. . . I will do what you wish—understand.

And so to Paris, and thence to Italy; Browning being so excited that he read the railway time-table wrongly, but Miss

Barrett retaining sufficient presence of mind to point out his mistake to him—a proof, perhaps, that there is one occasion in life on which a woman, even though she be a poet, may be depended upon for more composed practical sagacity than a man. 'I know not,' wrote their friend Mrs. Jameson from Paris, 'how the two poet heads and poet hearts will get on through this prosaic world.' But the prosaic world had, in fact, no terrors for them. They did not find it prosaic, and were hardly conscious of the need for any special courage in facing it; and the story is one which the lover of contrasts may find it piquant to place side by side with that other story, already referred to, of George Sand's Italian honeymoon with Alfred de Musset.

Assuredly there was nothing Early Victorian about George Sand. She flashes upon us, at the first glance, as a far more romantic figure than Miss Barrett: one who had the courage of her convictions, and did far more daring things, with a far more exalted moral tone. She took the initiative; she generalised; she appealed to the Higher Law—having first defined it to her satisfaction. Her sojourn at Venice with Musset seemed to her not so much an individual as a symbolic act—a great and luminous example—a manifesto of the Feminism of the Romantic Movement. The step she took was taken in the light of day, with the proud air of one who had achieved a triumph for her sex. She extorted permission from Musset's mother; and Musset's brother saw her off at the office of the diligence. The adventure of the Brownings seems infinitely trivial—the merest child's play—by comparison.

And yet the laugh (if it had been a laughing matter) would, in the end, have been on the Brownings' side. In the case of George Sand, very few months had passed before the romance had ended in a wrangle, the repercussions of which have hardly yet died away; and love was succeeded by disenchantment; and the Dead Sea fruit had turned to ashes; and the boy who had been the brightest hope of the Romantic Movement succumbed to pessimism as to some corroding and incurable disease, and lost all faith in women because one woman had covered her infidelities by the profane use of sacred words. For Browning and his wife, on the contrary, there was neither disenchantment nor disillusion. Their hold on the passion which they had approached by steering such a devious and respectful course among the rocks and shoals of Early Victorian convention and etiquette was far stronger than that of the lovers who, in the pride of their strength, laughed all the codes to scorn, and made a religion of emotional anarchism because it suited them to be emotional anarchists.

The contrast between the two experiences would have been

an instructive subject for Mrs. Browning and George Sand to discuss when, some years later, they made each other's acquaintance; but we may be as certain as it is ever possible to be of anything that they did not discuss it. Possibly George Sand's consciousness of that contrast was one of the reasons why she and Mrs. Browning did not get on very well together in spite of their regard for each other's talents; but even for that conjecture there is no evidential warrant, and it would be easy to find other explanations. Mrs. Browning's chief feeling about George Sand would seem, after all, to have been that curiosity about women who toss their bonnets over the windmills, which is the last infirmity of women who would not dream of doing anything of the kind. George Sand was, for her, 'a noble woman,—*under the mud*'; but she was very conscious of the mud, and Browning himself was, if possible, even more conscious of it, with the result that 'we always felt that we couldn't penetrate—couldn't really *touch her*—it was all vain.'

As, indeed, it was bound to be in view of the great gulf fixed between Wimpole Street and Camberwell and the Latin Quarter; between the cautious timidity of the Early Victorians, making a great ado about a very little unconventionality, terribly afraid that they were kicking over traces when they were only legitimately and decorously stepping over them, and the sublime assurance of the great Romantics who called God to witness, boasting that they 'felt good' while plucking forbidden fruit, and whose poems and novels have been described as an *Imitatio Magdalenæ* or *Samaritanæ*—'a marriage service for use when eloping with a neighbour's wife.'

It would be tempting to generalise; but it is always unsafe to do so when speaking of the experiences of men and women of genius. 'Exceptional people,' it has been written, 'may do exceptional things with impunity'; and the Early Victorianism of the Brownings was quite as exceptional in persons of their intellectual calibre and artistic temperaments as George Sand's appeal to Pantheism as the sanction of free love. Their great and sustained emotional triumph may, therefore, have been due to their personal genius, and have been attained, not because they kept so close to the conventional high-road of sentiment, but in spite of their constitutional reluctance to diverge from it.

None the less it was a very remarkable triumph; and it is a remarkable fact that, though passion is usually associated with lawlessness rather than with the domestic affections, the most conventional love affair in modern literary annals has not only inspired some of the most passionately convincing modern love poems, but has also coloured the poet's entire outlook on life. Browning's love did not, indeed, give him his optimism—for he

was an optimist by nature; but it gave his optimism the motive and justification to which it owes its world-wide appeal. And he acknowledged the debt—we may read the acknowledgment in the line:

> Where my heart lies let my brain lie also.

That is why it seemed worth while, on this centenary occasion, to dwell on a love story which, shown to us, as Browning let it be shown, under the microscope, seemed so trivial, and yet was fruitful of so much.

FRANCIS GRIBBLE.

THE NEXT ATTACK UPON THE LAND

The campaign against Capital that was inaugurated with the Budget of 1909 appears now to have got beyond the control of its inceptors. But although the disastrous consequences of the great coal strike are insistent upon us; it is not well to forget that a fresh attack is preparing by those battalions which succeeded two years ago in obtaining legislative sanction for a first instalment of their ideas with regard to the land.

That Budget and its sequelæ, Form IV. and the 'New Domesday,' or National Valuation, are among the relics of a recent past which most men would willingly leave to moulder with wrecks of forgotten deliriums. And even the author of the measure which brought those monstrous births to the world's light seems to have tired of them, and to have made up his mind that their day—or at any rate the day of their use as political rather than as administrative instruments—is over. As far as the Chancellor of the Exchequer is concerned, the Insurance Act seems to have blotted out the Finance Act. Like some magnificent Maharajah, he plans and builds a succession of gorgeous legislative palaces, each one vaster than the last; as soon as the roof is on one such edifice, his brisk brain is busy with the next; but he never deigns to repair what was built before and has already crumbled, or to carry out later what was left undone at first. The staring gaps in the last structure, the ruinous breaches, will escape (he thinks) the sight of that expectant public which is supposed to be watching with a beating heart the rise of the new building. The Indian potentate is credited with the superstition that if he ceases for an instant to have a new and costly treasure-house in course of erection his reign is at an end. Surely this cannot be the fear that impels our British autocrat ever to build afresh, without completing and without maintaining?

But the National Valuation, with all its expenditure of work and money, is only a beginning; even the taxes levied by its means are only a gentle introduction to the more serious taxation which it is desired to impose upon those who are interested in the land. As yet the dart has only been shaken; now they are

threatened with that stroke of the dart which shall seize them with pangs unfelt before, while it brings to those who help the community with their labour blessings of which they have never dreamt. In plain prose—if the eloquent peroration to the Fourth Report of the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values may be called plain prose—such taxation, when in full working, is to 'make rent a public fund.' According to a still more plain-spoken pamphlet, published by the same body and somewhat unfortunately named 'Form IV.—What next?', 168 Members of Parliament have petitioned the Prime Minister (and have received a sympathetic reply to their memorial) to empower local authorities to levy rates on the basis of the National Valuation, as well as to levy a 'Budget tax on all Land Values to be applied:

(a) In providing a national fund to be allocated toward the cost of such service as Education, Poor Relief, Main Roads, Asylums, and Police, thereby reducing the local rates; and

(b) In substitution of the duties on tea, sugar, cocoa, and other articles of food.' 'What next?' we may well ask.

Condemned as unauthorised by as strong a tribunal as exists in these kingdoms, that unlucky attempt at a buff-paper thumb-screw called 'Form IV.' now serves only to point a moral. But the National Valuation, to which it was once intended to serve as a guide, is still alive. When the Inland Revenue Commissioners issued their last report, that valuation was employing an army of at least 172 permanent officials, and 1376 other gentlemen who were, it is said, 'engaged on a temporary footing'; all these being additional to the 'Land Valuation Officers,' who were apparently only employed in the financial year 1910-11, but whose services in that year cost the State 174,000*l*. By the 31st of October 1911 the Land Valuation Staff (including both permanent and temporary members) had increased to 2301; and the annual salaries of these gentlemen amounted to no less a sum than 323,000*l*. It seems likely that the National Valuation will continue to employ large numbers of officials, whether on a permanent or a temporary footing, and to cost considerable sums until it is—save the mark!—completed. Its opponents think that it will take at least twenty years; its friends say five years; and the Prime Minister once, in an enthusiastic moment, hoped to see it finished in a year. That first year has long since come to an end; when it closed, provisional valuations had been issued for 370,000 pieces of land, out of nearly 11,000,000 that have to be valued. But stay! in that year also, the Land Valuation Department made the momentous discovery that the manor of East Quantockshead was still in the hands of a lineal descendant of a man who held it at the time of the Old Domesday Book, William the Conqueror's Domesday Book—a horrid symptom of that feudal state of affairs which it

was one of the objects of the 'New Domesday' to abolish for ever.

Let us see now what this National Valuation actually is. The memorial and pamphlet ask that its completion may be hastened, and that it may be made accessible to the public—the public may not examine a man's income-tax returns to ascertain his income, but if his capital is in land, they are to be made free of this information as to its values—and describe it as 'the valuation of all land apart from improvements, provided for in the Budget of 1909-10.' That Act provides for a valuation of 'all land in the United Kingdom,' in which each plot in separate occupation is to have four different values assigned to it; and by a subsequent Act owners are given a conditional power to demand the aggregation of contiguous plots up to 100 acres. The four values are called: gross value, full site value, total value, and assessable site value; the last being also called original site value, or site value *sans phrases*. If any plot has a value for agricultural purposes differing from the assessable site value, the value for agricultural purposes (ascertained on some principle undefined) is also to be shown. Of the four values that are defined, only the first, the gross value, has any relation to any value that is ascertained in the ordinary course of business, or that has ever before been estimated for purposes of taxation. The definition of these four values takes up two whole pages of the King's Printer's copy, but it may be said—briefly and I hope not unfairly—that the gross value is intended to represent the market value of the piece of land if unencumbered; the full site value to represent the gross value after deducting the value attributable to buildings and appurtenant machinery, to timber and growing crops; the total value to represent the gross value as diminished by any burden of fixed charges and public rights to which the land is actually subject; and the assessable site value to represent the ultimate residue, still further reduced by the value attributable to the expenditure of money upon the land by owners or tenants of the land, so long as it has not been spent with a view to purely agricultural improvements, and by certain minor deductions. Minerals are not to be taken into account in any of these estimates; the provisions for the inclusion of minerals in the National Valuation, or for their exclusion if unworked, and the definitions of the value of minerals, are very complicated, and cannot be dealt with in this place. All the values of land that have been mentioned are to be estimated as on the 30th of April 1909; the only provision for a revision of these values applies merely to undeveloped land, that is to land not covered with buildings, and not used for any business but agriculture. But these values are not to be ascertained for all the land in the United Kingdom; the assessable site value of land used for the purpose of railways,

canals, docks, or waterworks is taken to be the actual cost of the land to the company or body so using it.

Pausing here for a moment, and assuming—only for a moment—that the objects of the United Committee and of the memorialising members are right and just, it is manifest that the National Valuation, as it stands, cannot effectively serve these objects.

In the first place, it will not be correct up to date; it is not correct now, because the values are estimated as on the 30th of April 1909, we are now in April 1912, and a very small proportion of the Valuation has been completed; and if and when it is finished, it will of course be much less correct in relation to the conditions then prevailing in the land market. The earliest date at which the Government now hope for the Valuation to be completed is some time before March 1915; and I do not suppose the most ardent memorialist would desire that taxes or rates should be levied in 1915 upon a basis of value which obtained in 1909; still less is it possible that that value should remain stereotyped for all time as the measure of taxation. Secondly, the National Valuation is not a 'valuation of all land apart from improvements,' because, as has been shown, the Act expressly prohibits the valuers from making any deduction for the value attributable to agricultural improvements. In the third place, the value of land used for railways, canals, docks and waterworks is not shown at all, improvements or no improvements; for the cost of such land may be a very different thing from its value, as those enthusiasts who gird at the land-owners for having, as they say, extracted excessive sums from railway companies and so on as compensation for parting with some of their land, are never tired of protesting; it was indeed one of the express objects of the National Valuation that such 'extortion' should be rendered impossible in the future. Lastly, the National Valuation results in many cases in a *minus* quantity for assessable site value; this is understood to be due to the deduction in respect of permanent charges, fee-farm rents and so forth, and Mr. Wedgwood has on two recent occasions stated in the House of Commons that for this reason the basis upon which he and his friends propose to levy the rates is the '*full site value*,' which does not take such charges into account. *If he had not repeated the statement, it could scarcely have been conceived that he meant what he said, for the full site value shows no deduction for improvements other than buildings and their appurtenances, and timber and growing things; the deduction for improvements generally is not made until the assessable site value is reached, and the assessable site value takes into account the permanent charges.* Neither does

any of the various values now shown in the Valuation leaves out of account all improvements, or even all non-agricultural improvements, and at the same time disregard the permanent charges.

In these four points, then, the National Valuation, as it is now directed to be carried out, fails to serve the fresh objects to which it is sought to apply it. It is easy to talk of amendment; and no doubt the Act could be amended to meet some of these points. But what then? If the Act is amended so as to secure the National Valuation being corrected from year to year and brought up to date sufficiently to serve as a permanent basis of assessment, not only the 172 permanent officials, but a large number of those other members of the band of 2301 who are now only 'engaged on a temporary footing' must remain as a continuous burden upon the national finances. If a deduction is to be made for the value due to agricultural improvements, every plot of land which has such a value, and of which the valuation is completed before the amending Act is passed, will have to be re-valued 'as on the 30th of April 1909' —and the labour and money already expended on the valuation of those plots will be thrown away. The values of all the plots valued before the amending Act will have to be re-calculated so as to show a sum which allows for improvements generally, and which at the same time takes no account of fixed charges.

On those points, then, the Act may, as a legislative measure, be capable of amendment—but at what expense of work and money wasted in the past, at what cost in the future? On the other hand, in the matter of placing an 'unimproved value' upon the sites of railways, canals, docks and waterworks, the Act is incapable of satisfactory amendment. No one can tell the site value of a railway. Is it the agricultural value of the adjoining land? Is the valuer to imagine the permanent way only to be non-existent, or is he also to wipe out the embankment that supports it? Where the railway crosses a river, is he to suppose that two different companies own the strips of land abutting on either bank, or is he to take it that the same railway company owns both strips, with the right to connect them by a bridge? If the former, the site value of the railway can be no greater than that of a strip of pasture beside it. The second hypothesis of course accords more with common sense and with the facts —but if we take the bridge into account, or even the right to construct it, we are not finding the unimproved value of the land. What is the value of the ground occupied by a water-main, or the bed of a canal? Are we to assume the canal filled up again with earth, and cattle feeding upon it, like the Roman Forum in our grandfathers' day?

These are some of the insoluble problems which make it im-

possible to produce a site value for the great statutory undertakings that provide the greater part of our civilised amenities; and they explain why the Legislature in its wisdom has refrained from enacting that in the national valuation the land that they use should be valued at anything but its prime cost. But in exercising this commendable self-restraint, the Legislature—low be it spoken—was merely 'hedging.' The truth is that the case of the railway or the canal is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole attempt to estimate a site value. Great Britain is an old country, and much of its land has been fully improved for hundreds of years; an enormous proportion of it has been in enjoyment of all the improvements it can bear since the days of George the Third, when the great roads and canals were made. Most of our main lines of railway and a great part of the vast network of branch lines have now been in existence for some sixty or seventy years, and there are no large areas of improvable land in England which still remain to be 'opened up' by modern means of communication. Since the days when the use of land was paid for in military service and not in money, the inhabitants of this island have not been in the habit of buying, still less of valuing, land apart from the improvements upon it; and there is no canon in this country, such as there may be among the vast tracts of practically virgin land in Canada or the Antipodes, for ascertaining the unimproved value. Moreover, except for the purpose of sale, Englishmen at any rate are not in the habit of estimating land at a capital value; and even when estimating for sale, they value the land at so many years' purchase of the rent. Rent, or annual value, is the Englishman's ordinary measure of the value of land. All our local rates, all our imperial taxes on land, have long been imposed upon this basis.

Under the Poor Relief Act of 1601, the overseers of the parishes, upon whom that Statute imposed the duty of raising money for the relief of the poor, performed their task by making assessments upon the annual value of land as well as upon personal property; but the difficulty of rating the latter class of property became too great, and towards the end of the eighteenth century assessments on ships and stock-in-trade and personal profits gradually dropped out of use, until they were prohibited by a temporary Act of 1840, which has been continued for various periods to the present day. Until 1910, the basis of annual value, which the overseers adopted because they knew no other, was the only basis of all rates and taxes on land except the death duties. And we know no other basis to-day that is not wholly artificial: a fact of which there can be no better testimony than that of the Land Values Depart-

ment at Somerset House itself, which issued Form IV. It was their task to ascertain capital values of land according to certain definitions, which I have already summarised. It was not their duty to ascertain annual value. Yet when they issued a form of return which was to give them information on matters which may properly be required for the purpose of ascertaining those capital values, they put to owners occupying their own property this question:—'If the person making the return is also the occupier, state the annual value; *i.e.* the sum for which the property is worth *to be let* to a yearly tenant, the owner keeping it in repair.' The words 'to be let' are printed in bold black type. The illegality of this question does not concern us here, for the Court of Appeal has pronounced upon that; the moral lies in this, that the Department, being called upon to make estimates of capital value, think that in order to do so they must try to obtain from the owner an estimate of the annual value, and consider it worth while for that end to run a risk of having the whole proceeding declared to be unauthorised. Can there be stronger evidence that, in England, in any case where no rent exists it is necessary to invent one?

Of the values to be estimated in the National Valuation, the only one which is utilised in the Budget of 1909-10 for the purpose of taxation is the assessable or original site value, and that is used for two only of the new taxes—namely, the increment value duty and the undeveloped land duty. Owing to the ingenuity of the framers of that measure, it is to the interest of the owners to place that value as high as possible for the purposes of increment value duty, and as low as possible for the purposes of undeveloped land duty. It follows, as a corollary which scarcely needs stating, that it is to the interest of the Crown to have the value as low as possible for the one duty; as high as possible for the other. Now these two dilemmas might perhaps co-operate to produce an accurate result, if all the land were being valued at once. But, quite naturally and in order that the taxes may be collected when they fall due, land which is likely to give occasion for the levy of either of these taxes is being valued first; the two taxes are not necessarily now leviable in respect of the same classes of land, and the increment value duty applies of course to many classes of land other than undeveloped land. For the increment value duty is to be collected in respect to any description of land on the occasion of sale, of the grant of a lease for more than fourteen years, of death, and on certain periodical occasions with regard to corporations and other bodies; while the undeveloped land duty is an annual tax levied (if I may put it shortly) on agricultural land which has more than an agricultural value, and on vacant town sites. Consequently, it will only be

in regard to a minority of the pieces of land to be valued in the National Valuation that all the causes named can co-operate to produce accuracy. Value must always be a question of individual estimate, especially when it has to be ascertained upon new and artificial principles. It is clear from ministerial speeches and from the Report of the Inland Revenue Commissioners that Ministers are commendably anxious for the National Valuation to be carried through with as little friction and as little litigation as possible. Now, the way to bring about this desirable end is for the Crown gracefully to give way to those who object or appeal; and to settle figures by way of compromise rather than to allow disputed cases to become public in the Press, or to be brought up in Parliament. In other words, the richer classes of landowners who can afford professional advice and assistance and who take the trouble to employ it very largely have their own way with the valuations, while the poorer or less active persons who are interested in land go to the wall. In this connexion it must not be forgotten that 'owners' of land as defined in the Act of 1910 include leaseholders with more than fifty years unexpired, and it can scarcely be necessary to point out once more that among the owners of English land there is a large proportion of people of small means, who are not 'dukes' in any sense. For all these reasons—and for others which cannot be stated here without excessive technicality—the National Valuation when completed may or may not be a good guide for the assessment of increment value duty and undeveloped land duty; it will not be a record, eternal in the heavens, of the values of land—and it ought not to be made the basis of a general rating or a general taxation for which it was not originally intended to serve.

What reasons then are alleged for making this sudden and fundamental change in a system of local taxation which has grown up gradually during the last three hundred years, which has not been imported from abroad, and which may be presumed therefore to have some relation to the conditions of English land and to the character of the English people? According to the Lord Advocate, in a speech from which the United Committee think it worth while to circulate an extract, these reasons are to be found in the facts that land does not owe its existence to man, that it is limited in quantity, that it is necessary for our existence, for our production, and for the exchange of our products, that it cannot be carried away or concealed. Now these statements are undoubtedly true. But which of them (except perhaps the first) is not true of capital also? It is true that we cannot exist without land; but at this stage of our complicated civilisation, surely it is a useless platitude. We must have land to stand, to sit, to lie down upon; but every one of us must have capital to keep

[illegible] how does the child live [illegible] strong enough to ply a spade? On the wages of his father, it may be said. But how does his father earn wages, unless there be capital invested in the business that keeps him employed? If he were not paid until the corn grown on the field that he has ploughed comes into the market, until the house of which he helped to lay the foundations is let, who would support his child in the meantime? But it is a waste of time to deal with these absurdities; they need only to be stated. In the twentieth century we do not live upon the berries that we can gather off wild bushes, nor yet upon the milk of our own goats. Not one of us could, in this intricate world of ours, remain alive beyond the next meal-time if he were not supported by capital—his own or another's. Of course capital is a necessity of production and of exchange; equally of course, capital, so much at any rate as is invested in buildings and machinery, cannot be carried away or concealed.

So far Mr. Ure's dogmas are true, but true of capital as well as of land. There are, however, two more of his 'reasons' of which the same cannot be said. 'Land does not owe its value to anything which its owner chooses to spend upon it. Land owes its value entirely to the presence and activity and existence of the community.' I hesitate to say that these statements are untrue, because I should be answered that the word 'land' was used in the sense of 'unimproved land.' But if the word is used in this sense, then they contain no practical truth; for no man in England can wholly separate the land from the improvements, and no man—other than an ardent partisan of Land Values taxation—uses the word 'land' as meaning anything else than the land as he sees it, covered with dwelling houses or factories if it be town land; drained, embanked, fenced, if it be agricultural land. Moreover these sentences assume that all the enhanced value of land which is due to improvements on other land is due to the expenditure of the community; and such is not the fact. If you value a whole estate at once, you may in rare cases find that any margin of value which it possesses above 'prairie value' is due to the community. But if, as you almost always must (and as the National Valuation does), you value the estate in many separate pieces, you will find that a great part of the enhanced value of each piece of land is due to the personal expenditure of the owner, or of adjoining owners. For instance, it is the owner who has paid for the sewering, paving and making up of the new streets; it is the owner and his neighbours who have paid for the walls and channels by which lands are reclaimed from sea and river and marsh; a railway is extended to serve a suburban district which would not otherwise have been developed for years to come; it is the owners of the railway who have paid for the

extension. 'But land-owning' (I quote from 'Form IV.—[illegible] next?') 'is not an industry: it is a form of idleness, which is usually profitable, but is about as wealth-producing an occupation as snoring.'

'It is land-using that gives employment to labour, and adds to the sum total of wealth,' that publication goes on to say; but does not explain how 'land-using' can be done without capital, or why land-users should be penalised if they are also the owners of land. The pamphlets are eloquent in their denunciation of the penalties imposed upon industry by the present system of rating, and tell us constantly how (under the present system) anyone improving land, by the erection of a factory and so on, is immediately fined by being rated upon the improved annual value. The person who invests his capital in a business—such as shipping or stockbroking—which does not require the use of much land, is 'fined' by the income-tax; and the doctor, the barrister, even the Chancellor of the Exchequer—whose efforts (or the efforts of some of them) are, it may be hoped, equally beneficial to the community—are 'fined' in the same way. So is the man who saves money out of his earned income, and the dividends from whose investments are taxed at the higher rate as 'unearned income.' The sympathies of the United Committee are not extended to these hardworking and thrifty individuals; but only to those classes who are assumed to be lessees of land, and whose 'fines' they hope to transfer to the landlords. The facts that people who improve lands by starting new industries frequently buy land for the purpose before doing so, and that even in England the leasehold system is far from being universal, appear to have escaped their notice.

Among a list of '100 Reasons for Taxing Land Values' I find that thereby 'Canal and Railway Nationalisation will be made equitable, Cruelty to Children diminished, Rural Depopulation stopped, Milk Supply improved, Income Tax unnecessary, Street Noises diminished, Suicides lessened, House of Lords abolished if desired, Beautiful Landscape Scenery preserved, Women Workers benefited, Leasehold Enfranchisement unnecessary.' Of these results then, the land-taxers have made sure; and it seems scarcely fair to enquire drily about less romantic matters. But nowhere do I find any information, or any serious discussion, upon such questions as—Whether the parish, or the county, or the Kingdom is to be the area of the new taxation? What is to be done with regard to existing contracts? Is the landlord who has let his land on a ninety-nine years' lease to be taxed now, when forty years of the lease are unexpired, upon an unimproved value, which has been made by his exertions or those of his neighbours far greater than it was sixty years ago,

[illegible]

[illegible] enjoying for another [illegible] years?—or is the tenant to pay? How is the new taxation to deal with the site value of land which increases because a new factory is placed upon it, and because therefore the 'presence and activity' of the community come in the course of years to surround it? When the present owners who are said to 'hold up' property have been forced by the new taxation to sell their lands for purposes of industry or residence (and that is one of the avowed objects of these proposals), is the new owner to pay the site value rate, or is the new lessee? Builders of dwelling houses, and even of industrial buildings, raise money on mortgage to enable them to build; how will existing and future mortgages be affected by all the taxation being put upon the value of the site? How are we to prevent the placing of an enormously increased burden upon genuine agricultural land, which appears almost inevitable if the taxation upon land used for railways and other industrial purposes is to be based upon unimproved value?

These are a few of the many and grave questions which must arise in the mind of anyone who has experience of the tenure, the use, or the value of English land, whether agricultural or industrial, urban or rural, if he sets himself seriously to consider the proposals to levy rates on the basis of the National Valuation and to levy a budget tax on all Land Values. Some of these problems are ignored by the advocates of the new proposals; some are only mentioned to be thrust aside. True, it is claimed that the real objects of that party or group are to redress existing inequalities of rating and taxation, to remove burdens which hamper industry, and to increase the housing accommodation of the poorer classes. But until they show that they are determined to face the problems that have been indicated, and to solve them if they are capable of solution, it is difficult to believe that their main object is anything else but gradually, and by stages which they hope will be imperceptible, to appropriate to the State the whole annual profits of the land; in other words, to deprive the present owners of all the advantages of ownership and to leave them (for all compensation) the mere name, coupled perhaps with some of the duties, of ownership.

'It is desirable,' says the Fourth Report, 'that rent should be made a public fund. . . . The whole of the increase [in rent] would gradually be taken for the public, and thus the whole benefit would go to the community.' The words belong to the jargon of a certain school of political economy. Translated into the vernacular, they can only mean that the time is at hand to take from the owner of land the whole of his income, and to give him nothing in return.

E. M. KONSTAM.

ORATORIO VERSUS OPERA

A REPLY

I HOPE I may not be considered unduly captious if, in discussing Mr. Heathcote Statham's article on Oratorio *versus* Opera, which appeared in the April number of this Review, I venture to disagree with almost everything that he has said. Perhaps, on the contrary, the very dissimilarity of my opinions may serve to establish me as a more sincere and honourable opponent than one who rushes into controversy with no justification beyond a constitutional tendency towards combativeness.

Mr. Statham's contentions, if I read him aright, are as follow:

(*a*) That Oratorio is going out of fashion, and is now considered by the musically cultured to be *bourgeois* and middle-class.

(*b*) That Oratorio is of more intrinsic musical value than Opera.

(*c*) That any air from an oratorio would not gain by the addition of stage setting and costume.

(*d*) That there is a dearth of first-rate Oratorio singers at the present day, with the inference that Opera has swallowed them up.

(*e*) That, while Oratorio is the highest form of music, Handel is its greatest exponent.

I propose to take these contentions one by one, in the order in which I have named them, and point out what seem to be their fallacies or weaknesses in the light of fact and reason.

(*a*) That Oratorio is going out of fashion and is now considered by the musically cultured to be *bourgeois* and middle-class.

I am not, I confess, sufficiently conversant with the views of the musically cultured to express an opinion on the fashionableness or otherwise of Oratorio at the present time. But I do emphatically protest against the implication that because it is beginning to be appreciated by the masses it is necessarily taking a lower place than it is entitled to. The improvement in the musical taste of the English general public during the

last few years has been incredible; and I say without hesitation that appreciation by that public of any branch of musical art, far from diminishing its glory, is, on the contrary, a feather in its cap. I am not of those who would decry the public taste. The public are the last court of appeal, not only in the matter of taste but in the still more important matter of that broad and profound *humanity* which is the soul of all true art. The cultured few may be, and are, subject to caprice. Almost any new-risen star may become the fashion; and although in the dazzling light of his eccentricity the old suns may pale for a time, it is only to shine forth with redoubled strength and splendour when the pretentious youngster has suffered eclipse. To be out of fashion is not to be out of popularity, and *sustained* popularity is the only true hall-mark of greatness.

Is Oratorio becoming unpopular, then? I do not think so. I believe it is as popular as ever it was. I have repeatedly seen huge concert halls in the leading provincial towns all over the country packed to their utmost capacity to hear performances of *Elijah*, *Messiah*, and other works. As for the Handel Festival, if, as Mr. Statham asserts, it is the subject of cheap sneers I can only say that I have seldom heard them. In any case, they prove little. A man may like Handel's music or he may not, just as he may enjoy a Waverley novel or the reverse; choral music may appeal to him, or his inclinations may tend towards the purely orchestral. If he is a man who is addicted to sneers he may possibly sneer. You can find plenty of people to poke cheap fun at any particular form of entertainment which does not appeal to them; but the curious thing is that Mr. Statham, who has been so outraged by the sneers of the anti-Handelians, has not scrupled to resort to the same form of criticism himself when speaking of Richard Wagner's operas. To refer to the Walkürenritt scene as 'a passage of a string of spectacular rocking-horses' is as sensible as to describe football as 'kicking a piece of leather between a couple of sticks,' and about as illuminating.

It will be seen, then, at the outset that I disagree with the fundamental postulate of Mr. Statham's attack. I do not believe that Oratorio is waning in popularity, in whatever direction the capricious tide of musical fashion may set. But, even if it were so waning, if Mr. Statham's premise were correct, I should still fail to see that the rather odious comparisons he has tried to draw between Oratorio and Opera have any real bearing on the subject whatever. And this brings me plump upon his second contention, viz:

(b) That Oratorio is of more intrinsic musical value than Opera.

Now, to compare two branches of an art so widely dissimilar as Oratorio and Opera is almost as difficult an operation as to compare two entirely different arts. The task is, in fact, a well-nigh impossible one. But if we are to seek for the highest intrinsic value in music *qua* music, we shall surely find it in Symphony, Sonata, or Fugue, wherein no verbal or dramatic adjuncts are present to embarrass our judgment. Mr. Statham, however, prefers to base his comparison on the two first-named fields of the art. Let us hear what he has to remark on their respective merits. He says:

> Like most of us in the present day who think at all, I have passed beyond the phase of belief which belonged to Evangelical Christianity; and yet, in listening to *Messiah*, so intense, and so true in spirit seems both its song of tragedy and of triumph, so complete the scheme and development of the whole, that one is almost persuaded to accept it all again, for the moment at least, in the old spirit of unquestioning faith. At all events, when we consider what has been the significance to mankind of the Christian Story, one may be allowed to question whether an oratorio setting it forth in so sincere and so dramatic a manner, and suggesting to the mind ideas of Divine love, of the reign of righteousness on earth and of eternal life hereafter—whether this is not, on the whole, rather a higher subject of contemplation than an opera in which we make the acquaintance of singing dragons, real horses and rocking-horses, and in which one of the most important incidents is that of an unnatural amour between brother and sister, suggested in a scene of over-wrought passion which, with its direction at the end for the curtain to 'fall quickly,' is all but indecent.

This is, perhaps, a more amazing paragraph than any that have preceded it. What on earth has Mr. Statham's temporary lapse into Evangelicalism got to do with the subject? The emotion was a purely æsthetic one, and proves nothing. There are people in abundance who become devotional at the first whiff of incense, who will surrender the most cherished prejudices of a lifetime under the influence of a hymn shouted in unison by ten thousand throats. In this age of missions and revivals we all know the value of that kind of emotionalism. In the next place, who would dream of denying or seeking to deny that the story of the Divine tragedy is 'a higher subject of contemplation' than the mythical one of Siegmund and Sieglinde? But has the moral altitude of the subject any relation to the artistic treatment? The whole comparison is absurd. Why does not Mr. Statham carry his illustration a step further and compare *The Quaker Girl* with *Hamlet*, to the lasting detriment and damnation of the former? If he cares to do so, it is pretty safe to assume that the authors of the musical comedy will not feel aggrieved. With regard to the 'unnatural amour' which has so outraged Mr. Statham's moral sense, and by which he doubtless refers to the extremely

[illegible] love scene in *Die Walküre*, may I point out to [illegible] that the two participants were not aware of their relationship when they fell in love and that, in any case, nothing can detract from the beauty of the music that accompanies their 'over-wrought passion'? Will Mr. Statham deny the fineness of some of the passages in *The Cenci* because of the subject, or denounce the *Hippolytus* on similar grounds?

Under this heading also we may include Mr. Statham's objection that Opera is more unnatural than Oratorio, in that the action is frequently impeded to allow the hero or heroine to express their feelings in a lengthened solo? The exact value of this comparison may be gauged by the reflexion that in Oratorio there is no action to impede, and that if 'continuity of narrative' be substituted for 'action' in the argument, we shall find that the frequent repetition of words and phrases impede it in precisely the same way.

Be it understood I hold no special brief for Opera, nor am I conscious, on the other hand, of any perverse and bigoted objection to Oratorio. It is against the bringing of the two into fighting range, as it were, that I lodge my protest. Mr. Statham, I take it, has set out to condemn prejudice, but he seems to me to exude prejudices at every stroke of the pen.

> It may be admitted at once [he says] that Opera is a more exciting form of musical entertainment than Oratorio. But if we consider the matter impartially, I think it will be found that this more exciting character resides in an appeal to the senses rather than to the intellect.

But does not Mr. Statham clearly acknowledge a similar appeal to 'the senses' existent in Oratorio when, in listening to *Messiah*, he temporarily accepts as gospel truth a legend which his 'intellect' has long ago rejected? He is scarcely consistent. Again:

> In Oratorio we depend entirely on the characterisation given by the music. The aspect of the scenes and personages, the nature of the incidents in the narrative, is only suggested to the imagination by the music. In Opera the scenes and the personages are represented to the sense of sight by artificial means of which the artificiality is always obvious enough. In consequence music in Opera is no longer a purely abstract art addressed to the imagination; it is clogged with the accompaniment of an inadequate and rather tawdry realism. The result, be it admitted, is brilliant and captivating to the senses, especially of those whose imaginative faculties are somewhat sluggish.

Now with all respect to Mr. Statham's intentions I question whether there is any real meaning in this statement; or, if there is, that it has any bearing on the subject under discussion. To begin with, he credits the listener with too much imagination in the case of Oratorio and with too little in the

matter of Opera. From both points of view he is wrong. Not one person in a million, were he set down to hear the music of a work in either branch of art, sung in a language with which he was unfamiliar, would have the slightest notion of what it was about unless he had a previous knowledge of the story to assist him; while, on the other hand, it scarcely follows that a man who likes a scenic background for his music is necessarily possessed of a sluggish imagination.

Again, why must stage realism be 'tawdry' and 'inadequate'? That the Covent Garden representations of certain operas—notably *The Ring*—have not been up to the best standard I willingly admit, but in Germany one may witness productions wherein the art of scenery and effects is carried to the highest conceivable pitch of excellence. If scenic effect is 'tawdry realism' in Opera then it is tawdry realism in a theatre; and you may as well turn plays into readings and let scenic artists and stage carpenters swell the list of unemployed. With regard to the acting too, though there is much in Mr. Statham's cuts at the histrionic mediocrity of some of our leading operatic stars, let him take a trip through some of the smaller towns of Italy, and he will find actors and actresses in abundance. In any case it is quite unfair to condemn Opera on the ground that the perfect combination of the three arts demanded by it—the combination of good singing, good acting, and good staging—is not always to be found. Mr. Statham has forgotten to take into consideration the essential functions of Opera and the artistic needs which it sets out to supply.

(*c*) That any air from an oratorio would not gain by the addition of stage setting and costume.

Here, for once, I am entirely in accord with Mr. Statham, although I was not aware that anyone had ever suggested the opposite. In hammering home this rather obvious statement, however, he proceeds to complicate it. He says:

> Can anyone seriously imagine that the immortal air 'Farewell, ye limpid springs,' could gain anything in effect if sung by Jephtha's daughter in Jewish costume before a property altar of sacrifice; that 'O ruddier than the cherry' would gain by being sung by a man made up as a Cyclops, or that the singer of 'Lord God of Abraham' could put more effect into it by masquerading in the mantle of the prophet? Such songs are addressed to the feeling and imagination of the listener; to try to make them appeal to his visual organs also would merely be to drag them down from a poetic to a prosaic plane.

But why 'prosaic'? What have our poor inoffensive eyes done that their functions should be classed so far below those of the ear? And *is* it any argument against Opera that an excerpt from an entirely different range of musical art would

not gain by being treated dramatically? I once heard the opening scene of *Das Rheingold* sung as a cantata, and very ineffective it was; but I would not affirm on that account that Oratorio is a less worthy form of music than Opera.

(*d*) That there is a dearth of first-rate Oratorio singers at the present day, with the inference that Opera has swallowed them up.

Mr. Statham deplores the absence of worthy successors to Sims Reeves, Santley, and Madame Trebelli. According to him there are now no Oratorio singers who are worth their salt. Now of course it goes without saying that the history of every art will record periods of mediocrity, and a retrospect of the annals of music affords no exception to the rule. It would be strange indeed if it were otherwise; nay more, it would be undesirable. A perpetual golden age would inevitably tend to eliminate the stimulating influences of competition and appreciative interest; or, in other words, if every man were six feet high and as strong as a horse the world would be a dull place. And yet, without seeking to detach one laurel from the crowns of the above-mentioned artists, there are still a few names that rise to my mind—Robert Radford, Andrew Black, Ada Crossley, to instance only a few—which should not, perhaps, be entirely overlooked; and if others, again, have drifted into Opera may one ask why not? If Opera suits their artistic needs; if they feel that their ability to express themselves, their power of using their gifts to the best advantage, lies in that direction, in heaven's name why should they resist the inclination?

(*e*) That, while Oratorio is the highest form of music, Handel is its greatest exponent.

It will be obvious to anyone who has perused Mr. Statham's article that he is as rabidly pro-Handel as he is anti-Wagner, but I doubt whether he would not have made out quite as good a case for his idol without being at such pains to eliminate any possible rival claims for the first place. In a somewhat extravagantly written page of eulogium Mr. Statham, after placing Handel above Mozart and Rossini, proceeds to say:

> As a writer for solo voices Bach, whatever his ardent worshippers of to-day may believe, has no claim to be named with Handel. His moral tone, his intent, is indeed of the highest, but his style was all formed on the organ, and he writes for solo voices as if he were writing for a solo stop on the organ. People cannot see this at present because they are under the influence of a fashionable cult of Bach; they will possibly find it out presently.

Precisely; when they possess Mr. Statham's enlightened vision. But what about the intellectual appeal which Mr.

Statham has upheld as the requisite attribute of music, and the one which Opera so sadly lacks? Can one conceive a purer, sterner, more sincere intellectuality than is to be found in Bach's music?

Mendelssohn, be sure, has not escaped Mr. Statham's uncompromising blue pencil. His claims to the highest honours are swept away with a ruthless hand. Even the inclusion of one item from his pen in a Handel Festival programme is a serious cause of offence. We are told, in fact, that Mendelssohn cannot be considered on the same plane as Handel; but since he shares this indignity with Mozart, Rossini, and Bach, he appears to be in tolerably good company!

Now all this may be very edifying and instructive; it may even be to some extent true, but surely there is only a very small minority that seeks to deny Handel his rightful place in the list of choral music writers. To extol him at the expense of others—more especially of those who have excelled in an entirely different branch of the art—is pure waste of time. As our trans-Atlantic cousins happily put it, it 'cuts no ice.' Why must Wagner, for instance, be held up to ridicule because Handel wrote *Messiah?* It would seem at first sight a hopelessly impossible task to compare the two men. Yet Mr. Statham finds it quite easy. Not content with his disparaging reference to *Die Walküre*, he attacks in turn Wagner's sense of humour, his *leit-motiv* system, and finally his *libretti*. Now, that the Teutonic humour is apt to be heavy I readily admit; but if Mr. Statham really fails to find the elements of a very genuine and spontaneous comedy in *Die Meistersinger*, I fear he has allowed his prejudice to stifle whatever sense of humour he may himself possess. Perhaps he has never seen the opera really well performed. But he should remember that it is in the score, rather than the *libretto*, that the humour should be sought. A musical sense of humour, moreover, is not everyone's gift, and it is just possible that Mr. Statham has got out of his depth. But with regard to these *libretti*. Has Mr. Statham any right to say that 'he does not know how absurd they may be in German' because in a bad translation he considers them 'portentous claptrap'? I think I am safe in asserting that Wagner's rhythmical verse is far and away above the average standard of opera *libretti*. A very cursory acquaintance with the German language should be sufficient to establish this fact if one has any ear worth mentioning.

Over the *leit-motiv* question our critic is, as ever, sternly censorious. These 'labels,' he remarks, 'produce rather the impression of having been arbitrarily chosen; they do not in themselves express character; they only notify the presence

or the entrance of a special personage to whom a special phrase belongs, by which he is, as it were, hall-marked.' Let me beg Mr. Statham to reconsider this ill-advised assertion. To begin with, the *leit-motiven* depict not only personages but incidents and things as well. They represent, in fact, a very intricate and delicate system which only a thorough Wagnerian student can adequately comprehend. To dismiss them airily as 'labels' is not only childish but unfair. Has Mr. Statham studied *Parsifal?* Has he grasped, or attempted to grasp, the extraordinary poetic sequence of the *Trauermarsch* in *Götterdämmerung*, where each separate incident of Siegfried's life is expressed in musical form, yet never once loses its symphonic continuity? Is there no character in the Brünhilde *motiv*, in the themes associated with the God of Fire, the dwarfs and the Rhine maidens, or in the incomparable love-phrase which opens the *Vorspiel* to *Tristan und Isolde?* The *leit-motiv* is the very foundation-stone of the whole fabric of operatic reform which Wagner spent his life in effecting. But since musical reform and progress are the last things Mr. Statham seems to desire, this argument will scarcely appeal to him. His dislike for the 'modern school' is apparent in every line he has written. Doubtless the old recitative and aria methods in Opera are more to his taste, although they surely 'impeded the action' far more than the Wagner system of music-drama. Yet why—one feels impelled to ask—why this strenuous and single-minded devotion to the antique? Veneration for the monuments of past ages is all very well in its way, but may it not be carried to excess? There is, one ventures to hope, such a thing as progress, room for improvement in every art. The ancients were modern in their day.

It may be that I have wandered from the point; but, if this is so, I must be excused on the ground that Mr. Statham wanders from it so frequently that I cannot criticise his statements thoroughly without following whither he has led. It is no mission of mine to defend modern Opera, nor indeed the Opera of any particular age. The real point at issue is the comparative merit of Oratorio and Opera, and I say again that I fail to see where Mr. Statham has adduced any convincing arguments to prove his point. He has plenty of grievances—I have endeavoured as accurately as I can to enumerate them—but in what exact relation these grievances stand to each other it is extremely difficult to discover. Whether it is the supposed waning of Handel's popularity that weighs most heavily upon his mind, or the present 'cult of Bach'—he assures us that it exists—or the meretricious attractions of the Wagnerian legends with their 'dragons' and 'rocking-horses,' I leave the

readers of his article to decide. But I should prefer to believe that the real cause of his revolt against the music-lovers of the day is a temperamental one. For he says, it will be observed: 'What is wanted is amusement and novelty; a perfectly legitimate want, only it must not be mistaken for a craving for what is highest and most serious in musical art.'

And herein, I fancy, must be the secret of Mr. Statham's distress. It is the spirit of the age he is inveighing against: that trivial condition of mind which prompts the public to nibble at the dainty tit-bits of *The Ring* rather than test the more solid and nutritive properties of the Hallelujah Chorus. But may there not be ample room for both? That is the final question I would ask Mr. Statham. If he had laid less stress on this point, if he had eliminated that little word *versus* from his title and from his mind, I should have had fewer bones to pick with him. For, although the waning popularity of Oratorio may conceivably be a debatable point, I maintain that the notion of Opera coming into direct opposition to it is one on which there cannot possibly be two opinions.

WILLIAM HEWLETT.

THE ACTION OF WOMEN IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

A GOOD deal has been written and said lately on the subject of women and politics, but little or no allusion has been made to the most important occasion on which they have exercised political power, and the object of this article is to enquire into the former position of women on that score in France, the arrangements which were made to increase their influence at the time of the Revolution, and the results of their action on public life. The authorities consulted have been chiefly Aulard and Taine, Acton and Morley. The valuable article written by the first of these in the *Revue Bleue* (March 19, 1898) is most interesting and informing.

As a matter of fact, the participation of women in the suffrage in France was not a new idea in 1788 when first referred to by Condorcet. Women possessing fiefs had votes in the provincial and municipal assemblies. In the 20th article of the royal mandate of January 24, 1789, it is said: 'Women, including unmarried women and widows, and minors of noble birth, provided that the said women, unmarried women, widows, and minors possess fiefs, can be represented by representatives of noble birth.' And the 12th article of the same mandate authorises a similar representation for regular ecclesiastical communities of both sexes, also for chapters and communities of unmarried women. Under these arrangements the deputies of the nobility and the clergy to the States-General owed their election partly to the votes of women. From this time onwards there were many pamphlets and petitions on this subject not, however, very radical or socialistic in their tendency. These have been mentioned by M. Chanin in his *Génie de la Révolution*, and by M. Amédée de la Faure in a small work called *Le Socialisme dans la Révolution*, both published in 1863.

It is perhaps difficult to write of the influence of women at this period without mentioning Marie Antoinette, who was a prominent factor in the great struggle, and whose personal charm and the perplexities of whose character have awakened as much contention and romance as those of Helen of Troy or Mary

Stuart. Persons of our own day who are advanced in years have lived to see a great change of feeling in the sentiment with which she was regarded. They were brought up on what a great writer calls the 'immortal vision of Edmund Burke,' the tender and pathetic stories of Madame Campan, and the recollections of the old who had spoken to her amid the last glories of Versailles. They have lived to see that same great writer describe her conduct to the noble Turgot and the virtuous Malesherbes, and to say that the character of the Queen had far more concern in the character of the first five years of the Revolution than had the character of Robespierre. Lord Acton, who on the whole takes a kindlier view of her character, says that the advice she gave in decisive moments was disastrous, that she had no belief in the rights of nations, and that she plotted war and destruction against her own people. That with many attractive qualities she had curiously false instincts as to character, and was absolutely unfitted for political power, are facts that, with our later knowledge, it is hardly possible to deny. In private life her beauty and charm and her warm affections might have led to a happier end; in politics her mistakes were ruinous to herself and disastrous to France.

Meantime the Revolution went on in the provinces much assisted by the women whether they had votes or not. In the four months which preceded the taking of the Bastille there were more than three hundred riots in France, in most of which the women took the lead.[1]

At first it was principally a demand for corn. At Montlhéry the women tore the sacks of corn open with their scissors. Efforts were made to guard the wheat going from one place to another, but in vain. Troops of men and women armed with guns and axes lay in ambush in the woods by the wayside and seized the horses attached to the grain-carts. At Viroflay thirty women with a supporting guard of men stopped all the vehicles on the high road supposed to be carrying corn. At La Seyne the populace assembled to the sound of the drum, the women brought a bier in front of the house of one of the principal citizens, telling him to prepare for death, and that they would do him the honour of burying him. He managed to escape, but the chief of the band forced the inhabitants to give him money to indemnify the peasants who had left their work and employed their day for the public good.

On the 14th of July 1789 the Bastille was taken, the women of the better class, elegantly dressed,[2] looking on from the Place de la Bastille, those who assisted the mob to rush it showing their

[1] Taine, *Les Origines de la France Contemporaines*, vol. i.
[2] Taine, *Souvenirs Manuscrits de M. X. Témoin Oculaire.*

[illegible]

[illegible] The news from [illegible] [illegible] the provinces still more. At Troyes, [illegible] the [illegible] of July, the peasants refused to pay the octroi, which [illegible] been suppressed in Paris. On the 27th of August they invaded the Hôtel de Ville. M. Huez, the mayor, was an amiable and benevolent man. He was injured severely, and at length thrown down the great staircase. A priest who wished to offer him the consolations of religion was repulsed and beaten. A woman trod on his face and pushed her scissors into his eyes.

At Caen, Major de Belsance, in spite of a safe-conduct, was cut in small pieces; a woman ate his heart.[4]

On the 21st of July 1789, at Cherbourg, two highwaymen led the women of the faubourg, foreign sailors, the population of the port, and a number of soldiers, in the smocks of working men. They devastated the houses of the principal merchants. Everywhere there was the same instinct of destruction. At Nousy the master of the château and his son-in-law were seized, brutally massacred, and the village children carried their heads about to the sound of music. These events were isolated in the west, the centre, and the south, but Alsace, Franche-Comté, Burgundy, Mâconnais, Beaujolais, Auvergne, Viennois, Dauphiné, resembled a perpetually exploding mine.

So much for the provinces. The Palais Royal had been for some time in a state of excitement, and attempting to gain the soldiers over by the lowest means; money was distributed, it was said, by intriguing persons who got hold of the Duke of Orleans, whom they were draining of millions under pretext of gratifying his ambitions.

On the 5th of October the women of the Palais Royal had assembled the previous night in white with hair dressed and powdered, laughing, singing, and dancing; three or four were known by their names. Théroigne de Méricourt organised a band of women of bad character and marched, brandishing a sword. Madeleine or Louison Chabry, a pretty flower-girl, was selected to speak to the King. They were joined by washerwomen, beggars, and fishwomen, and the crowd went on increasing. The wives of respectable citizens were in many cases forced to join under threats of having their hair cut.

Their first object was the Hôtel de Ville, where they forced the guard, burnt papers and writings, and *stole* 200,000 francs in notes. At the Place de Grève the crowd augmented, Millard, who had helped to take the Bastille, offered to lead them, and seven or eight thousand women and some hundreds of men started for Versailles. They were admitted into the assembly,

[3] *Récit du commandant des 32 Suisses.*
[4] *Mercure de France*, September 26, 1789.

and insulted the President and the *députés*. The place of the former was taken by a woman.

At last the deputies went to the King and forced him to accept the Declaration of Rights, as set forth on the 4th of August. Meanwhile the women had succeeded in seducing the regiments, and gave way to unspeakable threats and brutalities, chiefly directed against the Queen. Lafayette arrived with the National Guard in a doubtful state of loyalty, and followed by a mob of the worthless and violent. After watching over affairs all night, he snatched an hour's rest at 5 o'clock in the morning, which was the signal for an outbreak. A band of ruffians made their way into the palace. The guards were butchered, and some fled. The Queen was saved by the gallantry and courage of Miomandre de Sainte-Marie, her sentry, who died at his post. A few hours after, the same crowd loudly applauded Lafayette, who appeared on the balcony with the Queen and kissed her hand. The royal family travelled to Paris at a foot's pace, surrounded by the victorious women, and took seven hours to reach the Tuileries.

I feel that I should perhaps apologise for writing about so much that is generally known; but I observe in modern accounts of the Revolution a great tendency to minimise the action of the women, and also to pass over deeds of violence and cruelty in the lightest way. It is quite true that they are unpleasant reading, but this generation requires to be reminded of the danger, the extraordinary contagion, and the unexpectedness of violence. Robespierre himself, not many years before he deluged France with blood, resigned his position as judge in the episcopal court at Arras in a fit of remorse after condemning a murderer to death.

After the above very decided political action in 1789, Condorcet took the cause of the women in hand, having previously done so in 1788. He published an article in the *Journal de la Société* of 1789, 'Sur l'admission de la femme au droit de la cité,' which is, says M. Aulard, not only a curious feminist manifesto but *the* feminist manifesto *par excellence*, the germ of the whole of the present feminist movement being found in his strong and well-reasoned pages. Condorcet ended by saying: 'The equality of rights established among men in our new constitution has caused eloquent declamation and endless jokes, but let anyone show me a natural difference between men and women on which the exclusion of a right can be founded.'[8] This desire of Condorcet was not gratified, though his manifesto was much discussed in the salons, in the clubs, and at the Cercle Social. This last, started at the Palais Royal by the Abbé Fauchet, a gentle

[8] Those who care to read the whole essay will find it in the Appendix to *Critical Essays* by John Morley, 1878.

and eloquent man, who dreamed of Christian Socialism, was founded on the lines of the Freemasons. Women were admitted to this society and crowded into it. But when the question of the Rights of Women was discussed the atmosphere was hostile. A month later a gentleman named Rousseau ventured to speak at the Cercle Social in favour of women. He was interrupted with violence. According to the *Orateur du Peuple*, a foreign lady remarkable for her distinguished appearance spoke, and asked that for the sake of French gallantry the speaker might go on. She was applauded, but the sitting was stopped. 'Then,' remarks the same newspaper, 'the foreigner saw herself surrounded, caressed and thanked by nearly all the female citizens present.' 'You have been till now,' she said, 'the companions of men enervated by the sentiments of corrupt slaves. As Frenchmen have become like Romans, imitate the virtues and the patriotism of Roman ladies.' This person was a Dutchwoman, named Etta Palm, by marriage Aelders. She seems to have converted the Cercle Social to feminism, since her speech was published and sent to various municipalities, among others to Creil. This town conferred on her the title of honorary member of the National Guard. The insignia were presented solemnly at a meeting at the Cercle Social, with speeches suitable to the occasion. 'The medal that you have awarded me shall be the sword of honour which shall repose on my coffin,' said the recipient.

In 1792, at the fête of July, Olympe de Gouges appeared at the head of a female corps, most of them armed. In that year and in 1793 there were many women who enrolled themselves dressed as men in the French armies. Others assisted the men in their revolutionary work. On the 8th of June 1795 the most repulsive crime of the whole Revolution, the demoralisation and torture of a child, came to its sad end. Louis XVII. died. M. Poumies de la Siboutie, in a recently published memoir, says: 'The cobbler Simon was not a bad fellow, and but for his wife's influence would have treated the child kindly enough. The wife, however, was a cruel wretch, who had taken part with ghoulish enjoyment in all the sanguinary scenes of the Revolution. She lived on till 1840, and died in the Hospice des Incurables.'

The greater part of the democrats at the head of affairs avoided pronouncing theoretically on the question of female suffrage. The clubs of women, as opposed to the clubs of men, were considered an unsocial and sterilising system, and patriots with warm hearts and elevated ideas preferred what they considered the beautiful and fruitful proposal of the association of men and women. I speak of the fraternal societies of both sexes, which

played so important a part in the detail of democratic and Republican Government.

One point M. Aulard brings out strongly, and to many persons it will be a novel one—that is, the way in which the Revolutionary Government clung to the idea of a Constitutional King. The beginnings of actual Republicanism were very small, and Camille Desmoulins till 1790 found no echo. When the suspicion grew that Louis XVI. had betrayed France, and had a secret understanding with the expatriated nobles and with Austria, it was then, and then alone, that some persons began to believe that the only method of maintaining the Revolution was to suppress the monarchy.

In September 1790 a man of letters, afterwards at the time of the Convention a deputy for Paris, published a pamphlet entitled *Du Peuple et des Rois*, in which he said 'I am a Republican, and I write against Kings. I am a Republican, and was one before my birth.'

There were soon others of his opinion. In the issue of the 1st of October 1790 the *Mercure National* subscribes to the conclusions of this pamphlet. This paper, very little known, was of great importance, not only because it was well informed on matters of foreign politics, but because it was the organ of the Republican party at the very outset, and the organ also of the salon of a woman of letters, in which the nucleus of this party was formed. I speak of Madame Robert, daughter of the Chevalier Guynement de Keralio, professor at the Military College, member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, and editor of the *Journal des Savants*. Following the example of her mother, who was an authoress, she published novels, historical works, and translations. She married François Robert at the age of thirty-three. He was an advocate, born at Liège, who had become French and very French, his talents perhaps but mediocre, but a loyal man and a frank, an ardent revolutionary,[*] a member of the Jacobin Club and the Cordeliers Club, who later on represented the Department of Paris in the Convention.

A volume by him *Le Républicanisme adapté à la France* appeared in 1790, and met with widespread attention and aided the formation of a Republican party.

Madame Roland, who had no love for Madame Robert and made fun of her dress, says in her Memoirs that she was 'a little, spiritual (? witty) woman, intelligent and ingenious.' A patriot in 1790, but a democrat patriot when so many others were content with the bourgeois system established in 1789, and a Republican patriot when Madame Roland was still supporting the monarchy,

[*] Aulard, vol. i.

Madame Robert seems to have been the foundress of the Republican party, which had thus by December 1790 come into being. It was not recruited from the suburbs or the workshops, its origins were in no sense popular. The Republic men were beginning to preach was of middle-class, almost aristocratic origin, and the first Republicans were a handful of refined and well-educated people, a woman of letters, a noble Academician, an advocate, some adventurous pamphleteers; an elect group, but a group so small that they could almost sit on one sofa, that of Madame Robert.[7]

The societies of both sexes may be said to have started the Republican party in France, which was organised after the flight of the Royal family to Varennes. As long as these dual committees lasted in 1790 and 1791 the influence of women in the party appears to have been great, but it gradually sank into lower and worse hands, and the women wished to act alone.[8]

The Society of revolutionary and Republican women, founded July 1793, and presided over first by Citoyenne Rousand, then by Citoyenne Champion, was not well looked on by the Convention of the Jacobins. The Section of the Markets denounced to the Committee of Public Safety the eccentricity of some of these women, who, dressed as men, wearing trousers and the red cap of Liberty, walked on the 28th of October through the markets and under the slaughter-houses of the Innocents. They were accused of having insulted other women and of having endeavoured to force them to adopt the same costume. There were quarrels and a gathering of 6000 women.

At the sitting of the Convention on the 30th of October a number of female citizens were admitted to the bar, who presented a petition in which they complained of women, ostensibly revolutionary, who wished to compel them to wear the red cap of Liberty. The President (Moise Bayle) observed: 'The Convention can only applaud your request. The Committee of Public Safety is occupied with this subject. The Convention invites you to the honour of attending the sitting.' Then Fabre d'Eglantine got up and complained bitterly of the revolutionary women, saying that the clubs were not composed of women leading family lives of wives and mothers, but of adventuresses, single women, and female grenadiers. He moved that no citizen was to be compelled to dress other than as he pleased. He promised that Amar should give them his report later. A woman turned back to beg that women might be prevented forming clubs, as a woman had ruined France.

[7] Miall's trans of *Aulard*.

[8] *Revue Bleue*, March 19, 1898, Aulard.

Two days after, Amar told the Convention that the Committee of Public Safety had demanded whether women could exercise political rights, take an active part in the affairs of government, and deliberate in political associations, and the answer was in the negative. Then, treating the question of women exhaustively, Amar defended the political privileges of men, and proposed to forbid all the popular clubs and societies of women.

Chartier answered, urging the right of women to assemble peaceably. 'Without asserting that women form no part of the human race,' he said, 'how can you deny them a right accorded to all reasonable beings?'

Basire objected for reasons of State, and stated that experience had proved that societies of women were dangerous.

The Convention voted the decree proposed by Amar on the 30th of October 1793. 'The clubs of women were suppressed.'

Such is a brief and incomplete sketch of the action of women in the French Revolution. From it the present writer ventures to draw the following conclusions:

(1) The little known Madame Robert, whose political insight appears to have been most correct, and, judged by subsequent events, to have produced the most lasting effect in France, was associated with no violence, had no vote, and, with the exception of the dual societies, took little part in political life. Yet M. Aulard, the man whose history of the Revolution is held in well-deserved honour, who has devoted a lifetime to the most painstaking and accurate study of his authorities, does not hesitate to credit her with having started the idea of France as a Republic.

(2) The women of the lowest class completely swamped the more educated ones. Madame Roland had enormous power at one time, but she and her party were cyphers at the date of the September massacres, and eventually she was guillotined.

(3) It is curious that the conduct of the women towards each other in 1793 was so bad that Amar and other Terrorists, whose ideas of liberty and humanity were not supposed to be very exalted, found it necessary to protect women from other women.

These conclusions at least merit serious thought. That they will obtain it is the hope with which this article is given to the public.

A. J. Grant Duff.

THE YELLOW PERIL

It is one of the penalties of the struggling materialism of the Western world, where nations of shopkeepers under armed guards worship their golden calves, that such ease and comfort as we enjoy must ever be marred by apprehensions of impending danger. To rouse us from the insidious sloth that is born of luxury and long periods of peace, our sentinels and our prophets must be for ever pointing to the horizon where, no bigger than a man's hand, hovers the cloud that shall presently burst upon us. Indeed, so many are the points from which danger threatens the prosperous modern State, so keen the vision of the apprehensive watchers, that many a peaceful citizen opens his morning paper in nervous expectation of Armageddon. Wealthy England, dependent for her very life on command of the seas, is become particularly subject to war-scares and alarms. As in the days of Bonaparte, the fear of invasion is an ever-present reality. A hundred years ago our bugbears were comparatively simple; to-day the world's ever-increasing economic pressure and huge burden of armaments, the effect of sensational journalism on the imagination of town-bred masses, the swift action and reaction of political events in all parts of the earth: in a word, the struggle for life under conditions vastly modified by science, has induced in the civilised world a chronic condition of nerves, so that each nation goes to its day's work with a loaded weapon and a wary eye on its neighbours. England's eye is on Germany, America's on Japan, Spain's on France—each nation busy the while with its predestined business of annexing unprotected portions of the earth. Yet, at the menace of some new and strange bogey, like the Yellow Peril, these antagonists will run and huddle together, their feuds for the moment forgotten, in a common instinct of self-preservation.

It is a poor bogey at best, this Yellow Peril, bred by ignorance out of a bad national conscience: a bogey that must stand confessed a tatter'd boggart in the light of ancient history and recent experience: yet a phantom that has served, and should serve again, many a politician's turn. The modern world fears, even while it seeks, these grisly phantoms which make its comfortable flesh creep, and in the Yellow Peril the fervid imagination of

yellow journalists has found a perennial source of thrills and shudders. Preaching from the text of Japan's military achievements, they have assumed for all Asia a vivifying community of interests and ideals, attributing to the patient pacific millions of India and China a sudden and complete change of all their inherited tendencies, beliefs, and institutions. They forget that these inherited customs and beliefs constitute the very soul of a people, the essence of its national life; they ignore the fact that the Spartan qualities of endurance and energy which animate the statesmen and warriors of unconquered Japan are the ripe fruit of long centuries of training and sustained ideals; and, forgetting these truths, they hear, in the intellectual and emotional ferment of India and China the rumble of the distant drums that shall lead new conquering hordes to the overthrow of Europe's civilisation. Not from the barren mountain-lands of Turkestan and Manchuria, as of old, are to come the fierce invading hosts, but from the long-gowned peaceful peoples of the great plains, from those races whose philosophy and ideals have made them, through long centuries, the unresisting victims of invasion and tyranny.

It is a fantastic dream, reflecting, no doubt, the eternal and unbreakable spell of the Orient over the West, the unconscious reverence that materialism pays to intellectual dignity, but wholly lacking, nevertheless, in historical sense and recognition [illegible] fundamental conditions. For it is impossible, considering the M. Aulard, [illegible] facts of Asiatic life, to assume for the East [illegible] ill-deserved honours and ideals which is the basic assumption painstaking the Yellow Peril: as impossible as to imagine an effective coalition of Western Europe against North or South America. The stern law of nature and evolution, which prescribes the survival of the fittest, is not suspended in Asia; there are predestined hewers of wood and drawers of water amongst its peoples to-day as in the time of Joshua—a fact emphasised by the recent history of Korea. Neither patriotic student, politician, nor fervent idealist can take from Asia, by any incantation of new formulæ, her deep-rooted instincts and beliefs, bred of long centuries of isolation, of the Confucian philosophy and Buddha's contemplative creed—instincts and beliefs that have made the whole inspiration of Oriental philosophy and civilisation essentially non-aggressive, and have made the Chinese, in particular, a race of passive resisters. Neither warrior class nor code of chivalry exists in China, like that of *bushido* in Japan, to temper the hereditary servility of the masses with precepts and examples of loyalty, valour, and endurance; and the recent manifestations of political and social unrest amongst the educated classes reveal but little hope of national unity and cohesion for the future. By all precedents and principles of history, it must require several generations of patient

educative process to develop in the Chinese people the qualities requisite for military and administrative efficiency.

The Manchu tribute-eaters have gone their ignominious way to obscurity; Sun Yat-Sen and his following of book-taught theorists have proclaimed the dawn of a new era in the Chinese Republic; and already, amidst the tumult and the shouting of leaders who have not learned to lead, the North is ranging itself against the South in rivalry, whilst Mongolia looks towards Russia for protection, Thibet casts off her allegiance, and Manchuria prepares to follow Korea on the path of geographical gravitation.

Nevertheless, and in spite of all these things, the Yellow Peril bogey continues to oppress the imagination of the Western world: this persistent vision of the Chinese race, roused from its long lethargy, and feverishly arming itself for wars of conquest and revenge. It is a ghost that refuses to be lightly laid. Only a few weeks ago the British Press, gravely discussing the decision of the National Assembly at Nanking to introduce national conscription (they might as well have decided to introduce the minimum wage), estimated China's standing army of the near future at forty millions of men. Some of the most critical and competent of recent observers have succumbed to this obsession, and to that tendency towards generalisation which seeks a common battle-cry for India, China, and Japan. Professor Reinsch, for instance, whose scholarly work on 'The Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East' deserves more than passing attention, has studied the history and literature of China sufficiently to realise and to declare that 'no more fantastic idea has ever played a part in serious politics than that of the military Yellow Peril.' He knows that 'the traditional temper of the Chinese is eminently pacific and quietist.' Yet he apparently ignores the results which follow naturally from the emotional and idealistic qualities of this word-spinning people —qualities which greatly detract from the ostensible importance of its Imperial Edicts and other official pronouncements. Because of the vigorous wording of the Edict of April 1911 on military reform, he is led to believe, in spite of his own convictions, that:

> To-day we are witnessing the awakening of this vast people to new energies and to more active conduct of affairs. Peaceful China, the land of non-assertion, is fast becoming military. The ideal of national energy, efficiency and strength expresses itself in all public utterances. Great sacrifices are made for military preparation, and throughout the provinces even the children in the schools are put into uniforms and trained in soldierly fashion.

And, in another place, that

The idea that evils are to be borne, or at most resisted quietly, has largely passed away, and in its place has arisen the belief that only through positive heroic action can the troublesome problems of national life be solved.

At a time when the masses of the Chinese people are submitting, with traditional apathy, to being harried, plundered and slaughtered by the forces of that Republic which delivered them from Manchu tyranny, the irony of this infectious idealism is apparent. Fascinated by the spectacle of the splendid enthusiasms and iconoclastic zeal of Young China, Professor Reinsch, like many others, forgets the vast gulf which, in this land, divides words from deeds—the making, from the keeping, of laws. And so he believes in the vision of a national army, efficiently organised and regularly paid—a vision as chimerical as the scheme for refunding China's national debt by patriotic subscriptions, or the Nanking Amazons' demand for female suffrage.

In expressing this opinion, I have no desire to convey the idea that the Chinese are utterly deficient in military virtues, or that, properly led and regularly paid, the Chinese soldier is incapable of bravery, endurance, and discipline. The experience and opinions of British officers and military critics is practically unanimous in recognising that in physique, intelligence, and courage of a stolid kind, the peasantry of several provinces provides excellent material; but just as it requires something more than intelligence and enthusiasm to make an efficient administrator, so something more than able-bodied and adaptable men are needed to make a nation in arms. The qualities lacking alike in Chinese administrators and soldiers are essentially moral qualities. This is what Gordon meant when, fifteen years after his unique experiences as a successful organiser and leader of Chinese troops, he recorded (in a memorandum prepared for the Government at Peking) his deliberate opinion that they could never be successfully pitted against European armies. He who had witnessed much desperate fighting between Imperialists and rebels—much the same kind of fighting as was seen at Wuchang in November last—realised, nevertheless, that the race as a whole, and particularly its leaders, are lacking in the moral qualities and Berserker instincts that distinguish a fighting race. When, in 1874, he warned China against going to war with Russia, he amplified his advice by recommending that for the future she should avoid incurring useless expenditure on warships and guns, because her possession of these things would probably arouse the cupidity of aggressors and she would be despoiled—advice of which China has since had cause to appreciate the

wisdom. Gordon knew the Chinese soldiers of the South, [illegible] as the British officers of the Wei Hai-wei regiment learned to know and to appreciate the hardy hill-men of Shantung; but while appreciating their several good qualities, and recognising the possibility of their development in good hands, he failed to see in the Chinese dragon any signs of the fierce and formidable beast which has since been evoked to trouble the peace of the West. He knew that large purchases of armaments and paper schemes of reorganisation do not make a national army, and that fiscal reform (then, as now, a task beyond the unaided resources of China's rulers) must precede military efficiency. This indeed was the opinion formed by the most competent observers among the military attachés who witnessed the last manœuvres, held in the autumn of 1908; and it has been justified by the complete lack of discipline and organisation revealed since the collapse of the Manchus. It would be difficult to say how much of the Chinese army remains at the present moment of the 240,000 men who figured on the roster of the thirty-six divisions of the Lu Chün last autumn. At the outset, divisions, brigades, regiments and battalions became hopelessly entangled—sheep without shepherds. Units were sent to the front and wandered back to their headquarters; some were disbanded, others disbanded themselves; some declared for the Republic, some for the Imperial cause, others for Yuan Shih-k'ai or Li Yuan-hung, or General Chang, or General Li, their choice depending generally on prospects of pay; but to all, as time went on, came realisation of the fact that every body of armed men might with impunity hold lootable cities and citizens at their mercy. And with this knowledge, the army and the military police have become, in many places, a disorganised and predatory rabble. The craze for loot has proved stronger than any appeal of patriotism or discipline.

The tendency to exaggerate the military forces and efficiency of China in recent years may be traced to a variety of causes.[1] Of these, the most important lay originally in the deliberate policy of Chinese diplomats and officials, a policy clearly intended to create and maintain the idea of China feverishly arming on a gigantic scale, with a view to the intimidation of possible aggressors. With the dramatic conversion of the Empress Dowager to reform in 1902, and the appearance on the scene of a new class of military officers educated in Japan, serving in their turn as instructors, it was not difficult to increase the foreign-drilled forces of the Empire, actually and prospectively;

[1] The population of China has been similarly exaggerated. It is continually stated to be 400 millions, though the first and only attempt at a systematic census (1910) has shown it to be about 320 millions.

so as to give colour to the belief that the Chinese military administration was rapidly approaching the European standard. Fired by enthusiasm for Japan's victories over a great European Power, Chinese patriots and officials spoke cheerfully of the enrolment of a standing army of two million men within the next few years, and European publicists, fascinated by the vision of the awakening giant, took up the text and illuminated it with much fervour. 'Putnam Weale,'[2] writing in 1905, while admitting the absence of competent leaders and healthy finance, expressed belief in the 'wholesale reorganisation and re-armament of the Chinese army,' and foretold that in five years China would possess an effective peace-footing force of 360,000 men, and by 1915 would be able to put a million and a half into the field. 'In ten or fifteen years,' he said, 'Japan's forces would be so outnumbered that she would not dare to attack her big neighbour.' Four years before, Sir Robert Hart, anxious to make for China friends of the Mammon of political unrighteousness in the matter of the Boxer indemnity, had drawn an even more sensational picture of the awakened giant. 'In fifty years' time,' he declared, 'there will be millions of Boxers in serried ranks and war's panoply at the call of the Chinese Government.'[3] This picture appealed forcibly to the Wagnerian imagination of the Kaiser, who saw, in the coming invasion of Mongol hordes, a Heaven-sent opportunity for the War Lord to lead the embattled hosts of a European coalition, with Germany at its head. Small wonder if the man in the street became impressed with the reality of the Yellow Peril.[4]

Since her war with Japan, and particularly since the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese agreement which foreshadows the partition of China's northern territories, Russia has professed increasing anxiety in regard to China's military preparations, and to the increasing numbers of Chinese colonists in Mongolia. Her apprehensions of the Yellow Peril are, no doubt, to some extent sincere; the Ministry of War at St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1910 recommended vetoing China's proposed construction of the Chinchow-Tsitsihar-Aigun Railway, as well as the alternative Kiachta-Urga scheme, on the ground that China would derive therefrom strategical advantages seriously menacing

[2] *The Reshaping of the Far East*, vol. ii. Macmillan. 1905.

[3] *These from the Land of Sinim.* Chapman and Hall. 1901.

[4] Since this was written 'Putnam Weale' in the *Daily Telegraph* predicts new developments of the Yellow Peril: he sees, in the near future, China militant lodging 'peremptory ultimatums' at the Foreign Offices of Portugal and Holland, and Chinese squadrons, cleared for action, in the harbours of their 'Eastern dependencies.' One wonders whether Admiral Sah will be in command of these squadrons, and to whom he will apply for rice, coal, and ammunition.

Russia's position. How far these fears were shared by the Council of Ministers it were hard to say; but there has been ample evidence of a chronic condition of nervousness existing amongst the Russian military authorities in Siberia and Manchuria, nervousness of the unreasoning kind which led to the Blagoveschensk massacre of helpless Chinese in 1900, and to the Dogger Bank panic in October 1904; caused, no doubt, by the instinctive idea that what one Asiatic race had done another may do. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that Russia's forward policy in Manchuria after 1900 was persistently justified to the world by alleged fears of dangers from Hunghutzüs, and her present attitude in regard to Chinese loans seems to point to a recrudescence of that policy, facilitated by her understanding with Japan. It is improbable that either country really believes in the possibility of Chinese aggression, and their concerted objections to the 'Four Nations' loans may therefore safely be ascribed to a desire to prevent the creation of foreign interests in Manchuria, rather than to any genuine fear of Chinese armaments.

Of Russia's foreign policy, ever influenced by the imaginative impulses and emotions of the personal equation, it is difficult to speak with any degree of certainty, but of Japan it may safely be asserted that no real apprehensions exist in that country with regard to China's alleged development of military strength. With eyes and ears wide open in every province, Japan's trained experts, military and commercial, can be under no delusions. In the long run, Japan, more than any other Power, stands to profit by China's internal dissensions and helplessness; her policy in Manchuria has steadily reflected recognition of this obvious truth. At the same time, so long as maintenance of the integrity of China remains the ostensible purpose of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and so long as Japanese finances remain in their present condition, it behoves her to walk warily before the world: Russia, therefore, is induced to take the lead in proclaiming the right of China's nearest neighbours to supervise her borrowing activities and to limit her armaments.

Considering Russia's professed anxieties in the light of the actual situation at Peking and in the provinces, her diplomacy assumes a somewhat elementary aspect. Let us consider briefly the significance of that situation. The newly-elected President of the Chinese Republic, himself a declared Monarchist by conviction, has recently suffered the humiliation of seeing the capital looted by the very troops whose discipline and organisation have been continually cited as the best proof of China's military progress, the men whose unswerving loyalty to Yuan Shih-k'ai had been assumed by nearly every European writer. The looters

having vanished with their plunder, some semblance [illegible] was restored at Peking, not by the foreign-drilled troops of [illegible] Lu Chün, but by the tribute-eating Manchu regiments whom the experts professed to despise. The spectacle of the President of the Republic suppressing the lawlessness of Chinese mutineers by the aid of Manchus and Bannermen is in itself sufficiently indicative of the chaotic condition of China; but another and even more significant sight was seen when, on the occasion of Yuan's returning the British Minister's congratulatory visit, the streets from his residence to the Legation were guarded (at his request) by British troops, no Chinese being allowed to stand outside their houses. Yuan subsequently expressed his gratitude to the Foreign Ministers for their action in organising patrols of European troops to reassure the plundered and terror-stricken citizens. Significant, too, of the opinion in which foreign and Chinese troops respectively are held by the average mandarin, is the fact that the Legation quarter has become a common sanctuary and treasure-house for the highest officials, Manchus and Chinese alike, seeking the protection of the foreigner against the Yellow Peril of their own creation. In the same way, Hongkong and the foreign settlements at Shanghai have become a safe place of refuge for thousands of Chinese who, when order is restored, will join once more in the patriot's agitation for the restoration of China's 'sovereign rights' in the Settlements, and the abolition of extra-territoriality.

It is difficult to form any concise opinion of the fighting qualities, organisation and *moral* of the Chinese Army from the accounts given, principally by writers resident in Peking, of the fighting between Imperialists and Republicans since last October, partly because these accounts are usually of Chinese origin, and partly because of the observers' bias of foregone conclusions. Descriptions by eye-witnesses of the fighting at Nanking and Wuchang, published for the most part in the *North China Daily News*, are more illuminating. But to get a comprehensive idea of the actual situation and to appreciate its bearing on the question of China's possible development of military efficiency, one must follow the accounts, published week by week in that paper, from missionaries and other correspondents resident in the interior. These writers naturally present the scene from many different points of view, and their conclusions vary from sympathetic optimism to the deepest pessimism; but the general impression which they create is, that the Chinese army of the present and immediate future constitutes a serious menace to China's own well-being, but little or none to her external foes. In the sense that China's weakness and disorder are a source of danger to the world, her undisciplined

[illegible] constitute, indeed, [illegible] [illegible]; and of late, with the disappearance of constituted authority and the loosening of the old ethical restraints, the army has realised its opportunities and its power.

Of the good qualities of the rank and file, of their powers of endurance, and occasional *élan* of enthusiasm, there has been ample evidence; but for proof of scientific organisation, of efficiency, cohesion, *esprit de corps*, and trained intelligence amongst their leaders, we seek in vain. Here and there, amidst the mass of cowardly, corrupt, or incompetent officials, we find earnest and brave men like Li Yuan-hung, the Revolutionary leader, and General Chang Hsün, the Imperialist Commander at Nanking. The latter appears, indeed, to be a fighting man of the stamp of Tso Tsung-t'ang; yet even his martinet authority proved insufficient to prevent his troops from looting the city of Hsüchoufu. But the number of energetic and efficient leaders has been insignificant, and their example has completely failed to stem the tide of general demoralisation. Even at Nanking, where the loss of life on both sides was comparatively heavy, it was the rank and file who fought bravely, most of their officers displaying gross cowardice and incompetence. Repeated instances occur, in authentic reports from the provinces, of officers of the regular and militia forces using their positions for purely selfish ends, or lending themselves to the purposes of politicians and student agitators.

The military profession is no longer a thing of reproach in China; to be a soldier, as times go, is to enjoy opportunities which appeal to every man with predatory lust or instincts of self-preservation; therefore it is that everyone wears a uniform who can, and the number of irregular troops and police claiming arrears of salary is likely to increase rapidly with the tale of looted cities and the disappearance of all effective authority. It is not pleasant to contemplate the prospects that, under these conditions, confront the defenceless traders and peasantry of the interior. For the craze for loot has spread like wildfire and become epidemic; from all parts of the country comes the same pitiful story of the systematic and businesslike despoiling of peaceful citizens by licentious soldiery. Peking, Tientsin, Paotingfu, Hangchow, Soochow, Fouchow, Canton, Ninghsiafu, Taianfu, and many other cities, have suffered, without resistance, all the pains and penalties of civil war; and the end is not yet. From Sianfu comes one of the most astounding of all these pitiful tales of unrest. Telegraphing on the 22nd of March, Reuter reported that the Kansu army (Loyalist Mahomedan troops, under General Sheng Yün, professedly marching on Peking to restore the dynasty) had arrived at Sianfu, the capital

of Shensi. The Chinese garrison of Republican troops, 'fearing that the Mahomedans would loot the city, began looting it themselves; whereupon the Mahomedans retired.' Yet these are the forces whose pay is to be provided, for the salvation of China, by means of huge foreign loans! And while these things are taking place all over the country, the National Assembly continues solemnly to proclaim the advantages of Republicanism, and self-governing societies in every provincial capital discourse of progress and prosperity. Despite its dominant note of grim tragedy, the situation is not without humorous aspects.

Considering the question of the Yellow Peril, however, as a matter ultimately dependent upon the military instincts of the Chinese people, it is interesting to observe that, in the opinion of experts, the balance of efficiency and courage rests so far with the Northern troops. Had it not been for the inefficiency and vacillation displayed by General Yin Chang, Admiral Sah, and the high authorities at Peking; had the Imperialist troops been allowed to follow up their first victories, it may fairly be assumed that the rebellion in the Yangtsze provinces would have been quickly stamped out; but incompetent or disloyal leaders, truces, delays, and the ignominious withdrawal from Wuchang, led to discouragement and the rapid growth of indiscipline and lawlessness.

A noteworthy feature of the fighting at Nanking was the superiority of the Shantung and Chihli men as compared with the Hunanese regiments of the Imperialist forces. Many competent critics in recent years have been led to the conclusion that the high military reputation of the Hunanese was founded rather on noisy professions than on any performance of valour. I remember discussing in 1902 the business of warfare with a Hunanese private of the garrison of Shanhaikuan, and his frank declaration that the profession of arms was well enough in times of peace, but that no sensible man would incur serious risks of being killed on a salary of fifteen shillings a month. An eyewitness of the fighting which took place during the investment of Nanking in November last tells a tale which shows that this worthy man's opinions were not an isolated instance of discretion, and that the average Hunanese has no desire to go to his grave for any fantasy or trick of fame. The batteries on Lion Hill, manned by Hunanese Imperialists, had for some time been engaged in an artillery duel with the Republicans on Tiger Hill, without apparent damage to either side. Inquiries into the cause of this futile expenditure of ammunition elicited the following explanation, which may well be given in the correspondent's own words:—

It appears that the Imperialist artillerymen on Lion Hill were also men from Hunan, and that after the capture of Tiger Hill by the

Republicans a mutual agreement had been come to by the men in the two forts that neither party would materially damage the other. Accordingly, for some days the shells went wide, some short, into the hillsides away below the guns, and some high over the top of the crests. Then one day the Imperialist General, Chang Hsün, was watching the shooting in person from Lion Hill, and by the evidence of his own eyes grasped the fact that something was wrong. The range was a comparatively easy one of 3000 yards, and instead of nearly every shot being a hit, as it should have been at that distance, very few of them were going anywhere near the target at all. Without more ado, Chang Hsün threatened to decapitate two of the eight-inch gun-layers there and then on the spot, and he promised that divers still worse penalties should follow for the remainder if the shooting didn't improve forthwith.

So it came about that, in order to save their necks, the gunners on Lion Hill began to make things unpleasantly hot for their fellow-provincials on Tiger Hill, with the result that the latter, thinking that they had been grossly deceived by their friends the enemy, began in their turn to shoot as straight as they knew how. This state of affairs continued for the best part of a day, until the true reason for the apparent defection of Lion Hill was brought in by spies.

Thereupon through the same agency a new scheme to prevent mutual injury was devised. It was simply that a defined interval, said by the men to be about a minute of time, should always be allowed to elapse between the firing of a gun and the answering shot from the other side. This would give ample time for the crew of the gun which had last fired to clear out of harm's way downstairs into the bomb-proof shelter below the concrete emplacement. Honour and General Chang Hsün would seemingly thus be satisfied, and all chance of unpleasantness, which neither party in the least desired, would thereby be avoided. Apparently the plan worked well, as after its adoption no casualty occurred on either side.

On the other hand, the Chekiang regiments which took the leading part in the Republican assault and capture of Purple Mountain showed a fine courage. Yet these same troops, upon their return to Hangchow at the end of March, mutinied and threatened to burn their General's yamen.

Every day's experience of the Revolutionary movement justifies the conclusion that the Chinese, as a race, retain their instinctive aversion to fighting for fighting's sake, although, given good leaders and stern discipline, the inhabitants of certain regions (notably hill-men) are capable of making good troops. Every day's experience shows also that many long years of educative processes must elapse before the nation can produce the leaders and the spirit of discipline to make the Chinese army the formidable host of the Yellow Peril prophets. A new spirit has been aroused, beyond all question, amongst the educated classes of China; a spirit of vigorous, almost defiant, nationalism, which chafes under China's humiliations; which seeks, through political and social reforms, to put from her the reproach of weakness; but, in the absence of an organised, self-respecting and productive middle-class, there can be no immediate prospect of their

[illegible] activity of no mean order [illegible] many good qualities; but the moving spirits of the [illegible] have failed collectively to display the discipline, [illegible] ability, and personal integrity requisite for efficient [illegible] of the body politic. In the present ferment of iconoclasm, and [illegible] the resultant lawlessness, lies the real Yellow Peril—for a [illegible] and disorganised China means the danger of chronic unrest [illegible] the Far East.

Another, and equally real, Yellow Peril lies in the pressure which these millions of thrifty, patient toilers, inured to the sternest privations, threaten, sooner or later, to bring to bear upon the economic and industrial equilibrium of the Western world. Throughout their long history the Chinese have seldom been obsessed by dreams of expansion and conquest, but they have repeatedly denationalised and overcome their conquerors. Their ready adaptability to environment, untiring industry, skilled craftsmanship, and unconquerable power of passive resistance have never been equalled by any race of men, unless it be the Hebrews. America and Australia have felt, and guarded themselves against, the menace of this pressure of seething humanity. Its effects, and the hopeless inferiority of white man against yellow in the grim economic struggle for life, may be seen to-day in the Straits Settlements, the Dutch Indies, and the islands of the South Seas, in the Treaty Ports of China, and the Russian railway towns of Manchuria. Where white man and yellow live and work side by side, the balance of economic power passes slowly but surely into the hands of the Asiatic. Within the memory of man, the wealth of the Straits Settlements and Hong-kong has gravitated to the Chinese; already, at Harbin and Tsitsihar, in Chinese territory, Russian railway porters are cheerfully carrying the baggage of first-class Chinese passengers. If there be any menace to Europe in Cathay, it lies in the fierce struggle for life of three hundred million men who are ready to labour unceasingly for wages on which the white races must inevitably starve.

J. O. P. BLAND.

HORACE AND THE SOCIAL LIFE OF ROME.

By a printer's error some words were omitted from a quotation on the last page of Mr. Hamilton-Hoare's article in the April number. The remonstrance from Augustus to Horace should of course commence as follows: 'I am much annoyed with you because in what you write of this kind you address yourself to other people before you address yourself to me.'
—EDITOR, *Nineteenth Century and After.*

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LABOUR UNREST AS A SUBJECT OF OFFICIAL INVESTIGATION

The recent proposal, which must be taken as seriously meant, that a Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire into the causes of social and industrial 'unrest' is one which, if taken in a limited sense, may be useful; but if its sense is extended beyond limits which are very strict and definite, it is more suited to the atmosphere of one of the political burlesques of Aristophanes than to that of serious politics. As I propose to point out briefly in the following pages, the causes of this unrest are not only various in their details but are also various in their character; and certain of them—and these the most important—are such that, if made the subject of official inquiry of any kind at all, are more fit for the investigations of the confessional or the psychological laboratory than for those of a Parliamentary chairman and a committee of officials and politicians.

That such is the case is made sufficiently evident by facts which are familiar to everyone. Those who propose that the causes of social 'unrest' should be subjected to an official inquiry

are no doubt thinking primarily of the [illegible] in this country, the conditions under which they work and live, and their annual incomes as compared with the cost of living and also with the position of those whose earnings or whose means are larger. Here no doubt are questions into which a Parliamentary inquiry is possible; but social 'unrest' is a phenomenon which is not by any means confined to those in whose case it can possibly be attributable to the pressure of economic want, or the anxieties incident to the avoidance of it. Under different forms it betrays itself in the lives of those whose means are far in excess of anything that could possibly be the lot of the majority of the human race under any social system whatsoever. One of its most remarkable manifestations is the frenzy of the hammer-bearing Maenads, who seek to enter paradise by assault, through the splinters of shop-windows. These women and their leaders for the most part belong to the affluent or comparatively affluent classes. Many of them are rich. Many of them, in addition to riches, enjoy all the advantages of position which are generally the sedatives of discontent. And yet the 'unrest' of these persons is in its essentials hardly distinguishable from that of the Welsh rioters who, by way of compelling the coalowners to revise their rates of wages, wrecked the premises of the tradesmen who supplied them with their tobacco and their daily bacon. It is evident, therefore, that the social 'unrest' of to-day has other causes behind it in addition to those associated with direct economic pressure. Economic pressure, as experienced by the poorer sections of the community, is one of the causes, and will presently be considered here, when it will be shown that its actual operation as a disturbing element differs widely from the popular conception of it; but those causes shall be considered first which are of a more general kind, and we will begin with one which is affecting all classes alike.

Unrest as a Product of Increased Facilities of Travel

The late Mr. Phelps, for many years American Ambassador in this country, when I was once walking with him on a lonely road in the neighbourhood of the Highland Railway, said suddenly after a long silence, 'The Devil never found a truer note for his voice than the railway whistle. There it goes, from one end of the country to the other, crying to all the boys and girls, "Come away, come away, come away." And when they go, they find the place they have gone to better in no way than the place they have left behind.' In these few words we have a profound analysis of a large part of that contemporary unrest which is commonly supposed to be confined to the ranks of Labour. It is

[illegible] on Horace, it was latent in the ancient [illegible] to become acute under the stimulation of congenial circumstances. But such circumstances were then those of the fewer of the few only—of the few who possessed, in addition to their Roman palaces, villas so numerous that it was a labour to choose between them; and chariots which would whirl the owners from one of these to the other. But even so their unrest, if we may judge from the words of Lucretius, did not carry them outside what, in the language of the modern cabman, was a twelve-mile radius from the Charing Cross of Rome. The railway to-day has a similar and yet more disturbing influence on all classes alike. The humblest labourer can, for a penny or twopence, travel further in twenty minutes than the trampling team of Lucullus would have carried him between dawn and sunset; and he can do so in a vehicle, in comparison with the ease and comfort of which the humblest labourer would denounce the chariot of Lucullus as a 'bone-shaker.' Every Bank Holiday carries its millions of excursionists to seashores so remote that Horace would have called them 'fabulous'; whilst the effects on the rich of these increased facilities for travel have developed so rapidly, even during the last thirty years, that English watering-places which once were the haunts of fashion have witnessed the scattering of their patrons of the older class along the shores of the Mediterranean, the banks of the Nile and Ganges, the southern extremity of Africa, and the islands of the West Indies. Few things can render this change so vivid as do the parks and pleasure-grounds of such of our old country-houses as still preserve externally what was their aspect in the eighteenth century. The classical or the Chinese pavilions, which are one of their distinctive features—often within a stone's-throw of the house and rarely more than a mile from it—were the goals of excursions which, with the simple feast accompanying them, were the adventures and the excitements of a day. For Miss Austen's heroes and heroines a journey to Box Hill from the adjacent borders of Kent was the exploration of an unknown wonderland, to be anticipated and looked back upon for months.

How constantly is the remark heard from the lips even of seasoned travellers, 'I never can see a train without wishing that I was going by it.' For the rich this wish is charged with the subconscious feeling that any place would be more pleasurable than that in which they actually are. For the poor it is charged with a feeling of a like kind, that any change in the conditions under which they now work would be a change for conditions unimaginably different and unimaginably better for themselves. In their case this feeling achieves perhaps its most definite expression in

the tendency to leave the villages for the towns. So far as our own country is concerned, superficial observers are accustomed to represent this tendency as the result of our insular land-system, of the tyranny of great landlords, or at all events of the fact that the majority of our agricultural population are not themselves the owners of the land they till. In this contention there may, or again there may not be, a certain element of truth. But whatever truth there may be in it, it affords—and this is my sole point here—a very partial explanation of the phenomenon here in question: for precisely the same tendency is observable in other countries where the peculiarities of our own land-system are most conspicuous by their absence. That the magic of ownership will not anchor the small cultivator to the country is shown in Belgium by the fact that the number of peasant owners of from 2½ to 12 acres decreased by 16 per cent. between the years 1880 and 1895. In France, which has been the classic home of peasant ownership for a century, the towns are now growing at the expense of the rural districts. Between the years 1900 and 1910 the working agricultural population had declined by nearly 70,000 persons. The attraction of the towns, even in Australia, is exerting a similar influence. A movement so general evidently cannot be due to economic conditions of any one particular kind. It is rather due to the disturbing effect on the imagination of an enlarged vision of conditions which are continually increasing in variety, any one of which our increased facilities of movement tend to present as possible, and which are bewildering by their competing promises—promises never fulfilled, or fulfilled but to some small degree.

Unrest and Modern Popular Education

Causes of unrest such as these may be called the automatic education of circumstances. But there is a further cause of a more specific kind, the operation of which is less general but more definitely disturbing in proportion to the limitations of the area of its influence. This is the development of *education in the narrower sense of the word*. Throughout the civilised world for more than two generations, an education in many respects novel has been inflicted on classes a large portion of whom, even fifty years ago, were innocent of the art of reading; and a change has consequently been brought about in the mental conditions of the majority to which there has been no parallel in the mental conditions of the few. For the few, from time immemorial, there has been a continuous congruity between their education and their general circumstances, which has rendered the one as much a matter of course as the other. They have been educated up to a standard of expectations and appreciations which, from

[illegible]

their youth up, have been satisfied in the persons of those [illegible] them; and which in the natural course of things would presumably be satisfied in their own. For them education, as such, has never possessed any of the excitements of novelty. It has never disturbed them, as a class, with a sense of new and untried powers. It has come to them merely as the ordinary and indispensable equipment for any kind of life amongst their equals, let the talents and career of the individual prove to be what they may.

But with the masses—and more particularly with that section of the masses which, under any social system, must always be the most numerous—namely, those engaged in the exercise of manual labour—the case has been widely different. The whole idea of education for the people, ever since such an idea began to be practically popularised, has been derived from the kind of education traditional amongst a limited class, and devised with a view to circumstances peculiar to such a class only—circumstances which may, indeed, be rendered impossible for anybody, but can never be common to all, or even the majority of the human race. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the kind of education in question, it has had for its object and result the equipment of those receiving it for the positions they have been destined to occupy, or for the class of occupations by means of which they have been destined to support themselves. The future diplomat, for example, has been grounded in the classical, and made proficient in modern languages, with a view to endowing him with those cosmopolitan accomplishments in the absence of which no diplomat can be a successful citizen of the world; but in so far as an education devised after this model is inflicted on that majority of the human race whose livelihood depends on those tasks which are commonly called 'labour,' education becomes in one respect a radically different thing. Between it and their practical circumstances there is no similar connexion. In the case of an Ambassador a knowledge of French has a direct bearing on the performance by him of his distinctive functions. But a similar knowledge would have no similar effect in the case of a coalhewer, a tiller of the soil, or a dairymaid. Of course it may be argued that any kind of general culture, by widening the minds of such persons, increases their capacities of enjoyment; but it would do nothing towards so developing the coalhewer's special efficiency that from earning seven shillings a day he may rise to earning fourteen; nor would it render the dairymaid a better maker of butter, or the husbandman a more productive cultivator. Instead of being aids to work, it would constitute a distraction from it.

The general fact here indicated is, indeed, widely recognised and especially by many who claim, in the extremest sense,

be the mouthpieces of popular aspiration. Thus the Labour Member, Mr. Lansbury, declared not long ago that much of modern 'unrest' in the labour world is due to the fact that education has made the labourer impatient of such tasks as 'the hewing of wood, the drawing of water,' and so forth. But what Mr. Lansbury and others omit to notice is this—that education, in the sense of general culture, whilst rendering such tasks distasteful does nothing to diminish their necessity, or in any way to alter their character, by enabling those who perform them to perform them with greater ease. Without imputing to Mr. Lansbury unduly luxurious tastes, we may assume that when the weather is cold one of his normal requirements is a fire; and that a pork chop, a herring, a slice of cod, form no infrequent articles of his diet. But in order that Mr. Lansbury may be warm whilst he elaborates expositions of Socialism, somebody must be a hewer of wood, or—more literally—of coal; in order that he may eat his chop the hands of some of his comrades must be red with the blood of pigs; and in order that by his morning fire he may have a 'bit of fish' for his breakfast, other comrades must toil all night amongst the tempests of the North Sea. Does education, in the sense of general culture, make fire and food less necessary for Mr. Lansbury himself? Or does it in any way modify the circumstances under which they are obtainable for him by the efforts of others? Does it make coal-getting a process as easy as the picking of buttercups? Would it enable the sticker of pigs to substitute for his customary bloodshed some 'death by a rose in aromatic pain'? Would any amount of general culture enable the North Sea fisherman to calm the waves at his will, and reduce his calling to a pastime like that of catching carp in a marble basin at Versailles?

So far as labour in general is concerned, the only kind of education which equips the labourer for the performance of it is purely technical, and consists mainly of the performance of such labour itself and the knowledge and dexterities thereby acquired. It often does not even require any mastery of the art of reading. But although education, in the more general sense of the word, results in no such enlargement of the labourer's productive efficiency, it tends to produce in his mind an illusory consciousness that it does so: that hence he deserves a correspondingly increased reward, and that, failing to get it, he suffers some correspondingly increasing wrong.

In other words, the modern experiment of applying to the masses at large a system of education modelled, so far as its general character goes, on that which had previously been applied to a limited class only, has had on the majority thus far, all over the world, the effect of increasing their expectations without

[illegible] power of [illegible]

This is the point which persons such as Mr. Lansbury and others neglect, and it is the cardinal fact of the situation. It will be referred to again presently.

Labour Unrest as Directly Connected with Economic Conditions: Facts *versus* an Optical Illusion

But a further cause of unrest (or rather an alleged cause) remains to be considered first. According to most agitators it is the principal cause, and consists of the fact that alike in this country, and in all others with a similar industrial system, every increase in national wealth is absorbed by a small minority, and that the income of the rest of the population, relatively to its number, not only does not increase but absolutely grows less and less; so that, to quote the words of a recent Socialist manifesto, 'Labour Unrest, instead of originating in official trade-union agitation, is (on the part of the rank and file) in the last analysis an appeal for life.' These words are taken from a petition drawn up recently by the Executive Committee of the Church Socialist League, for presentation to the Convocation of the Provinces of Canterbury and York, by the Bishops of Birmingham and Wakefield. This is simply a reproduction by certain clerical and episcopal gentlemen to-day of assertions first popularised in definite form by Karl Marx in the year 1865, and subsequently repudiated, or at least very greatly modified, even by the more thoughtful Socialists in this country, in Germany, and in America. For purposes of popular agitation, as distinct from those of serious discussion, Socialists of all types have nevertheless continued to make use of it. Whilst rejecting it in their formal treatises, they have stimulated their propagandists to make use of it at the street corner; and now a certain section of the Anglican clergy have made a new departure by fishing it out of the gutter for themselves.

In an article on the statistics of Socialism, published recently in this Review,[1] this statement, as set forth in detail by the two most eminent writers whom the Socialistic movement has produced, was submitted to a systematic analysis: each of the separate clauses into which it divides itself was tested by reference to definite official statistics covering a period of more than a hundred years, and every one of these clauses was shown to be not only not correct but a grotesque inversion of the specifically ascertainable truth.

[1] 'Socialistic Ideas and Practical Politics,' by W. H. Mallock, *Nineteenth Century and After*, April 1912.

There is, however, an aspect of the question (hitherto altogether neglected) which did not fall within the scope of the article just referred to—an aspect of the highest importance—and with which I shall deal now. A consideration of this will incline us not indeed to modify our views as to the fallacy of the Socialist position, but to recognise that it has some foundation other than ignorance, or the desire to foment class hatred. We shall find that though the actual changes which have taken place in the distribution of wealth are the very reverse of what is asserted by such persons as Karl Marx, Henry George, by the Bishop of Birmingham and his flock of Anglican Socialists, they do nevertheless, when regarded from certain points of view, produce an illusory impression that the assertions of the Socialists are correct; just as on a person seated in a stationary train the movement of a train adjacent to him produces the impression that he is himself in motion.

What, then, is the actual something—the actual feature distinctive of the modern world—by which this impression is generated in the minds even of many who, in their cooler moments, repudiate it? The answer is simple, when once we know where to look for it.

When it is asserted that during the last hundred years or so the poor have been growing poorer, it cannot be meant, even by the Bishop of Birmingham, that those belonging to the poorest class of all have year by year been obtaining less and less to live upon—that is to say, that they have been becoming poorer and poorer as individuals; for if this class was on the verge of destitution in the year 1800, it cannot ever since then have been growing more destitute still, for otherwise it would have ceased to exist. The only possible meaning, then, of which the assertion that it has been growing continuously poorer is susceptible, is not that its members are individually getting less and less to live on, but that such persons as belong to it have been growing more and more numerous.

Now if we consider the conditions of this country as they are to-day and as they were at the beginning of the nineteenth century, we may, without committing ourselves to any specific figures, grant that the poorest class has, in point of absolute numbers, very greatly increased. This fact, however, taken by itself no more indicates that the modern industrial system results in an increase of poverty, than an absolute increase in the number of deaths occurring annually within the borders of Great Britain indicates that, owing to the developments of medical science, the population is growing more and more unhealthy. If we wish to know what the development of such science has accomplished, we do not compare the absolute number of annual deaths in a

[illegible]

country during one period with the absolute number of such deaths during another. We take these numbers in each case in relation to the population as a whole.

Let us take, for example, some British Colony on the Gold Coast which fifty years ago comprised a thousand Englishmen, and which to-day comprises forty thousand. Let us further suppose that fifty years ago a hundred out of the thousand colonists annually fell victims to some malarial fever, but that to-day, owing to the development of medical science, the annual death-rate per thousand has sunk from a hundred to twenty. Everyone would admit that the health of such a colony had improved—that the malignity of the local fever had been very largely reduced, and yet the actual number of annual victims would have risen from a hundred at the earlier date to as much as eight hundred at the later.

And the same is the case with poverty. If at a given date out of every 1000 of the inhabitants of a given country 100 were subsisting on incomes not exceeding 30*l.* a year; and if at a subsequent date the number of such persons per 1000 had sunk from 100 to 50, everyone would admit that extreme poverty was declining, and that amongst the population as a whole comparative wealth was on the increase; and yet, if we take these figures as roughly indicative of what has happened in this country between the year 1800 and the present time, the increase of the population, taken as a whole, has been such that whereas at the beginning of the nineteenth century the poorest class in Great Britain would not have numbered more than 1,000,000, its actual number would be about 2,000,000 to-day.

But however true it may be that, relatively to the population as a whole (and this is the only true test that we can apply in the matter) poverty has been continuously decreasing, it will nevertheless have been increasing relatively to something else—a permanent and unalterable something which is far more obvious to the senses, and has far more effect on the imagination, than the number of the population as a whole—which for many, even of those who are aware of it, is little more than an arithmetical expression. This is the geographical area which the population in question occupies. This means that, even if the number of very poor persons per 1000 in this country to-day be only half of what it was, say, in the year 1800, the average number of such persons per square mile is greater. And, when we consider that the main increase in the population has taken place in urban and semi-urban districts (the extent of which, as compared with the entire country, is small), we may admit that the increase of poverty has been very great indeed per square mile of those districts in which its presence is most noticeable.

The natural effect of this fact on the imagination [illegible] perhaps, be best illustrated by referring again to the [illegible] strictly parallel—of disease and death. Let us imagine, then, an area circumscribed by a circular line having a doctor's house for its centre, and let us suppose that a hundred years ago this area was occupied by a small and ill-drained village, in which few were really healthy and the death-rate was abnormally high, and that this area to-day is covered by a considerable town in which the drainage system is perfect, the good health of the inhabitants is exceptional, and the percentage of deaths from disease reduced to one-fifth of what it was in the original village. Finally, let us suppose that all these improvements are due to a single doctor, representing the general growth of medical and sanitary science, whose active life has been prolonged for more than a hundred years. If such a doctor, sitting every night at his window, could hear all the sounds of pain and loss in the area of which he was still the centre, though he would know that his whole life had been an increasing triumph over sickness and premature death, and that whereas twenty homes out of every hundred were desolated by such causes in his youth the corresponding number had now been reduced to four, the cries of suffering that would reach him from the modern healthy town would be more numerous, and would assail him in greater volume, than those which reached him in his youth from the old-world pestilential village.

Similarly, if we substitute for such a doctor a social reformer or an observer of social conditions, though poverty in the old-world village might to his knowledge have been almost co-extensive with the inhabitants, and though it might have sunk in the modern town to one-fifteenth of them, yet the poverty-stricken roofs which he could identify from his window through an opera-glass might be ten times as numerous as all the homes in the old-world village put together.

Out of this fact that, though in the only true sense of the words—namely, in relation to the population as a whole—poverty has been continuously decreasing, it has increased relatively to given geographical areas, there arises a kind of optical delusion. All persons are liable to it, and persons of an emotional temperament more especially so. Nor is this unnatural, for, expressed in another way, the fact out of which it arises is simply this, that an increasing amount of poverty has become, as it were, physically perceptible from any one of those points of local observation which the observer is most apt to select for the purposes of his survey. But to argue, like the Bishop of Birmingham and the other signatories to his manifesto, that poverty has increased as a consequence of the capitalistic system, and that private ownership of capital should forthwith be made to

[illegible] but because medical science, by [illegible] the death-rate per 100, has helped to increase the popu[illegible] [illegible], it has increased the number of those who each year must [illegible], it has really been a multiplier of disease, and should 'forthwith' be abolished.

The illusion, however, of which persons like the Bishop of Birmingham are victims, does not arise only from what has happened in the case of the poor. It depends also on what has happened in the case of the rich. Just as one half of their charge against the present economic system is that, besides being the cause of an increasing volume of poverty it concomitantly results in an increasing concentration of enormous and increasing wealth in the hands of a small minority, so this impression, though it is no less illusory than the other, has its excuse in facts of an analogous kind. As I pointed out in my article in the April number, already referred to, the total income of 'the rich' in this country, which is properly comparable with the total income of the rest of the community, forms (contrary to the loose ideas of the Bishop of Birmingham and his friends) not an overwhelming but a surprisingly small part. If we deduct from the national income that portion of it which comes into this country from abroad, and which depends in respect of its origin not on home labour but on foreign, and confine ourselves to the total which is produced in the United Kingdom, we shall find that of this total about 87 per cent. consists of incomes not exceeding 800*l.* a year; whilst all the incomes (of home origin) exceeding 5000*l.* a year do not amount in the aggregate to more than 4 per cent. Moreover, the richer classes—those who, according to the Bishop of Birmingham, swallow up 'the whole of the vast increase of the national wealth'—will be found, if we examine the income-tax returns since the beginning of the present century, to be the classes which, alike in number and aggregate income, increase most slowly. This is shown partly by the fact that out of the separately assessed incomes during the period in question there has been an increase of 28,000,000*l.* in respect of incomes not exceeding 800*l.*, whilst the aggregate of incomes exceeding that sum has suffered an actual, though a very slight, diminution; and also by the further fact that houses worth more than 80*l.* a year have increased by a few thousands only, whilst houses worth between 20*l.* and 80*l.* have increased by 280,000.

But, in spite of all this, there is another fact which still remains to be considered. This is the average number of houses of various values per mile. The total number per mile, for England and Wales, was 94 in 1891; ten years later it was 10[illegible]; at the present time the number is approximately 115. Now the

increase in the number of houses worth more than 80*l.* a year has been so small that, whilst the average increase of houses of all kinds has been approximately 20 per square mile, there has hardly been so much as an average increase of one in the case of houses of this more expensive class. We may, indeed, for the purpose of the present argument, suppose that the number of these has not increased at all; for even in that case, though the number of such houses per square mile would have been stationary, there would have been a constant increase in the number of houses of lower values; and each of the occupants of these would have been *so many new spectators* of the few larger houses, and have daily been made aware by their eyesight that the occupants of them were richer than themselves. Thus, though the actual proportion of the relatively rich to the poor and the relatively poor would have been decreasing, the contrast between riches and poverty would have been constantly brought home to a greater number of people. Hence, by a natural and very intelligible process, an illusion would have been created of a kind precisely opposite to that of the facts which created it. The proportion borne by wealth to poverty, though actually growing less and less, would have had the false appearance of increasing, simply because there would have been more witnesses of the difference between the two. If one man eating twice as much as is good for him is watched by a hundred people who cannot secure enough, the volume of envy which he excites is twice as great as that which would be excited if the spectacle were watched by fifty only; but the proportion of food represented by the one big dinner to the aggregate of food represented by fifty small ones, is twice the proportion borne by it to the aggregate of a hundred small ones. If the Bishop of Birmingham has a shilling, whilst eleven other men have sixpence, the Bishop might be regarded as robbing them each of a halfpenny; but if, whilst the Bishop has a shilling, there are twenty-three men with only sixpence, the number of contrasts between him and the rest is doubled, though the maximum of which he could be regarded as robbing each of them would be in this case no more than a farthing.

Hence we see that, though contrary to the cant assertion of the Socialist that the masses of the population are constantly becoming poorer, that their unrest is by this time a simple 'appeal for life' (whilst the relative riches of the rich are as constantly becoming greater), the income of the poor is really the relatively increasing quantity, and that of the rich is a *relatively*, though not an *absolutely*, decreasing one—we see, I say, that, though in point of fact the Socialists are diametrically wrong, there is much in the aspect of things which suggests to the imagination

[illegible] are right. Thus a kind of unrest is produced similar in kind to that which would result on board a ship, sound in every particular, if the passengers were persuaded by some mischief-maker with a smattering of nautical terms that every time she plunged into a hollow of the waves she was sinking.

Summary

Modern unrest has, therefore, three causes which, though totally distinct from that which Socialists are accustomed to assign to it, are actual and not fancied causes, and which are, in respect of their magnitude, peculiar to the modern world.

Let us briefly go over them again, and ask what are the results to which they point in the future and in what directions we may reasonably look for a remedy.

Let us start with reconsidering the last of them—namely, that which is purely economic and relates to the physical conditions of the poorer sections of the community—especially those who live by manual labour. That there exists in this country, despite the general spread of well-being, a population precariously nourished and inadequately housed, which, small as it may be in proportion to the present population as a whole, yet equals in number the entire population of England at the time of the Norman Conquest, may unhappily be accepted as true; and that such poverty, if it can never be entirely removed, may yet be reduced to relatively negligible dimensions, must be one of the chief hopes and objects of every sagacious statesman. It is, however, very doubtful whether the utmost progress possible in this direction would even modify the sort of labour unrest which is characteristic of the present time.

The grounds on which this assertion is made are not far to seek. One is the well-known fact which is exemplified by all classes alike—namely, that after the fundamental needs of the human body are satisfied and have been supplemented by the provision of such secondary requisites as are practically made necessaries by the habits of whatever class may be in question, each further addition of wealth, as soon as the recipients are habituated to it, ceases to be felt as any addition at all. Those who were contented before are not thankful now. Those who were discontented before are just as discontented still. What makes discontent—apart from actual privation or the anxiety which comes from the fear of it—is not what people have got, but a comparison of what they have got with that which they have been stimulated into thinking that they can get and ought to get.

The truth of these observations is illustrated in [illegible] vivid way by the events of the present day. There is, no [illegible] an unrest which, in the language of the Bishop of Birmingham is really 'an appeal for life,' but that such is not the kind unrest which is typically prominent to-day is shown by the fa that the most determined, the most bitter, and the most high organised of recent strikes is that which has occurred among workers who belong to the best-paid, not the worst-paid, sectic of their class. One of the best-educated of the Parliamentai leaders of the Labour Party boasted, some years ago, in an articl in this Review, that the main supporters of his party were not th population of the slums but the better-paid and more skilft of the artisans. The coal-miners, who must be included unde this general description, earn incomes which vary considerabl according to the capacities of the individual; but howeve moderate may be the individual earnings of some of them, th most prominent leaders, and the most obstinate supporters o the recent coal-strike, comprised men who, together with thei families, enjoyed household incomes far larger than those [illegible] many of the Bishop of Birmingham's own clergy. Amongst the most ardent of the recent strikers in the West of Scotland were two Poles (brothers), who admitted that their joint annual earnings were certainly not less than 400*l*. In one of the South Wales collieries, out of twenty men, taken in the order of their places, it was ascertained that all but three were earning more than 100*l*. a year, and that more than half were earning from 120*l*. to 220*l*. Would the Bishop contend that amongst such men as these 'labour unrest' was 'in its last analysis an appeal for life'? But we need not confine ourselves to comparing the earnings of such men with those of the clergy. Let us compare them with the maximum which could possibly be earned by anybody if the entire income of the nation were divided equally amongst all. Sanguine statisticians, whose estimate we need not dispute here, say that if all the wealth of the country were thus equally divided, there would be an income of 200*l*. a year for each family of five persons, of whom, on an average, two and a half would be earners. With regard, then, to the majority of those lately on strike, it is evident that their household incomes (even if we take the earners per family to be not more than two) were, at the time of the strike, from 20 to 100 per cent. more than could possibly fall to their share were the lot of all households equal. If the action of such men in striking was simply 'an appeal for life'—if it means that they cannot live in any true sense of the word unless their present earnings are increased—it is impossible for the nation as a whole so to live at all; for not all that can be produced by all the muscle

... could produce enough ... each individual household with what the Bishop ... apparently regard as the minimum of proper human subsistence. We need merely go back to the beginning of the reign of Queen Victoria, and the moral of the case will become more apparent still. If the maximum average income theoretically possible for each family to-day would be insufficient in the case of any family to satisfy 'the appeal for life' (and this must be so if colliers earning more than that maximum are 'appealing for life' still), what must have been the position of the population only two generations ago? All the productive forces existing in this country would not have sufficed, under any conceivable scheme of distribution, to have lifted it half-way towards the level at which the kind of life begins which alone, according to the Bishop, is fit for a human being. Whatever hardship may have been caused during quite recent years by a rise in the cost of certain articles of general consumption, real wages to-day are at least 75 per cent.* greater than they were at the time of the opening of the first Great Exhibition, yet 'labour unrest,' according to the Bishop's own admission, is to-day more acute than it was then. The gains of the masses during the intervening sixty years have been greater than any that can be looked for at the present moment, even if in businesses such as mining the entire value of the products were divided amongst the manual workers. What reason, then, is there for expecting that the kind of unrest which a gain of 75 per cent. has merely had the effect of developing, would be checked or converted into contentment by a gain of 10 per cent., or even of 15 or 20 per cent.?

As soon as the primary needs of life are satisfied, together with the secondary needs which habit and custom have rendered primary, what causes unrest, in respect of economic conditions is not (let me repeat) the limitations of what men have, but the relation of these to the amount of what they imagine that they ought to have, and may practically secure.

And here we are brought back again to the question of education. Labour unrest, in its distinctively contemporary sense, having its origin mainly in the ranks of the most prosperous, not of the poorest workers, has its origin not in the wants of the body but in exaggerated expectations of the mind—in the development of ideals which, whatever may be their character otherwise, have no correct relation to the facts and possibilities of life. They are due, on the one hand, to purely illusory conceptions of the amount of wealth produced or producible in any given country; and on the other—and this is the more important cause of the two—to wholly illusory conceptions of the part played by the labour of the average man in the productive process

of to-day. An interesting illustration of this latter fact occ
in an article lately published in the *Morning Post* on the Lab
College at Earl's Court. This article contains a quotation fr
a statement made by one of the students, who was apparen
there equipping himself for the business of an active agitat
The employing classes, he said, whatever may be their bra
and abilities, 'can do nothing for us which we cannot do
ourselves,' meaning by 'ourselves' the mass of average work
whose livelihood at present comes to them in the form of wag
This idea is the natural result of general education on a cl
to which it is still novel. It is a kind of idea like that produc
in a boy who, placed for the first time on the back of an ambli
donkey, at once imagines that he could sit a galloping racehors

Of all writers from whom one might think he would be unlikel
to derive any light on social and educational problems, among
the least likely is perhaps the poet Keats. And yet in his prefa
to one of the later editions of *Endymion* he makes the follow
ing observations, which are most pertinent to the presen
matter :

'The imagination of a boy,' he says, 'is healthy, and th
mature imagination of a man is healthy; but there is a space o
life between, in which the soul is in a ferment, the characte
undecided, the way of life uncertain, and the ambitions thick
sighted. Thence proceeds melancholia, and all the thousand
bitters.'

Such is very much the condition of those sections of the
wage-earning population amongst which, in its acuter forms, the
'unrest' of to-day is most noticeable. The question, then,
arises—what kind of cure for this malady may be looked for
in the future? That an actual augmentation of wages may form
a part of our future history, just as it has formed a feature of
our past for a period of more than a century, and that ameliora-
tions in conditions of housing may take place likewise, the im-
portance of which would be even greater, are results to which
we may look forward with confidence if the vitality and efficiency
of our present system is maintained. But, as I have said before,
and as I remark once again, such improvements, in themselves,
would do nothing to allay the spirit of contemporary unrest:
nor would they even tend to do so. The real remedy is to be
looked for partly in some modifications of our present educa-
tional methods; but still more in the fact that the multitude,
in proportion as they become accustomed to education and fail
to derive from it any of the thrills of novelty, will discover how
little it can do to alter their relations to the permanent facts
of life. Their present illusions as to its enlargement of their
own powers, and as to the claims and expectations which have

[illegible] illusions as their basis, will disappear gradually like a dream, and measuring possibilities by more modest but more real standards, the progress which is actually open to them will be regarded by them in its true light—that is to say, as a series of substantial conquests, instead of as conquests so small as to resemble exasperating defeats in an attempt to realise conditions which are beyond the limits of possibility. The object of education, as understood by the Bishop of Birmingham, appears to be the enlargement of the claims and expectations of all to the utmost extent possible. May I venture to call his attention to the words of another prelate whom, in this respect, at all events, I should regard as the wiser man. 'The first object of education,' said the late Bishop Creighton, of London, 'is to teach each of us the knowledge of his own limitations.'

A few final words still remain to be said as to that cause of contemporary unrest to which, in these few pages, I called attention first. I refer to the unrest which has for its chief cause the modern facilities for travel. With regard to unrest of this kind, which is common to all classes alike, I would observe that the richer classes, and not the poorer only, are here still undergoing an experience strictly analogous to that which the poorer are undergoing as a consequence of popular education. They are still perturbed by the novelty of the experiences open to them : and I would add that in time such novelty will wear itself out; that much which is now distracting will become unexciting and commonplace; and that the present restlessness may not indeed turn into apathy, but subside into a healthy activity from which the symptoms of fever may have disappeared.

W. H. Mallock.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE FRANCO-GERMAN CRISIS OF 1911

The year 1911 was indeed a romantic one. Not only has Europe suffered from a new Franco-German crisis which nearly involved England and France in a great war, but—what is still worse—she has had to put up with a frightful accumulation of speeches and of magazine and newspaper articles, contributed by men who all professed to know the truth, though they were in fact contradicting each other in the most shocking way.

It is interesting to note that England has not been spared in that respect more than France herself. Some extravagant stories have been told by serious English papers about several French statesmen, whose secret intentions they apparently knew better than those statesmen themselves. But the most curious instance of that kind of literature is certainly Mr. E. D. Morel's recent book on *Morocco in Diplomacy*; a subject on which he has also written recently in this Review.[1] Although Mr. Morel's unfriendliness to France has been well known since he ruthlessly attacked the French Congo, while dealing with the undoubted evils existing in the Belgian Congo, his new appearance as a kind of German Siegfried is of a highly comical order. For now we hear from a British moralist that not only is France a wicked country, but that England herself behaved in a shameful way during the Franco-German negotiations: Germany alone was guiltless of any unfriendly design; she alone stuck to her treaty obligations; she never thought of doing anything unfair; in one word, she alone deserves to enter Mr. Morel's diplomatic heaven.

Such a pious indictment is bound to impress the public mind so long as no definite statement can be made as to what actually happened behind the scenes. It is only by setting forth the facts themselves that one can prevent reasonable people from wondering whether Sir Edward Grey did not really act as he did because he was afraid of *The Times*, or whether M. Caillaux did not make up his mind to sell France to Germany. Fortunately the facts are now available. Three books have just been published in Paris

[1] 'The National Interest in the Franco-German Dispute,' November 1911, and, 'The True Story of the Morocco Negotiations,' February 1912.

[illegible]
which supply nearly all the secret evidence that was still wanted.
One has been written by the foreign editor of *Le Temps*, M. André Tardieu, and is entitled *Le Mystère d'Agadir*. The two others, *Le Coup d'Agadir*, by M. Pierre Albin, and *Chronique de l'an 1911*, by M. Mermeix, are from the pen of distinguished writers. Their respective value is, of course, a matter open to discussion. M. André Tardieu, for instance, is considered by Mr. E. D. Morel as a kind of Mephistopheles, whose sinister influence has been perverting not only France but also the British Foreign Office, ever since he once crossed the Channel. His book, which is, without any doubt, the ablest and the most considerable of the three, will therefore be represented by some as a mere collection of lies. To this it can, however, be answered that the three writers have written the history of the Franco-German crisis from three different and sometimes opposite points of view, and in these circumstances every reader is in a position to make a critical comparison between them in order to form his own judgment. In the second place, most of M. Tardieu's contentions are based on existing documents which he has been able to publish for the first time, and it is open to any serious student to check his quotations. As a matter of fact, the truth, or rather the approximate truth—for nobody except, perhaps, Mr. Morel can boast of being in possession of the absolute historical truth—appears in a fairly precise shape to anyone who has had the patience to peruse those three books. All the more so that M. Tardieu, not to speak of the others, has made a thorough effort to present the German case in an unbiased way.

What, then, are the disclosures brought out by such an inquiry? Does Europe still stand out as in Mr. Morel's book—on one side Germany entirely white; on the other, France and England equally black, with the possible exception of a few white spots which correspond to the Congo Reform Association and Messrs. John Holt and Co., of Liverpool? Put in those terms, the question is scarcely interesting enough for a Hyde Park open-air meeting. But without taking too seriously Mr. Morel's German propaganda, there are two important points on which the British public is bound to ask for more light.

The first one relates to the immediate causes which led to the sending of the *Panther* to Agadir. As England chose to stand by France, she has a right to know whether all the responsibilities for such a crisis were on the side of her friend. Was Germany totally innocent of the failure of the Franco-German agreement of 1909? Was the expedition to Fez and the French military interference in Morocco quite unjustified?

The second point is even more important, from a British point of view. Was Sir Edward Grey, were the members of the British

Cabinet justified in adopting a strong attitude in regard to the action of Germany as soon as the *Panther* had gone to Agadir? Would it have been safer for England—not taking the interests of France into account—to let things go their way, or even, as Mr. Morel suggests (*Morocco in Diplomacy*, p. 141) to insist 'on a treatment of Germany commensurable with Germany's legal position and with Germany's unquestionable rights?'

The facts which are now for the first time revealed to the public seem to throw on these two points a new and perhaps decisive light.

The Causes of the Crisis

There is not much doubt that the main reason for the violent way in which Germany intervened after the Fez expedition was that she was bitterly disappointed by the results of the Franco-German agreement of February 1909. That agreement had provided that 'in order to facilitate the execution of the Algeciras Act' both Governments 'chercheront à associer leurs nationaux dans les affaires dont ceux-ci pourront obtenir l'entreprise'; France undertook to safeguard the principle of economic equality in Morocco, and Germany recognised 'that the special political interests of France in that country were closely bound up with the consolidation of order and internal peace.' In consequence of this, both Governments gave their support to a number of Franco-German enterprises, which were started not only in Morocco itself, but also in other parts of Africa. The Union des Mines and the Société Marocaine des Travaux-Publics—two societies which were of international character, but in which France and Germany held the largest shares—represented the new policy in Morocco. It seems equally well established now, by a letter written by M. Pichon, Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the 5th of June 1909, that the French Government thought soon after of extending the Franco-German co-operation to the Congo. The idea was launched of bringing together the Sud Kamerun Gesellschaft and a French society, the 'N'Goko Sangha,' in order to form a Franco-German *consortium*, which would end, once for all, a number of disputes relating to the frontiers of the Kamerun and the French Congo. Later, at the beginning of 1911, both Governments tried to come to terms over a railway which would have crossed the German Kamerun and the French Congo from the South Coast of Kamerun as far as the Ubanghi. In short, during the two years which followed the agreement of February 1909 Germany was supposed to have given up her opposition to the extension of French political influence in Morocco, and France was supposed to be ready for any kind of industrial co-operation with Germany in Africa.

Unfortunately every one of the Franco-German economic schemes failed. The Union des Mines was paralysed from the beginning. The Société Marocaine des Travaux-Publics was never allowed to build either a road or a railway. The only benefit Germany secured took the shape of a sum of 600,000 francs, which was paid by the Maghzen to Herr Renschhausen, and of another sum of 6,000,000 francs, paid for the work done in the harbour of Larache. The Franco-German Congo *consortium* was equally unsuccessful, and so was the Franco-German Equatorial railway. It would be unfair to deny that the French Government was responsible for a number of those failures. Such was specially the case with the Franco-German *consortium* in the Congo. The scheme provided for the investment of German capital in a large part of French territory; it included the payment of a considerable compensation to a French company. It was bitterly attacked, in a more or less direct way, by several parliamentary groups, mainly by Mr. E. D. Morel's French friends. The French Cabinet did not feel strong enough to resist those attacks, and dropped the scheme after the Germans had been led to believe, for a whole year, that the matter was satisfactorily settled. Under those circumstances it is not surprising that the Germans should have thought they were being cheated. They had already found French diplomacy in their way in the Bagdad railway question, where France stood by England and Russia, and also in the Ouenza affair in Algeria, which has been at a standstill for many years owing to parliamentary opposition. They had, it must be confessed, certain good reasons to be dissatisfied with the working of the economic side of the 1909 agreement.

They would, however, in no case have been fully satisfied. Here comes in a disclosure, the importance of which cannot be over-estimated. Not only has the German Government been equally responsible with France for the failure of certain Franco-German enterprises (such as the Union des Mines, for instance, which found the Brothers Mannesmann in its way), but its general responsibility lies much deeper. Germany interpreted, from the first, the 1909 agreement as if France had bound herself to give to the Franco-German interests in Morocco a kind of monopoly from which every other nation, not excepting England, was to be totally excluded.

This has, of course, to be proved. When France and Germany agreed to 'associate their nationals in affairs for which the latter might obtain a concession,' it was generally understood in France, as in England, that neither country meant to infringe the economic equality established by the Algeciras Act. However, the way in which German diplomacy is used to interpret an arrangement of that sort was soon made clear. On the 2nd of

June 1909, only a few months after the agreement was signed, the German Government submitted to M. Guiot, representing the French Government, a memorandum in which it outlined the new Franco-German policy in Morocco which it desired to recommend.[1] According to that memorandum all the big undertakings in the Shereefian Empire were to be reserved to certain Franco-German groups. France would be free to open the door to representatives of other nationalities: however, every English or Spanish share in any enterprise was to be inferior to the German one and deducted from the French share. A difficulty arose at that juncture, from Article 107 of the Algeciras Act, which provided that every concession made in Morocco should be made by public awards without differentiating between nationalities. But the German Government thought that Article 107 should not be interpreted in a narrow sense, and it invited the French Government to 'put aside a fruitless and noxious competition,' suppressing the international equality which Germany had pretended to fight for up to 1909 and was going to claim again at the end of 1911. Morocco was to become a Franco-German hunting-ground.

The history of the negotiations which took place at the beginning of 1911 in connexion with the Moroccan railways gives a striking illustration of the practical meaning of the memorandum. It was in February 1911 that the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, who was then M. Pichon, discussed for the first time with Baron von Schoen, German Ambassador in Paris, the construction of several railways in Morocco. The French proposal was that the Société Marocaine des Travaux-Publics should build two lines: Casablanca-Settat and Udjda-Muluya River, which were of a military character and therefore were not to come under the system of public awards. For every extension of those lines the French Government intended to observe Article 107 of the Algeciras Act, and asked the German Government to see that no German firm should compete in that matter with the Société Marocaine. But the German Government made, on the 2nd of March, a counter-proposal of quite a different character. It went so far as to ask that, for every possible railway to be constructed later on in Morocco, French as well as German enterprises should abstain from competing with the Société Marocaine. In other words, Germany wanted to create a railway monopoly in favour of one privileged Franco-German company only, to the exclusion of all foreign and, more especially, English interests. England would have had, naturally, to bear the consequences. In fact, it was the British Government which, having been consulted by M. Paul Cambon, the French Ambassador in London, plainly declared that Germany's proposition amounted to the creation of a Franco-

[1] See M. André Tardieu's *Le Mystère d'Agadir*, p. [illegible].

German [illegible] in Morocco. This was on the [illegible] of March 1911. On the 16th Sir Edward Grey told M. Cambon that such an economic privilege would injure British interests. England could only approve the refusal which France, under these circumstances, finally opposed to the German offer.

Such a profound difference of opinion was bound, sooner or later, to lead to a disagreement between the two countries. The situation was hopeless. On one side was Germany. She had only recognised France's special political interest in Morocco in order to try a new policy; instead of standing aloof and opposing French action without any solid profit for herself, she had made up her mind to induce France to break her general undertaking towards England, and she had meant to enter with France upon a joint economic conquest of Morocco. And on the other side was France, who had no reason whatever for shutting out her best friend, England, from Morocco, and who had thought that Germany would be satisfied with a limited and lawful co-operation. However weak M. Pichon was—for he did not dare to reject bluntly, as he ought to have done, Germany's Memorandum of June 1909—the fundamental contradiction between Germany's hopes and France's intentions could not allow a purely superficial concord to last very long.

The Franco-German understanding might still have lasted somewhat longer if, on the other hand, the French Government's action in Morocco had not been rushed by events. Critics of Mr. Morel's turn of mind have not hesitated to accuse French diplomacy of having deliberately violated the famous Algeciras Act, which Germany was apparently respecting in such an edifying manner. There was no need, so they say, to occupy Udjda and the Shawya with French troops; the siege of Fez was a mere pretence; France had pledged herself to respect the integrity of Morocco and the sovereignty of the Sultan; she had no right to intervene. The same set of people would very likely recommend that England should evacuate Egypt in order to restore there what might be called lawful anarchy. French opinion, indeed, is ready to acknowledge that France might have done better in Morocco; that by reinforcing in time the French military mission in Fez, or by raising, under her own guarantee, a large loan for the Shereefian treasury, she might have enabled the Sultan to fight in a more efficient way the insurgent tribes which nearly overthrew him in the spring of 1911.[3] But half measures of that kind would have done nothing but postpone a crisis which was bound to come, if only because the Moorish Government was rotten to the core and was quite unable to reform itself from within. At any rate, the position was becoming each year more critical. It culminated in

[3] See M. André Tardieu, op. cit. Part I. chap. ii.

the siege of Fez, the seriousness of which cannot be denied after reading the confidential reports which have just come to light. The most convincing is perhaps Commandant Brémond's report, dated the 24th of July 1911, which is a mere statement of facts. It shows, among other details, that the Shereefian army had, after the 11th of May (the siege lasted until the 21st), only enough artillery ammunition left for two engagements. The number of deserters was increasing from day to day. The remaining soldiers were plotting to assassinate their French instructors and to capture the foreign consuls. On the 19th of May 'the instructors had to keep apart from each other in order to make their simultaneous assassination more difficult.' We know from recent events that this was not an imaginary danger.

Faced by such a recurrent state of things France had to perform a difficult task. There was, first, the Algeciras Act, which did not expressly prevent her from intervening in the internal affairs of the Moroccan Empire; which even recognised her special interest by giving her a free hand on the Algerian border, and by entrusting to her officers the main share in policing the harbours; which, however, declined to give her the means of establishing order inside Morocco, thus withholding with one hand the very thing it was offering with the other. In the second place, France had assumed, in 1904 with regard to England, in 1909 with regard to Germany, not to mention other countries, a kind of moral responsibility as protector of European lives and interests in Morocco. In the third place, the Sultan was more frightened than anybody else, and was clamouring for help. The inevitable result of such a false situation was easy to foresee. Willing or not, France was to be dragged in. As a matter of fact, her decisive intervention—the expedition to Fez—was decided by men who had a marked preference for international methods as opposed to a policy of a protectorate.

But the rupture with Germany was, therefore, the more threatening. The economic condominium, which the German Government had tried to establish in Morocco after 1909, had fallen to pieces before it had ever worked, owing to the resistance of France, backed up in the matter by England. The political ascendancy of France over Morocco was, *per contra*, fostered by the events themselves. Germany was disappointed in a twofold way. Hence the crisis. Had French diplomacy been as subtle as Mr. Morel thinks it to be, it would have perhaps avoided the noisy demonstration of Agadir by meeting Germany halfway, and offering to negotiate again over Morocco as soon as the French troops started for Fez. This was at one time the writer's view, and subsequent events have shown that such a course would have been wiser. However, this lack of foresight does not in

any way alter the fact that the Agadir dispute was caused by Germany's disappointed ambition, and had, therefore, from its inception a particularly acute character.

ENGLAND AND THE NEGOTIATIONS

The acuteness of the crisis has been, nevertheless, ascribed by the British admirers of Germany to the selfish intervention of the British Government at the beginning of the negotiations, from the 21st to the 27th of July. According to Mr. Morel, Sir Edward Grey's warning to the German Ambassador and Mr. Lloyd George's speech were useless, for Germany never nourished any dark designs in regard to Morocco. Moreover, the action taken by the British Foreign Office was utterly wicked; France and Germany were both prepared to settle their differences in a friendly *tête-à-tête*,[4] and it was through fear of such a result that *The Times* began pouring oil on the fire. Neither is this all: Mr. Morel's contention is that Sir Edward Grey, frightened, of course, by *The Times*, made the French case, which was already intrinsically bad, even worse by encouraging the French Government to overlook Germany's unquestionable rights in Morocco. Never was a more violent accusation made against 'perfidious Albion' even by the most bitter enemy of England, at the time when Pitt's money was commonly supposed, in France, to be corrupting the whole of Europe.

Now the facts speak for themselves. Sir Edward Grey's action is not only fully justified by the diplomatic events which preceded it, but also by the subsequent development of the Franco-German negotiations.

It is already well known that when Sir Edward Grey gave the German Ambassador to understand, on the 21st of July, that England would not permit Germany to obtain a footing in Morocco, no assurance had yet been given by Germany to England that she would not land troops in Agadir, where the *Panther* had arrived on the 1st of July. Did Sir Edward Grey yield to a mere movement of impatience? Is it true that he had no right to suspect Germany's intentions? The Press campaign which was just starting in Germany points to the contrary. On the 13th of July—nine days after Sir Edward Grey's first and vague interview with the German Ambassador, and a week before Mr. Lloyd George's speech—the *Cologne Gazette* suggestcd that a partition of Morocco between France and Germany might be a way out of the difficulty. The idea was by no means a new one, for since

[4] M. Caillaux has been represented by Mr. Morel and others as having contemplated a complete reconciliation between France and Germany at the expense of the *Entente Cordiale*. Such an amazing statement is sufficiently refuted by M. A. Tardieu and M. Mermeix, and is not even upheld by M. Pierre Albin, who is personally hostile to M. Caillaux.

1904 the pan-German and German Colonial societies had repeatedly claimed a part of the Moroccan coast, and specially Agadir, for their country. The Mannesmann Brothers were, moreover, making a great fuss about Germany's interests in the hinterland of Agadir. The *Cologne Gazette's* suggestion was at once taken up by the whole Pan-German Press. The *Braunschweigische Landeszeitung* said, for instance :

> Herr von Kiderlen has awakened and enlivened our hopes. We share almost entirely the pangermanistic point of view. He has told us that, although the Kaiser has only recommended him to find an honourable solution, he will persist in claiming part of the south-west of Morocco.[5]

There was also a rumour in Berlin—the *Post* made it widely known—that Herr von Kiderlen and his secretary, Herr Heilbronn, had, in the course of several conversations (among others with Herr Erzberger, member of the Reichstag, Herrn Klaas and Rippler, of the pan-German League), indicated that they intended to find in the Suss (the hinterland of Agadir) Germany's share of Morocco. In a country like the German Empire, where the most violent papers are often in the hands of the Government at the very moment when they appear to be following an independent line, such utterances were to be taken seriously, the more so that the German Ambassador in London did not think it necessary to make any plain and reassuring statement.

But the German Press campaign was not all. The information which Sir Edward Grey received, not from *The Times*, but through M. Paul Cambon in London, and Sir Francis Bertie in Paris, gave him the best reasons to fear that the Franco-German negotiations, which had lasted for three weeks, were entering a critical phase. The beginning of the negotiations had not been especially alarming. As soon as the *Panther* arrived at Agadir the French Government had informed the British and Russian Governments that France would in no case abandon anything in Morocco, and that she was waiting for Germany to say what she wanted. To this the British Government had assented officially on the 5th of July. Two days after, Herr von Schoen told M. de Selves that Germany did not ask for territorial compensations in Morocco, but that both countries might come to terms over the Congo. This was telegraphed to Sir Edward Grey, who replied the same day that Great Britain did not object to compensations being granted to Germany in Equatorial Africa. Lastly, on the 9th of July Herr von Kiderlen roughly indicated to the French Ambassador in Berlin, M. Jules Cambon, that Germany was prepared to renounce completely her claims in Morocco if she received important colonial compensations elsewhere—in the Congo, for

[5] See also other quotations from newspapers in M. Tardieu's *op. cit.*, p. 420.

[illegible]

[illegible] This sounded somewhat reassuring for British [illegible], as England had never wished to oppose a Franco-German arrangement over the Congo; the only thing she could not admit—for obvious reasons—was that Germany should get a footing in any part of North Africa.

The Franco-German diplomatic conversations, however, almost immediately took a bad turn. First as to Morocco. Asked on the 13th of July what sort of *régime* Germany was prepared to recognise in Morocco, Herr von Kiderlen answered that she would simply grant France 'sufficient authority to preserve Morocco from anarchy.' Such a vague formula was rather alarming, for it amounted to the same offer as in 1909, and left the same door open to further difficulties with Germany—difficulties of exactly the same kind as those which had caused the clash in 1911. If France was to grant important compensations in the Congo, she ought to receive in exchange a full protectorate over Morocco, and to get rid of the misunderstanding underlying the 1909 agreement. At the same time, while going back on his Moroccan promises, Herr von Kiderlen put forward an utterly unacceptable scheme, according to which France was to hand over to Germany the whole of the French Congo from the river Sangha to the sea.

The extent of the German demands was made known on the 20th of July, by M. Paul Cambon and Sir Francis Bertie, to Sir Edward Grey. It is not surprising that the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs should have wondered what Germany was driving at. Perhaps she was contemplating a rupture. More probably she was only pushing her claims with regard to the Congo in order to ask for some territory on the Moroccan coast. At any rate, the question was worth asking. What the answer was, on the 21st of July, is known precisely from the best German source, the evidence submitted to the Committee of the Reichstag. The German Ambassador made a long, obscure declaration, in which he not only avoided giving any positive assurance as far as the landing in Agadir was concerned, but rather bitterly complained about England's attitude. Certain phrases of the declaration had even a threatening tone:

> If our proposals on the Congo are, as you say, unacceptable [said the Ambassador], this proves that France attaches less importance than is generally supposed to the free exercise in Morocco of pretensions which have never been made the object of an international decision. *She must then agree, as well, that a foreign warship may enter a Moroccan harbour.**

The end of the declaration is even more disquieting:

> If you care so much for the integrity of the Moroccan territory, why don't you, first of all, ask France for explanations? The occupation of the

* The italics are my own.

Shawya, and the invasion of the whole interior of Morocco by the French army, amount, much more than the recent German action, to a decided interference in Moroccan affairs.

After the Press campaign started on the 13th of July, after the sudden change for the worse of the Franco-German conversations, such an answer could only lead Sir Edward Grey to think that something ought to be done in order to make Germany understand that she could not touch Morocco without injuring British interests. Hence Mr. Lloyd George's speech. The result was attained on the 24th of July, when the German Ambassador emphatically declared that no landing had taken place in Agadir and that Germany had never intended to create there a naval base. How useful British interference had been, not only to England, but to France, is clearly pointed out by M. André Tardieu:

The first consequence [he writes] of the Anglo-German incident was that the German Government had evidently pledged itself to England not to seek for territorial advantages in Morocco. If one thinks of the uncertainty which prevailed in that respect, of the contradictory statements which had appeared in the German Press, of the utterances ascribed to Herr von Kiderlen, such a result had a real value. A real value first for England, who in 1911, as in 1904, did not admit the possibility of a German establishment in the Shereefian Empire; a real value also for France, whose interest in the matter was not less evident than that of Great Britain.

If any further proof should be deemed necessary of the wisdom Great Britain displayed when she interfered in the Franco-German dispute, it would be found in the difficulties which arose during the last stage of the negotiations. Some of Mr. Morel's main contentions are that the German Government has shown throughout an absolute straightforwardness; that it never made any objection to the establishment of a French protectorate over Morocco; that it defended Europe's interests in the Congo question against French selfishness; that Great Britain behaved, therefore, wrongfully when she showed the least suspicion of the German Government's intentions. Now it is true enough that Herr von Kiderlen expressed his willingness to let France be master of Morocco. But when he was asked in September to assent to a written definition of the *régime* which was to be set up in Morocco, then, with characteristic rapidity, he invented a score of new proposals. First of all, France was to have only a limited political control over Morocco; she was to occupy the interior of the country solely with the Sultan's consent; she was not to be entrusted with diplomatic representation of Morocco abroad, but only to be informed by Germany of all the diplomatic arrangements which might be made between the German and the Shereefian Governments. In the second place, Germany asked for a number of economic privileges. She was to be the dominant

Power south of the Tensift River, from Marrakech down to the southern border of the Suss: in that part of Morocco every enterprise would have to be 70 per cent. German and 30 per cent. French; that proportion would be reversed north of the Tensift. Thus, after promising to be satisfied with the principle of mere economic equality in Morocco, if she only received proper territorial compensation elsewhere, Germany tried, as she had done in 1909, to create again for her own benefit an economic condominium equally distasteful to Europe and to France. It took M. Jules Cambon over one month—from the 4th of September to the 14th of October—to get from Herr von Kiderlen terms which, though not perfect, were at least more satisfactory.

Surprises of the same kind occurred during the negotiations relating to the Congo. On the 23rd of July Herr von Kiderlen had agreed with M. Jules Cambon that the right of pre-emption which France had possessed since 1884 over the Belgian Congo *should in no way enter into the Franco-German negotiations.* Nevertheless, at the very end of those negotiations, on the 26th of October, Germany suddenly asked that France should abandon that right in favour of Germany.[1] When the French Ambassador reminded the German Secretary of State that he had promised not to make such a demand, Herr von Kiderlen answered that he had changed his mind, as the compensations offered by France were so ridiculously small. To grant such a demand would have been as unlawful as dishonourable, for the right France possesses over the Belgian Congo cannot be transferred to another Power without Belgium's consent, and, on the other hand, such a cession would have been as dangerous for British interests as for France herself. The way out was found by the Russian Government, which suggested that both Powers should agree that, in case a territorial change should occur in the Conventional Congo basin, the signatory Powers to the Act of Berlin should have a word to say in the matter. That formula was submitted on the 30th of October by the French Government to the British, which approved of it. It was accepted by Herr von Kiderlen on the 1st of November, three days before the treaty was signed. Up to the very last moment Germany had driven such a hard bargain that a rupture was still possible, if not probable.

It would be foolish to deduce from all this that Germany must be severely blamed for the method she applied, either in the interpretation of the 1909 agreement or in the discussion of the treaty of last year. That method is always and everywhere the same. It consists in changing the principles each time they clash with the interests. Thus Germany stood for economic equality in

[1] That demand is construed by Mr. Morel to mean that Germany was afraid lest France might injure Europe by stealing the Belgian Congo for herself and her friends. (See *Morocco in Diplomacy*, p. 194.)

Morocco as long as she had no particular agreement with France. After February 1909 she tried to break that economic equality for her own benefit, and to drag France into a kind of condominium. Then again, during the summer and autumn of last year, she did her best to obtain for herself some important economic privileges in Morocco, and she returned later on to the policy of the open door only because she could not get a privileged treatment. The same variety of points of view can be observed in every detail of her action. According to circumstances, she would protest that she did not object in the least to French preponderance in Morocco, and would at the same time refuse to recognise the lawfulness of that preponderance. These changeable tactics have been often termed scornfully: Deutsche Realpolitik. As a matter of fact they amount simply to a very strong and practical conception of German interests. It would be as childish to call this an immoral diplomacy as it is to apply that flattering qualification to the diplomacy either of France or of England.

At the same time, however, the history of the past three years affords the best possible justification of the cautiousness shown by England, as well as by France, in their relations with Germany. It can no longer be disputed that, whenever the German Government signs a general diplomatic agreement, it does its best afterwards to carry the interpretation of such an agreement to the extreme point which corresponds to Germany's narrowest interest. It appears equally clear in the light of the facts that a diplomatic negotiation with Germany is never a safe one, and that the ground you may have gained on a German negotiator may be lost the moment after he has acknowledged it. For these reasons it is by no means absurd to fancy what might have happened had Sir Edward Grey supported France less firmly. The German demands might have been driven up to a point where French opinion, which backed up its Government very strongly during the last stage of the dispute, would have preferred the risks of a great war rather than an unfair settlement. A German landing in Agadir would have very likely precipitated a catastrophe of that kind. By expressing, at the most critical moment, England's will, not only to stand by France, but before all to defend British interests in Morocco, Sir Edward Grey has certainly done more to strengthen the peace of Europe than if he had listened to the peace-crank open-air preachers who are trying to ruin England for the benefit of humanity, even as the French unified Socialists are doing their best to kill their own country in the name of democratic principles. The crisis of 1911 is worth meditating over in that respect. It contains a lesson for the future.

PHILIPPE MILLET.

THE FAILURE OF POST-BISMARCKIAN GERMANY

The rise of Prusso-Germany from insignificance to greatness has been meteoric. Two hundred years ago Frederick the First, the first King of Prussia, ruled over 1,500,000 people; and Berlin, his capital, had only 20,000 inhabitants when, in 1688, he succeeded his father. The country was scarcely civilised and very poor. Prussia held then a position in the world not dissimilar from that occupied now by Servia or Bulgaria. To-day the King of Prussia is at the same time Emperor of Germany. He rules over 66,000,000 people and Greater Berlin has a population of about 4,000,000. Since 1871, when the German Empire was founded, Germany's population has increased by 25,000,000, and that of Berlin has nearly quadrupled. In 1871 Germany was a poor agricultural country. To-day Germany is the leading industrial, commercial and maritime State on the Continent, and the richest nation in Europe, for her wealth is greater than that of France and of Great Britain. She has successfully challenged Great Britain's industrial supremacy—her industrial production is greater than ours—and she is now challenging our maritime supremacy as well. In a very few years she will have twenty-four Dreadnoughts and super-Dreadnoughts permanently in commission in the North Sea. Her political, military and economic progress appears irresistible.

The success of a nation depends upon the people, its rulers, and its institutions. In democratic countries the people are the most important of these three factors. The policy of the United States, Great Britain, France, is made by public opinion, by the ideals, the instincts, and the desires of the masses, sentiments which through public discussion have crystallised into a definite national policy. In democracies the nation rules, the government carries out the popular will, and the statesmen are merely the mouthpieces of the people. In monarchical countries, such as Germany or Russia, the process is reversed. The monarch is the source of all power. He governs with the assistance of

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his councillors, and he, or his principal adviser, [illegible] monarch's name, lays down the national policy, which is carried out by his officials, and the people are expected to support and applaud him.

Since the dawn of her history Prusso-Germany has been under one-man rule. Her greatness and success are not so much due to the great qualities of the people as to the genius and the activity of her rulers and statesmen. The Great Elector, Frederick William the First, Frederick the Great, Stein, William the First, Bismarck, have made modern Germany. The rapid changes in the fortunes of Prusso-Germany show how much her successes and her failures have been due to the personal qualities of her rulers. Frederick the Great, who had successfully fought the combined armies of Austria, the minor German States, France, Russia and Sweden, died in 1786. At the King's death Prussia was considered to be by far the strongest nation on the Continent. His two successors were men without ability who merely preserved the old form and routine of government. In 1806, only twenty years after the death of Frederick the Great, the same Prussia which had defeated the world in arms during seven years of incessant war was knocked down at one blow and cut up by Napoleon the First. It had fallen like a rotten tree at the first blast. The strength of democratic nations depends chiefly on the people, that of highly centralised monarchies depends very largely on their rulers. Many think that the Germany of to-day is still the Germany of the heroic age, of William the First and of Bismarck; but may not her strength be over-rated? Frederick the Great had no successor able to take his place. Has Bismarck found a worthy successor or can Germany now be governed without a Minister of Bismarckian ability?

Germany's form of government is laid down in a written Constitution. According to paragraph eighteen of that document, the Emperor nominates and dismisses the Imperial officials, and these are responsible only to the Emperor. Parliamentary control of the Government does not exist. A German Secretary of State who is incapable or is obnoxious to Parliament may continue in office as long as he enjoys the Emperor's support. He can afford to smile at hostile majorities and at votes of censure of the Reichstag. His salary does not depend upon a parliamentary vote, and as the Reichstag's control over the finances is quite ineffective—according to the Constitution it is doubtful whether Parliament may repeal taxes which have once been voted—it cannot effectively use the power of the purse against an incompetent Chancellor or Secretary of State. The German

Ministers are the Emperor's servants, not the nation's servants. It is, therefore, clear that the high officials in Germany are exactly as dependent on the support of the Emperor, who at will can make and unmake ministers, as British Cabinet Ministers are dependent on the support of Parliament. Therefore German Ministers are as anxious to carry out the Emperor's will as British Ministers are to carry out the people's will and Parliament's will.

The Government of Germany is not conducted by a Cabinet of Ministers of equal rank, but by a single Minister, the Imperial Chancellor. He alone is responsible for the conduct of all the Imperial departments. The heads of all the departments are responsible to him, and are his subordinates. An incapable British Prime Minister has little power for mischief. He may be guided or out-voted by his colleagues at a Cabinet Council. But a German Chancellor has no colleagues to guide and out-vote him. He has only subordinates. The joint responsibility of a British Cabinet is replaced in Germany by the joint responsibility of Emperor and Chancellor, and if a masterful Emperor gives the Chancellorship to a man of little backbone—and he can appoint whom he likes—he rules and his Chancellor becomes his secretary, his clerk, his mouthpiece. As Germany's policy is not directed by the collective wisdom of a Cabinet, but by a Chancellor who is appointed by the Emperor to whom alone he is responsible, Germany can be efficiently governed only if the Emperor and his Chancellor are men of eminence who are as well fitted for their posts as were William the First and Bismarck, for Emperor and Chancellor must work hand in hand.

Bismarck has had four successors: an able general; an outworn diplomat who became Chancellor at the age of seventy-five; a sprightly courtier-diplomat endowed with great social gifts and an industrious bureaucrat without experience of practical statesmanship who occupies Bismarck's place at the present moment. When in the spring of 1892 Bismarck was informed that General von Caprivi intended to resign, he said, according to Harden: 'I am not pleased with the news. At least he was a general. Who will come next? That is the question. If you get for Chancellor a Prussian bureaucrat who has learned his trade solely at his desk, then you will see things happening which at present seem impossible.' Governmentalism kills individualism. Bismarck did not rise from the ranks of officialdom. He was an outsider and he believed that the well-diciplined, conscientious, and hard-working Prussian officials, who are slaves to precedent and routine, had not sufficient individuality and breadth of view for independent action.

Constitutionally Germany is, as Americans would say, a 'one man show.' Unfortunately for Germany, none of Bismarck's successors has been able to take Bismarck's place, nor has the Emperor been able to supply the ability which his four Chancellors lacked. William the Second is too versatile and too much dilettante to take seriously to the hard work and dull daily grind of government.

The German Government machine is the most elaborate in the world. It was devised and perfected by some of the greatest administrators the world has seen. Germany's official organisation is perhaps as imposing as ever, and the minor officials, with whom the public comes most in contact, are perhaps as good as they were in former days, but the machine itself is becoming rapidly out of date. Its wheels still go round as of old, but as some of the principal ones are getting badly worn, the machine is becoming more and more erratic in its running, and, worst of all, the absence of a capable controlling hand becomes more and more noticeable.

Of all the great departments of State the Foreign Office is the one which is most in need of able direction. It is most susceptible to controlling influences, to which it answers readily. It is the department where lack of statesmanlike capacity tells soonest. All the other Government departments may be run for a long time without glaringly palpable ill results. Not so the Foreign Office. Here routine and the little arts of underlings are of very little use, and incapacity on the part of the chief is rapidly translated into failure. As Germany is under one-man rule, we can measure the efficiency of her Government in its general activity most easily by the success or non-success of its Foreign Office, and if we apply the Foreign Office test we find that the post-Bismarckian Government of Germany has been a failure. In Bismarck's time Germany's foreign policy was universally and triumphantly successful. Since that time it has been practically universally unsuccessful, and has marched from failure to failure. By rashly interfering with many Powers in all parts of the world, Germany has estranged her old friends and has created for herself new enemies. Her failures are too numerous to count, and her successes too few and too small to mention.

In matters of foreign policy praise or blame must be meted out according to results. At the time of Bismarck's dismissal, the Triple Alliance was a solid and reliable partnership, and as France on one side of Germany, Russia on another, and Great Britain on a third were isolated, Germany's position in the world was absolutely secure. She dominated the Continent. Bismarck's principle was 'Divide et Impera.' He succeeded in keeping France and Russia apart. To weaken France, he

set France and Great Britain against one another by encouraging France's colonial and anti-British policy. To weaken Russia he increased the differences between her and Great Britain by encouraging Russia's Turkish and Asiatic aims. Great Britain, being threatened by France and Russia, naturally inclined towards Germany, and was Germany's potential ally.

Fear begets unity. At the Berlin Congress, Bismarck had set Russia against Austria-Hungary by depriving Russia of the fruits of her victory, and by giving Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria. At the same time he had given to France Tunis, upon which Italy had the strongest claim. Thus he had created hostility between Italy and France. Austria-Hungary, being threatened by Russia, and Italy by France, desired Germany's protection. The Triple Alliance became a logical necessity. As the Triple Alliance was founded upon Austria's fear of Russia and Italy's fear of France, an improvement of Franco-Italian relations and of Russo-Austrian relations was bound to weaken it greatly. As, since Bismarck's dismissal, Italy and France have become fast friends, and Austria and Russia have arrived at good terms, Germany can no longer be quite sure of her allies. She can count upon Italy's support only in the event that Italy finds it profitable to support her. Italy has very long and extremely vulnerable coast lines. Besides she has great colonial ambitions. Therefore, it would be suicidal for her to pursue an anti-British policy or to help Germany in such a policy. Bismarck attached the greatest value to Great Britain's goodwill and support. In the first place he saw in her a 'potential ally' in case of a war with France and Russia. This will be seen from his speeches in the Reichstag and other pronouncements. In the second place, he recognised that Italy would be compelled to desert Germany if a situation should arise which might entail war with the greatest sea Power. For these reasons the maintenance of good relations with Great Britain was one of the principal aims of Bismarck's foreign policy.

By pursuing an anti-British policy, Germany has not only driven Great Britain from Germany's side and has driven her into the arms of France and Russia, but she has at the same time greatly weakened the formerly reliable Triple Alliance. Few Germans believe that Germany can count on Italy's support in the hour of need. Thus Germany has simultaneously created the Triple Entente and weakened, if not destroyed, the Triple Alliance. It is true the Triple Alliance exists still—on paper. However, Italy would not think of supporting Germany in a war against France, and still less in a war against Great Britain or against Great Britain and France combined.

On this point the *Hanoverscher Anzeiger* wrote on the 19th of January 1912:

> The people must ask themselves: What is the reason for artificially prolonging the life of the Triple Alliance which has been doomed for a long time? With every prolongation, which has been effected with the greatest difficulty, that alliance has become more frail and more rotten, so that everybody is firmly convinced that it will not stand the strain of necessity. A German staff officer who would base his plan of campaign upon the assumption of Italy's support in case of a French attack upon Germany, would have every reason to anticipate dismissal for incapacity; and so would an Austrian strategist if he should reckon upon Italian support. This is generally known, and cannot be denied by professional diplomats. As at the commencement of a great war nothing is more dangerous than to allow oneself to be deceived, it would be better to see matters as they really are.

Few intelligent Germans reckon upon Italy's support. Most think that in a great European war Italy will either remain neutral or will be found on the side of Germany's enemies.

Austria's support has become less certain in consequence of Germany's isolation, and of the great risks which she insists upon running by her adventurous policy. It should not be forgotten that Austria-Hungary has many old grudges against Prusso-Germany, who has despoiled her from the time of Frederick the Great to that of William the First. Therefore it seems questionable whether Austria would, for Germany's sake, readily run the risk of a great defeat, a defeat which might result in her annihilation. Austria may, instead, try to reconquer, at Germany's cost, the leading position among the Germanic nations which she used to occupy. The States of Southern Germany are more Austrian than German in character, and these might come again under the sway of Vienna.

Germany has complained that she has been isolated and hedged about with a network of hostile alliances and understandings owing to British intrigues. In reality Germany has been isolated owing to the incapacity of her own Government, and especially owing to its anti-British policy.

A nation can safely embark upon a bold and costly transmaritime policy only if it is secure on land, if it either occupies an island, like Great Britain and Japan, or if it occupies an isolated position and cannot be invaded by its neighbours, like the United States. Germany has three great land Powers for neighbours. Two of them, France and Russia, are not friendly to Germany, and she cannot rely with absolute certainty upon the support of her third neighbour, Austria-Hungary, a fact of which Bismarck warned her in his *Memoirs*. Under these circumstances it is obvious that Germany's greatest need is not expansion oversea, but defence on land; that her greatest in-

terests lie not on the sea but on *terra firma*. Self-preservation is more important than glory. The Emperor has started Germany on her 'new course,' on the trans-maritime course, which broke up the Triple Alliance, created the Triple Entente, and threatens Germany's future. His picturesque dictum, 'Germany's future lies upon the water,' could appear logical only to those who forgot Germany's position on land. It has, of course, become the watchword of the German officials whom the Emperor has appointed—he would appoint no Chancellor opposed to his naval policy—and so Germany is throwing away the substance for the shadow.

Bismarck was constantly haunted by the thought of the formation of a great European coalition against Germany. This will be seen from his *Memoirs*, and from many of his letters and conversations. Bismarck's worst fear may be realised before long. Germany's post-Bismarckian diplomacy is doing its best to destroy the work of the great Chancellor. It has already destroyed Germany's security on the Continent. Yet there is no sign that the 'new course' will be abandoned. During twenty-two years of post-Bismarckian government German diplomacy has achieved nothing tangible, except failure. Its incessant and neurotic activity in all parts of the world has given to Germany a few worthless colonial possessions, but it should not be forgotten that the bulk of her colonies were peacefully acquired by Bismarck.

The same hand which has directed Germany's foreign policy with such marked lack of foresight and ability has directed her military and naval policy as well. For geographical reasons Germany's strategical position is precarious. Situated between France and Russia, she must be able to protect herself against an almost simultaneous attack upon her eastern and her western frontiers. Neither France nor Russia is similarly situated. France need protect only her eastern, and Russia her western, frontier against invasion. Therefore, the problem of mobilisation and defence is far more difficult for Germany than for her great neighbours. In view of the possibility that at the critical moment Austria might not aid Germany, Bismarck wished Germany to be so strong as to be able to hold her own single-handed against France and Russia combined. This will be seen from his speeches. Therefore he worked for the steady expansion of the army and neglected the navy. But in matters of defence Bismarck's policy has been thrown to the winds. Guided by the maxim 'Germany's future lies upon the water,' the leaders of the 'new course' have been so anxious to strengthen the navy that the German Army has been neglected

both quantitatively and qualitatively. The following figures tell their own tale :—

	Expenditure on the German Army Marks	Expenditure on the German Navy Marks
1901 . . .	677,932,000	194,892,000
1902	669,180,000	205,356,000
1903	659,970,000	212,628,000
1904	647,078,000	206,555,000
1905	697,126,000	231,483,000
1906	752,640,000	245,473,000
1907	806,831,000	290,883,000
1908	827,459,000	337,708,000
1909	854,784,000	405,568,000
1910	807,223,000	434,045,000

During the ten years 1901-1910 the naval expenditure of Germany has increased by more than 120 per cent. During the same period the expenditure on the army has increased by only 20 per cent. From 1901-1904 and from 1909-1910 the German military expenditure decreased. For Germany, which borders upon three great Powers, and which may conceivably be attacked simultaneously on several sides by a combination of Powers, the army is evidently a more important means of defence than the navy, for by sea no vital part of Germany can be touched. It appears, therefore, that Germany's expenditure on the navy has been comparatively extravagant, and that on her army scarcely sufficient. That impression is strengthened if we compare the rank and file of Germany's military and naval forces, for such a comparison yields the following results :—

	Rank and File of German Army	Rank and File of German Navy
1901	604,168	31,171
1902	605,811	33,563
1903	605,975	35,768
1904	606,872	38,406
1905	609,758	40,862
1906	614,353	43,328
1907	616,838	46,747
1908	619,040	50,323
1909	621,112	57,068
1910	622,285	62,013

According to the German Constitution every German citizen able to bear arms has to bear arms. Germany's population came in 1900 to 56,367,178 people. In 1910 it was 64,896,881 people, having increased by a little more than 8,500,000. It used to be the rule in Germany that a fixed proportion of the population, about 1.1 per cent., belonged to the standing army. That was the proportion in 1901, as a glance at the foregoing table shows. Between 1901 and 1910 the German Army ought to have been increased, in the normal course, by about 93,000

men, which is equal to 1.1 per cent. on the 8,500,000 people by whom the population has increased. But instead of adding 93,000 men to the standing army, Germany has added to it only 18,000, or but one-fifth of the normal number.

The German authorities tried to economise on the army by keeping its strength low. For instance, recently Germany raised a large number of companies armed with machine guns, partly by taking the necessary men from the infantry, and partly by reducing the horse artillery, losing thus twenty batteries. The reduction of the infantry, and especially of the artillery, has been much deplored by German military men.

How great the neglect of the German Army has been, and how insufficient is its strength, can be shown to any layman. The German race is at least as able to bear arms as the French race. Germany has a population of 66,000,000, France has a population of only 38,000,000. From these figures one might conclude that Germany should have a standing army at least 50 per cent. larger than that of France. However, a glance at the reference books shows that the standing armies of France and Germany are very nearly equally strong. This surprising result is easy to explain. The French train in the army all men able to bear arms, whilst the Germans train only two-thirds of the men able to bear arms and dismiss the remaining third for the sake of economy, spending the money saved on the navy.

Many leading Germans have become alarmed at the neglect of the Germany Army, and especially at the insufficiency of its numbers, a defect which is particularly dangerous in view of Germany's isolation. General von Bernhardi wrote in *Mittler's Almanach* : 'Of our young men of twenty years we put, in 1909, only 52.7 per cent. into the army, although of the 47.3 per cent. rejected only 6.54 per cent. were physically or morally unfit. Therefore Germany rejected 47.3 per cent. of her young men. How different is the action of France! France recruited in 1908 81.19 per cent. of her young men. Of the remaining 18.81 per cent. 10.31 per cent. were unfit for military duty.' He complained that universal national service had fallen in disuse, although it is enjoined by the German Constitution. Major-General von Voss complained in the same book : 'France is the only country in the world which has introduced a system of real national service. In 1909 France put into the army 247,255 recruits, whilst Germany put in only 267,283, although the population of Germany is by 25,000,000 larger than that of France.' In *Der Tag* of the 10th of January 1912 General von Loebell complained that Germany raised only forty-four recruits per 10,000 of population, whilst France raised no less than sixty-three recruits per 10,000 of population. A leading article in *Die Post* of the

9th of January 1912 complained that the German Army was, in numbers, commensurate to a nation of 45,000,000 people, but not of 65,000,000. Many of the leading men in Germany have become so alarmed at the neglect of the army, and at the Government's unwillingness to strengthen it sufficiently, that, on the model of the German Navy League, a great Army League, the Wehrverein, has been founded, which is intended to force the Government to increase the army very greatly, by means of a great popular agitation. In consequence of this influential agitation, the Government was forced to act, and in the middle of April the German Government demanded an increase of 29,000 men in the peace strength of the army. The greatness of this sudden increase shows how much the army has been neglected.

Not only quantitatively but qualitatively as well has the German Army suffered during the 'new course.' German generals complain that promotions are made less by merit and more by favour than in former times. Similar complaints are heard in most Government offices. They complain that the officers are no longer as good as they used to be. Owing to the rise in wages the German Army can no longer obtain a sufficient number of good non-commissioned officers. The German war material also is scarcely up to date. The military outfit of France is superior to that of Germany. According to Lieutenant-Colonel Beyel, of the French artillery, and many other experts, the German artillery is inferior to the French. The tactics of the German Army have become antiquated. According to various German writers Germany has failed to learn the lessons of the Boer war and of the Russo-Japanese war. Major Hoppenstedt published in 1910 a book, *Sind wir Kriegsfertig?* in which he showed that the German Army is too much occupied with barracks-square drill and too little with warlike training. Many officers attribute the neglect of the army to the influence of the Emperor, who is severely criticised. William the First was a soldier by nature. The army was his principal interest. He did not understand the navy. He tolerated no flatterers, and knew no favouritism. He worked incessantly on the improvement of the army. William the Second has made the navy his hobby, and attends to the army perfunctorily, and many say that it is little better managed than his Foreign Office.

In 1911, during the time of the Morocco crisis, the German Government was very politely, but very firmly, informed by the Russian Government that a German attack upon France would immediately lead to a Russian attack upon Germany, while the language of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George left no doubt in Germany's mind regarding the attitude of Great Britain. As, in such a contingency, the support of Austria-Hungary would

have been more than doubtful; Germany found herself isolated and checkmated. An imprudent step on the part of her diplomacy, or a chance shot at Agadir or elsewhere might have had the most disastrous consequences to Germany. The Government began to recognise that Germany might be attacked on three sides, that the army had been neglected for years, that the discreet but unheeded warnings of Germany's most experienced generals had been justified, that Germany's anti-British policy had isolated her and jeopardised her position. How very seriously Germany's military position has deteriorated during the last few years may be seen from the fact that the same people who used to discuss an invasion of England by a German army are now discussing the invasion of Germany by a British army. Defence Bills were hastily drafted. Some of the wisest Germans pleaded that Germany's whole efforts should be concentrated upon the neglected army which was vital to its existence, that an Anglo-German understanding should be sought, that England should not be provoked by additional naval armaments. However, the navy influences proved victorious. The German Navy was increased once more. The new Navy Bill provided for three large ships and 15,000 more sailors, increasing them to 80,000. The increase seemed small at first sight and attracted little attention. English writers, who had carelessly read the text of the new German Navy Bill, told us that the German fleet in permanent commission would be increased from 17 to 25 battleships. That increase is serious enough. However, closer examination of that Bill reveals the startling and disquieting fact that Germany will in a short time have not less than 38 large ships in permanent readiness which, at a moment's notice, can act as a striking force. According to the Navy Bill of 1900 and its various amendments, Germany will shortly have 61 large ships which, when approaching obsolescence, will automatically be replaced by Dreadnoughts. As the official life of the ships will probably again be shortened, I estimate that, twelve years hence, Germany will have 61 Dreadnoughts and more than 100,000 sailors. Are Englishmen aware that Great Britain will have to provide then, according to the principle of two keels to one, 122 Dreadnoughts and 250,000 sailors? As Great Britain is not willing to lose her naval supremacy without a struggle, Germany's naval policy is bound to increase Anglo-German tension still further, and to strengthen the bond between Great Britain and France and between Great Britain and Russia, to Germany's harm. In consequence of Germany's action more far-reaching diplomatic arrangements than those existing between Great Britain and France and Great Britain and Russia may become necessary.

Germany's naval policy instead of improving her military position has made it still more precarious and will give Austria-Hungary additional reasons for reconsidering her position. The net results of Germany's naval policy are as follows: Germany has built a fleet which is, and will remain, unable to meet the British fleet, and which therefore is militarily almost useless, and she has created that fleet at the cost of her political position. By her naval policy she has weakened her army, destroyed the Triple Alliance, and raised a powerful combination against herself. Nobody can doubt that owing to her military and naval policy Germany's loss in power and prestige has been greater than her gain in naval strength, and every well-wisher of Germany must fear that her naval policy will in the end involve her in disaster.

Not only politically and militarily but economically also has Germany lost ground, especially during the last few years. The maxim of all the German spending departments seems to be 'Money is no object.' During the last few years German Imperial, national, and local expenditure has increased at an unheard-of rate, and the expenditure has been provided for partly out of taxes and partly out of loans. The following figures are significant:

Amount of German Imperial Debt

	£
1888	36,050,000
1890	55,899,900
1900	114,925,000
1910	244,831,700

In 1888, when William the Second came to the throne, the Imperial debt stood at the insignificant sum of 36,050,000*l.* During twenty-two years of the Emperor's reign more than 208,000,000*l.* have been added to that debt in peace time, and of that enormous sum not less than 130,000,000*l.* have been added since 1900, the year when Germany's naval expansion began in earnest. We may say that the navy has added more than 100,000,000*l.* to Germany's Imperial debt. Of course, the loans raised were largely for 'other objects,' but these other objects would have been paid for out of the Empire's current income had not so much of the current income been spent on the navy.

Germany owes her industrial success very largely to her ability to produce cheaply, and the cheapness of her production was formerly largely due to the lowness of German wages. But wages are no longer low in Germany. Owing to a simultaneous great increase in German wages and in taxation, the cost of production has risen so much that many industries which produce goods that require much labour have begun to suffer. The finer productions require much, the coarser little, labour. How national

extravagance and higher wages are affecting Germany's manufacturing industries may be gauged from the following figures:

German Exports of	1905	1910	Difference
	Marks	Marks	Marks
Cotton goods	380,200,000	365,100,000	− 15,100,000
Woollen goods	293,700,000	263,300,000	− 30,400,000
Fine ironware	104,300,000	86,500,000	− 17,800,000
Clothing	114,700,000	73,900,000	− 40,800,000
Books, maps, etc.	96,400,000	62,200,000	− 34,200,000
Colour prints, etc.	79,500,000	49,600,000	− 29,900,000
Gold and silverware	117,100,000	43,200,000	− 73,900,000
Porcelain	64,600,000	38,800,000	− 25,800,000
Machines	290,500,000	500,400,000	+209,900,000
Coarse ironware	139,500,000	165,300,000	+ 25,800,000
Coal-tar dyes	100,700,000	125,800,000	+ 25,100,000
Iron wire	39,600,000	59,500,000	+ 19,900,000
Steel rails	34,100,000	54,800,000	+ 20,700,000
Raw iron	20,100,000	45,000,000	+ 24,900,000
All exports	5,841,800,000	7,474,700,000	+1,632,900,000

Germany's exports have risen very greatly between 1905 and 1910. Apart from machinery the increases have been particularly great in coarser manufactures, such as raw iron, coarse ironware, steel rails, &c., in which the labour cost is proportionally small. On the other hand, there have been during the same time very considerable decreases in the exports of cotton and woollen goods, clothing, fine ironware, gold and silverware, books, colour prints, porcelain, &c., in all of which the cost of labour is proportionately great. Through the increase in the cost of labour, which is largely due to the indirect effect of high taxation, and owing to the direct taxation put upon the manufacturers, many German industries have been, and are being, transferred to Austria-Hungary, Holland, Belgium, Great Britain, &c., where wages or taxation, or both, are lower. The report of the Berlin Chamber of Commerce of 1909 complained that the ready-made clothes trade was leaving Berlin for London 'because wages are lower in London than in Berlin.' The reports of the British Consul in Frankfurt of 1908 and 1909 pointed out that German industries were being transferred to Great Britain in order to profit from the lower wages in this country.

During the last twenty years the German system of State insurance has been so often and so very greatly extended that its yearly cash cost exceeds at present 50,000,000*l.* per year, a sum almost as large as that expended on the German Army and Navy combined. That gigantic yearly expenditure acts as a severe tax upon industry. According to Steller's *Erhöhung der Gestehungs-*

kosten der Deutschen Industrien durch die sozialen Lasten the burden of State insurance per worker has increased in the case of the Köln-Nippes Cable Works from M.24.50 per head in 1900 to M.40.45 per head in 1910. In the Westphälische Drahtindustrie, Hamm, it has increased from M.23.72 per head in 1900 to M.44.87 per head in 1910. In the mine Gutehoffnung, Oberhausen, it has increased from M.41.75 per head in 1898 to M.91.89 per head in 1910. Germany's social policy is apparently beginning to have a restricting effect upon industry, and complaints about its burden are becoming loud and general.

The fact that German industry is no longer progressing as rapidly as it used to, and that it is apparently approaching the point where stagnation begins, is particularly noticeable in the shipbuilding and shipping industries. Here we find the following:

Iron and Steel Shipping Built in Germany

In 1890	100,597 tons
In 1900	235,171 tons
In 1910	253,613 tons

Between 1890 and 1900 the German shipbuilding industry expanded very greatly. Since 1900 it has expanded very little, and the shipbuilders are complaining loudly. If we now look at Germany's Merchant Marine we find that it has progressed as follows:

Tonnage of German Steamships

	Tons		Tons
In 1896	879,939	In 1908	2,256,783
In 1908	2,256,783	In 1911	2,396,733
Increase for period	1,376,844	Increase for period	139,950
Increase per year	114,500	Increase per year	47,000

Here we find again that the rapid progress of former years is no longer maintained, but has been replaced by a state resembling stagnation.

In Bismarck's time the German tariffs were simple, and they were made in accordance with national needs. They were just to all classes. Now they are made to suit the Government's parliamentary requirements, and they are largely shaped by party pressure. Moreover, the new German tariff is far too elaborate for practical purposes. Germany's industrial prosperity, which was created by Bismarck's wise fostering care, and especially by his tariff policy, is in danger of being destroyed by unintelligent Government action. Already great harm has been done to the national industries. In Germany's economic policy the absence of a guiding hand is as noticeable as it is in her foreign policy and in her military policy.

The absence of statesmanship and of common foresight into economic matters is particularly noticeable in the case of the

German Savings Banks. In these the enormous sum of 900,000,000*l.* is deposited, an amount four times as large as that in the British Post Office and Trustee Savings Banks combined; and these gigantic deposits are growing at the rate of 50,000,000*l.* per year, whilst the British Savings Banks deposits grow only by 5,500,000*l.* per year. The German Savings Banks are purely local institutions. Of their funds only about 10 per cent. are invested in the securities of the Empire and of the various States, 15 per cent. are invested in loans and Stock Exchange securities, which are not easily realisable, and no less than 75 per cent. are invested in urban and rural mortgages. The German Savings Banks deposits are repayable at short notice. Yet nearly the whole of their funds is tied up. Behind the British Savings Banks stands the Government. Their funds are invested exclusively in Government Stock. Therefore the British Savings Banks deposits can easily, and unconditionally, be guaranteed by the State, and the depositors can, in case of need, be paid in Consols. But as the German Savings Banks are run by the local authorities, towns, villages, &c., the State cannot very easily guarantee their solvency, and as they have no common financial reservoir from which they can replenish their funds in time of pressure, a great war might, and probably would, lead to the failure, or to the stoppage, of all, or nearly all, the German Savings Banks. Owing to the insecure position of the Savings Banks a war might cause in Germany by far the greatest financial catastrophe which the world has seen. Yet the Government has done nothing to provide against such a contingency.

German taxation, like the German tariff, suffers from over-elaboration in all its branches. In the desire to treat everyone with absolute justice and to prevent fraud, the various taxes are so finely graduated and differentiated, and so many hairsplitting regulations and safeguards have been devised, that their collection requires an enormous army of officials, and the cost of collection stands out of all proportion to the money produced, to the harm of the taxpayers. The fundamental principal of taxation, that the cost of collection should be small in proportion to the produce of the tax, has been forgotten. Here, as in other provinces of Government, the absence of statesmanship and the prominence of the underling are painfully apparent.

Germany, which used to be the best governed, is now merely the most governed, country in the world, and the defects of the Government in all its branches have created general dissatisfaction. Of that dissatisfaction the rapid growth of the Social Democratic party is the most noteworthy symptom. William the Second came to the throne in 1888. There was a General Election

in 1887, and since then the Social Democratic party has grown as follows:

Social Democratic Votes Polled at General Elections

In 1887	763,100
In 1890	1,427,300
In 1893	1,786,700
In 1898	2,107,076
In 1903	3,010,771
In 1907	3,259,000
In 1912	4,250,919

During the Emperor's reign the Social Democratic party has grown in the most extraordinary manner. In 1887 there were eleven Social Democratic members in the Reichstag. Now there are 110 members out of a total of 397.

More than a full third of all the German electors voted in 1912 for Social Democratic candidates. As the Social Democratic party had in 1911 only 837,000 members, of whom 108,000 were women, only 729,000 of the Social Democratic voters were avowed Socialists. The remaining 3,500,000 voters consisted very largely not only of independent working-men, but of men of all classes of society—bankers, merchants, shopkeepers, professional men, and especially Government servants, such as postmen, railwaymen, &c.; and these voted Socialist in order to register a protest against the Government. The 4,250,919 Social Democratic votes recorded in 1912 do not show that Socialism is widespread in Germany but that dissatisfaction with the Government is widespread. The people are dissatisfied, not because they are poor—a nation whose workers place every year 50,000,000*l.* in the Savings Banks is not poor—but because they have become impatient with the failure and mismanagement which have become characteristic of the German Government in all its activities. Governmental absolutism is tolerable only as long as it is successful.

The German people have scarcely any influence over the national legislation and administration because the officials are not responsible to Parliament. Although Germany possesses the most democratic franchise in the world, manhood franchise, and although plural voting is illegal, Parliament is powerless. The German people are tired of being governed 'from above' by an army of officials. They are tired of being tricked with the semblance of democratic institutions and of a democratic franchise. They wish to govern themselves. A conflict is bound to arise earlier or later between the German bureaucracy and the German democracy. It may arise very soon, and the result will show whether the people are fit for self-government.

The characteristic of Bismarckian Germany was efficiency coupled with frugality. William the First hated pomp and osten-

ation. He refused, for instance, to have gas and electric light installed in his palaces. In front of his plain wooden bed in Babelsberg was a carpet which had been knitted by his daughter, the Grand Duchess of Baden, and a simple wooden chair which had been made by his son, Frederick the Third. His example was followed by the German people. William the Second has preached frugality to his officers, but an area of luxury and waste has been introduced notwithstanding. The old Prussian virtues have disappeared. Riotous living prevails in Germany. Berlin has become the most immoral town in Europe. No less than 20 per cent. of the children born in Berlin are illegitimate. Hundreds of shady restaurants and cafés in which music and dancing takes place are permitted to remain open until four o'clock in the morning or all night long, and most Berliners are proud of the night life of their town, which puts that of Paris in the shade. An unnameable vice, which the French call *le vice allemand*, has permeated the highest military and social circles, as was seen at the Eulenburg Trial. Vice is paraded openly and shamelessly. The German police, which is always ready to interfere vigorously with political meetings, makes no attempt to interfere with the evil. The German Government sees apparently no reason for suppressing it. The old idealism of Germany has given way to a coarse materialism. Religious sentiment is disappearing.

The foregoing should suffice to show that Germany is politically, militarily, economically, administratively, and morally on the down grade. But it would be rash to conclude from the evidence furnished that Germany will continue declining, although she will very probably experience difficult times. Germany, being a one-man country, shows evidences of decline because she lacks the man whom she requires, and she will go ahead again as soon as she has a man who is able to control her gigantic Government machine. But will she find such a man? Many patriotic Germans doubt it. Therefore, some of them, remembering the invigorating effect of Prussia's defeat in 1806, actually wish for a disastrous war in the hope that it will re-create and rejuvenate the country. Others hope that the abolition of absolutistic and the introduction of parliamentary government will save Germany. The latter, therefore, welcome the growth of the Social Democratic party, and they would gladly see the outbreak of a conflict between Parliament and the Crown, even if it should lead to a civil war or the establishment of a republic. Among the leaders of German thought, deep pessimism and the fear of national disaster prevails widely. I have endeavoured to express their views in the foregoing pages.

J. Ellis Barker.

CABLES VERSUS *WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY*

THE so-called 'shrinkage of the earth' due to telegraphy has at all times a fascination for Imperially minded people; and it can certainly be claimed that the electric telegraph has done more than any other invention to promote unity and a better understanding between the different branches of a far-reaching Empire like ours.

Both cable and wireless telegraphy have, however, been peculiarly in the public eye of late. This is partly due to the continued agitation for an Imperial Atlantic Cable. It is, further, explained by the fact that the Government has (*a*) refused to be party to the proposed State Atlantic Cable and land-line connexion with the All-British Pacific Cable; and, on the other hand, (*b*) has announced its intention to take up a big scheme for establishing an inter-Imperial system of wireless telegraphy to the East and Far East. These decisions were brought out very clearly in the course of a debate in the House of Commons on the 2nd of April.

On the above account, presumably, there has been great activity in both cable and wireless (Marconi) stocks. As is usually the case, public imagination has been carried away on altogether insufficient grounds. Thus, certain ('Eastern' and 'Eastern Extension' Companies') cable shares have fallen 7½ points in 100*l*., whilst quite an unwarranted 'gamble' has been proceeding in the holdings of the Marconi Company.

Another feature which has naturally aroused interest, and which may have had something to do with the recent traffic in telegraph stock, relates to cable tariffs. For a quarter of a century—year in and year out—I have urged: (1) That the Government should stipulate for tariff control in return for granting, or renewing, cable licences; (2) That a system of half-rates for messages deferred for twenty-hour hours should be introduced—partly with a view to turning the cable to better account during the more or less idle hours of the night, etc., but also as a service intermediate between the essentially speedy, yet expensive, urgent cablegram and the ordinary mail to distant

ands.[1] Both of these suggested reforms have now been taken ip by an eminently able and active Postmaster-General: in fact, ialf-rates for deferred messages came into operation throughout he British Empire on the first day of the present year, whilst pecial provision has been added in the interests of the Imperial Press, whose cause has been warmly espoused by the Empire Press Union. Whether these innovations in the cable tariff have really had anything to do with the Stock Exchange activity in able and wireless stock it is not, however, easy to say.

Imperial Wireless Scheme

Superior telegraphic facilities with the rest of the Empire are evidently recognised by the present Government as worthy of realisation. Indeed, both the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer have several times expressed themselves as highly favourable to cable communication as an alternative to Imperial Preference. It would seem, however, as though something, or somebody, has meanwhile convinced those in power that wireless telegraphy is a superior weapon to cables.

The nature and scope of the Imperial wireless scheme have already been described so often and fully in the newspapers that it is scarcely necessary to set it forth here. The Colonial Secretary (Mr. Harcourt) has referred to it as 'covering three-quarters of the world'; and, as his authority is irrefutable, that will well serve our purpose. It may, however, be added that one of the Marconi Company's circulars speaks of it as 'for the purpose of conducting a commercial telegraph service.'

The scheme has to come before Parliament for ratification; and the two important questions for consideration in this connexion will naturally be that of value on the one hand, and cost on the other. In opposing the project for a State Atlantic cable, the Postmaster-General (Mr. Samuel) said: 'In view of the fact that wireless telegraphy is making great progress, and undoubtedly has a great future, it would be in the highest degree ill-advised to press on the Government so large a capital expenditure.'[2] Yet the Imperial wireless scheme will in the end admittedly cost substantially more. If, however, it can be shown to be of greater value to the country, no fault can be found with this line of argument, though—as has been remarked by Mr. Page Croft in the House of Commons—we do not give

[1] I have never, however, favoured that which seems to be especially attractive to the lay newspapers, though not actually adopted by the authorities—*i.e.* the much talked of, but inexpert, proposal for 1*d.* a word throughout the entire world: firstly, because I am no believer in advocating things that do not appear to be practicable; and, secondly, because I am a firm advocate for a preferential [illegible]

up building Dreadnoughts on the score of the development of aerial navigation. The ground covered by the Imperial wireless scheme is, of course, greater than that by the proposed transatlantic line; but it has to be remembered that the need for the latter has become accentuated by the circumstance that all our cable communication with Canada—affecting the whole of the Empire—is now under the control of two American companies. Moreover, the Imperial wireless scheme will be in competition with a cable system (providing an excellent, if costly, service) of a British Company, whereas the projected Atlantic cable would be in competition with foreign interests only.

Then, again, the Postmaster-General's main objection to the Atlantic line appears to have been that it would not be self-supporting. This he was very clear and definite about. Yet in regard to the Imperial wireless project—which, on the other hand, he referred to as 'a perfectly practicable scheme'—he contents himself with the statement that this will be 'not unremunerative to the Governments concerned'—without giving any particulars to support that view. It may, therefore, be pertinently but respectfully inquired, on what are the estimates of traffic for the wireless scheme based? The only commercial system of wireless telegraphy so far established is that of the Marconi Company across the Atlantic. Has this, as yet, shown signs of being a subject of profit? If so, how is it that the Government did not purchase the long-distance stations on each side (seeing that these are on British territory) when taking over the English coast stations? Then, again, if the traffic on the Marconi transatlantic system were at all material, it might naturally be expected that the transatlantic cable traffic would have been affected thereby. There are, however, no signs of this; on the contrary, the traffic has considerably increased during the period since the wireless service was established. Were it otherwise, there can be little doubt that cable rates would have been reduced to the same figure as the wireless tariff—or at any rate to something lower than that at which they have stood for the last twenty-four years.

Yet if adequate value is obtained for any expenditure which may fall on the general taxpayer, no fault, in my opinion, can be reasonably found.

The advisers to the Government seem highly optimistic in regard to the future effect of wireless telegraphy 'for linking up the Empire by rapid and economical transmission of news.' Let us hope that this optimism may be justified by practical results. It is now some years since I recommended just such a scheme—not, however, as a substitute for the Imperial cable project. In addition to non-urgent, purely personal, messages,

am especially in favour of 'wireless' where it is desired to sseminate information, or news, to as wide an audience as ssible—for, say, Imperial Press purposes. Thus it would also of considerable value sometimes for leading an enemy astray. ie fact that the system is comparatively ill-adapted to code ork would often be immaterial, for even cipher codes are rly readily deciphered, as was evidenced only recently when uble was brewing between this country and Germany.

The objections to the particular proposal now before the blic are: (a) that the route involves a wireless range associated th the heart of the European continent, which means that our messages—possibly of an important State nature—will open to interruption and eavesdropping at the hands of eign countries; (b) that most of the stations will be situated the tropics, where wireless working is notoriously unsatisfac- y; and (c) that the amount of relay and retransmission work ll be considerable, involving substantial time and material ope for errors.

Although it clearly redounds to the credit of the Government at it proposes to promote an industry whilst still in course development, it may be doubted whether, when public money required, the State is justified in adopting a comparatively tried method of achieving a given result. It would seem me to rest with the Government first to prove that the results the newer method, value for value, are superior—or at any e equally good; and one question that may well be asked is: ias wireless telegraphy already proved itself to be sufficiently isfactory, as compared with telegraphy by cable, to warrant big inter-Imperial wireless scheme (out of public funds) in eference to a State telegraph system based on fifty years' al and experience?' The recent wireless work at the seat war near Tripoli does not seem to bear out the implied periority of 'wireless' even for strategic purposes. On the itrary, only a small proportion of the messages from that arter since the outbreak have come by 'wireless' as compared th those by cable. Moreover, though in the very heart of 'ireless' interests, two more cables have just been ordered for t vicinity by the Italian Government.

Monopoly and 'Write-Ups'

This 'chain of wireless stations' is apparently to be entirely one system, the company concerned having alone the oppor- iity of equipment. The term of the agreement is twenty- 'ht years, whilst the earliest period at which it can be termi- ted is eighteen years.

There are manifest objections to lengthy agreements of this

sort—amounting to a monopoly in favour of one particular system—equally so whether cables or 'wireless' is concerned. The policy foreshadowed here appears to me, indeed, to constitute a distinct reversal of the altogether admirable policy of the same Government in the year 1907 regarding the International Radio-Telegraphic Convention. I refer to the policy of 'equality of opportunity' which I had the pleasure of strenuously advocating (for British systems generally) when giving independent evidence to the House of Commons Committee dealing with the subject. From the public standpoint there would have been the advantages of competition and comparison had the contract been split up among at any rate two vested interests.[3]

Moreover, there appears to be no provision in the agreement (though that is usual) to meet the contingency of an improved method being meanwhile devised by a rival inventor.

We live in an age of American 'Publicity Departments' for dealing with subjects in the literary columns of newspapers in place of the ordinary, straightforward advertisement. Many newspapers in this country have of late been well provided with such material in regard to this Imperial wireless scheme—often more or less in the same words. This 'booming' of 'wireless' has, indeed, seldom lacked extravagance at any time, and now shows signs of no diminution in outlay.[4]

In a recent article I read:

> Submarine cables may be cut, as has just happened through the action of the Italian fleet in the Mediterranean, but the wireless service is immune from interruptions of this kind. It is also free from those weather disturbances which have such disastrous effects on overhead wires.

Shallow-water cables are, of course, cut in time of war, and always will be. For this reason I have constantly argued in favour of deep-water cables in the open ocean, far removed from foreign waters and from trade routes such as the Mediterranean Sea; and it is on these grounds that I regard the Pacific route (approached from here by the Atlantic) so important for our communications with the rest of the Empire. Certainly wire-

[3] It cannot be suggested that the Marconi Company have any sole right in the matter; for, as already mentioned, I myself several years ago put forward such a scheme of Imperial wireless telegraphy—mainly for the simultaneous circulation of news throughout the Empire—as an auxiliary to the proposed All-British cable-chain.

[4] The fertile imagination of the journalist has been hard at work lately. Thus, it becomes second nature to a man who builds up a great superstructure in sensational head-lines to describe in much detail how the closing piece played by the band on the sinking *Titanic* was 'Nearer, my God, to Thee.' We may next expect a head-line census of those who still find time, even under normally comfortable conditions, to say their prayers and go to church.

ias antennae are not regarded by the enemy as a cable to be ut, but rather as something that forms a ready target for hooting down from a distance. The closing words of the above aragraph read very strangely immediately after one of the princi- al wireless towers has been completely swept away by a gale.[a]

The writer goes on to remark: 'A good deal has been said and ritten about lack of speed on the part of wireless messages. As matter of fact, however, as many words—about thirty per ninute—can be sent by the wireless agencies as by submarine ables, and the speed of the former is rapidly improving.'

The truth is that thirty words per minute is about the maximum peed by hand transmission, but long and busy cables—such as hose across the Atlantic—are worked automatically at a speed of ome fifty words a minute each way simultaneously, amounting ractically in effect to 100 words per minute. Further, if traffic onditions warranted it, by means of a larger insulated conductor r higher speeds could be achieved—more or less closely approach- ig that on a land line.

Thus, wireless 'flashing'—as the wireless 'write-ups' usually ke to express it—is, comparatively speaking, often rather a onderous flashing; but so insistent has been the booming of wire- ss telegraphy lately at the expense of cables that the ordinary ublic might well imagine the latter were things of the past. A sit to a large cable-factory would, however, usually serve to orrect that false impression.

Cable and Wireless Advantages and Disadvantages

We have now arrived at a stage when we may dispassionately view the respective merits and demerits of cable and wireless legraphy, that being, indeed, the main purpose of this article.

Sureness.—The Postmaster-General was at some pains to oint to the prospects of the proposed Atlantic cable being inter- ipted. On the other hand, he did not appear correspondingly to ontemplate the possibility of interruption to the Imperial wireless stem; and it may, perhaps, be asked whether 'wireless' has hown itself to be less prone to interruption than cables.[b] urther, when interrupted, is a wireless telegraphy system more eedily reinstated than a cable? So far as can be seen the reply likely to be in the negative in both respects; for, quite recently s was remarked earlier), the wireless station at Nauen collapsed

[a] The degree of knowledge of the writer may be gathered from the sentence, A submarine cable cannot be laid over any great distance for less than half a illion sterling.' Apparently the author imagines there is merely an indirect nnection in the cost of a cable with its construction, and that the question of igth is only roughly connected with this cost.

[b] The All-British Pacific Cable has only had one brief interruption, and that

during a gale at a cost of tens of thousands of pounds; and it has already been officially announced that the said station will not be again available for work for at least six months. Moreover, it took upwards of a year to reinstate the Marconi transatlantic station at Glace Bay.[7] On the other hand, the repair of a cable occupies more usually something in the neighbourhood of a fortnight, while its behaviour is at any rate independent of gales.

From the strictly strategic point of view any system of wireless telegraphy should obviously have certain advantages over a cable. These advantages have, at first sight, naturally appealed to the Navy, for by 'wireless' the Admiralty is put into possession of a means of direct and speedy communication with outlying fleets—*i.e.* with the ships themselves instead of with the cable station in their more or less immediate vicinity. This, however, is on the supposition of reliability; and before altogether settling which is likely to be the more valuable in time of trouble, it will be well to consider closely (*a*) which is the more vulnerable to attack, and (*b*) which is the more readily, or seriously, affected by weather and atmospheric conditions.

Secrecy.—As in the case of a letter conveyed by a third party, one of the requirements of telegraphic communication is secrecy. In this respect the cable obviously has the advantage. To illustrate the difference, indeed, I would remark on the constant reminders I receive that if the order of the two inventions had been reversed, the cable would have been regarded in the same wonderful light as that in which we all regard 'wireless'—coming as a boon, in fact, for confining the path of our messages direct to the individuals for whom they are intended. For purposes of analogy—but without straining the point too far—the protected (secret) message may be likened to Protection, while the free and open character of wireless telegraphy may be considered as corresponding to Free Trade. It is sometimes suggested that the use of a secret code meets all objections under this head; but, as I have already stated, the secrecy provided by codes cannot suitably be relied upon; moreover, in my opinion, 'wireless' has not so far reached a sufficient degree of efficiency to render it adapted to code work. I should add, however, that we can only consider things as they are to-day; and whether what I have stated will equally apply in the future is, needless to say, another question entirely.

Meanwhile, the adoption of different wave-lengths—even if it met the requirements of secrecy—would seem to have certain limitations. If, in fact, wireless telegraphy is to be enormously extended, with stations at constant intervals round our coasts, difficulties seem likely to arise.

[7] There are devices for obviating the necessity of high masts or towers, but these do not appear to have been turned to material practical account so far.

Speed.—The cable is certainly at an advantage in the matter working speed, though that with 'wireless' has all along been gradually increasing figure—as with the cable. The above marks have relation to what may be termed the gross speed; at those of us who are concerned with observing what is going in 'wireless' as with cables, know the vast difference in the o services on account of the numerous repetitions found cessary in 'wireless'—even in plain-language messages.

Accuracy.—Here, again, at the present time the cable is a great advantage.

Disturbance and Interruption.—It is not an easy or a speedy atter to tap or cut a cable—or interrupt a message passing rough it—if the said cable is laid in deep water. On the other and, to disturb or interrupt or pick up a wireless message is a omparatively simple business: indeed, practically all the 'wiress' that is carried on may be said to be under unofficial obsertion daily. Thus, when it has been boasted that 'wireless' is secret method of telegraphy, the opposite has been proved. foreover, when it has been boasted that 'wireless' cannot be nterrupted, that has been disproved. This was notably the case uring a famous lecture on wireless telegraphy of some years go, when the word 'RATS' came through on the receiving nstrument (sent by an interrupter, who was forthwith termed a scientific hooligan') in place of the message that should have een received!

Another objection to 'wireless' as distinct from cable teleraphy rests in the fact that anyone having the requisite nowledge and facilities is in a position to send out messages ithout their source being readily detected—as was recently e case in the original false reports regarding the *Titanic*. It nay be added, in passing, that the 'wireless' experiences conected with the *Titanic* tragedy, though certainly serving again remind us of the great benefits of wireless telegraphy, have ot altogether tended to greater confidence in that method of ommunication as compared with cable telegraphy.

The *Titanic* was surrounded by several ships, all within a nore or less ordinary 'wireless' range; yet only some of these ere in communication with that unfortunate vessel. Why was nis? The answer is: (*a*) that some were not in any way quipped with 'wireless' apparatus; (*b*) that the power available n others was insufficient; (*c*) that in other cases the operator was f duty and without any understudy to look out for the very imple distress signal; (*d*) that in some instances, the installation eing on a different system, communication was denied. If a ertain tramp-steamer, close by, had had a wireless equipment

1635 souls—would have been spared us instead of 705. This, however, is on the supposition of there being no difficulty about, or objection to, intercommunication.

Those that were saved certainly owe their lives to wireless telegraphy and the Marconi Company in particular. On the other hand, it will be perfectly obvious to anyone who has followed up the matter closely that maritime wireless telegraphy, as an orderly and reliable service, compares, at present, very poorly with the service afforded by a cable. At the present time, what messages shall be sent or received appears to rest with the operator, independently of what is possible or of the captain's instructions. Seeing, too, that there is usually only one man on board who is conversant with the apparatus, it also depends upon whether he happens to be on duty or otherwise. As things stand at the moment, it is open to this operator to turn to personal account—with the Press or otherwise— anything in the way of news or information that he gleans during the working of his instrument. Again, there is evidence of considerable delay and interruption—and, indeed, interception of—messages. For instance, a 'Marconigram' sent by Mr. Bruce Ismay on the *Carpathia* was intercepted by the United States cruiser *Chester*, the contents being communicated to headquarters at Washington. Further, in the matter of delay, the same gentleman sent a wireless message from the said ship on the 15th of April which was only received in Canada on the 17th of April.[8] At other times there has been evidence of a perfect Babel of wireless telegraphy; and, altogether, a cable service worked under such conditions as the above would, I think, call for a good deal of comment. It is to be hoped, indeed, that wireless communication between ships, and between ship and shore, will be got under more satisfactory control and regulations in the general public interest, if it is to be of full value for saving life and property at sea. Possibly the *Titanic* Inquiry and the forthcoming International Telegraphic Conference may serve to bring this about. I trust so; for it is now some time since I urged on the Board of Trade that wireless telegraphy should be rendered obligatory for ships, under regulations that would certainly have obviated the sad experiences of this ill-fated vessel. To my mind, it is preposterous that one wireless system, though perfectly capable of communicating with another, should be in a position to refuse to do so; and certainly a continuous watch should be provided, subject to the Captain's direct control. 'Wireless' on board ship should, indeed, be recognised and regulated for with a view to the

[8] Major Archer-Shee recently asked a question in the House of Commons in regard to these irregularities, whereupon the Postmaster-General frankly admitted that certain confusion had arisen.

safety of every vessel plying the ocean—rather than merely in the interest of any particular ship—and a common fund provided accordingly.

COMPARISON OF CABLE AND WIRELESS SERVICES IN PRACTICE

One of many recent newspaper reports spoke of 'a wireless message between London and New York 'occupying on the average a few minutes less than two hours,' and added: 'This compares not at all unfavourably with the average time occupied in transmitting ordinary cable messages.' The truth is, however, that, in the usual way, a cablegram is sent between these points well within twenty minutes, whilst a Stock Exchange cable message is sent *and a reply received* within three minutes.

The Marconi Company has achieved much and deserves hearty congratulations and support. Yet the Post Office have not, so far, greatly encouraged wireless telegraphy for transatlantic purposes, notwithstanding the apparent preference of the Government for 'wireless' on the larger (inter-Imperial) scale. On the 5th of April I endeavoured to send a 'Marconigram' from a post office in London. This involved much consultation of the *Post Office Guide* by the clerk behind the counter. That great work proved, however, to be unequal to the occasion, for next day a telegraph-boy left a verbal message stating that the 'Marconigram' could not be sent. A call was, thereupon, made at the neighbouring district post office—to which I had been referred—and the information elicited was to the effect that the money collected from me was insufficient, partly because the charge was at too low a rate, and also because the 'routeing' instruction, 'Via Expanse, Dublin,' was necessary, and for this I, rather than the Company, must pay. Understanding that the money which had been remitted for the original message would be refunded to me by the sub-office from which the original 'Marconigram' had been sent, I then paid for a fresh message, the charge for two words, in addition to the telegraphic address, being 6*s*. 8*d*., instead of 7*s*. by cable (or 3*s*. 6*d*. deferred rate); so that there did not appear to be much economy in it—and certainly not, value for value, when the services are compared.

I was subsequently informed that it would be necessary to apply in writing to the General Post Office if I wished to have the charge of the original 'Marconigram' refunded; and that I must state all the particulars—even though it was through no fault of mine that the message was not sent. It is more than a month since these instructions were complied with, but up to the present only the usual printed acknowledgment has reached me!

Other Wireless Systems

The foregoing remarks have relation to the Marconi system, that being the only method with which the Government appears to be dealing as regards the Imperial wireless project, whilst it is also the only one with anything in the nature of a commercial service from our shores.

So far, notwithstanding the 1907 Radio-Telegraphic Inquiry, small encouragement appears to have been meted out to any rival system. It may be urged that other methods have been under official test, but that these are not as yet 'on the market' in a commercial sense. But without some definite encouragement in the direction of a contract it is, of course, very difficult for a private enterprise to make headway against anything in the nature of a monopoly. Those of us who are concerned with wireless telegraphy in a strictly impartial sense know that there is at least one system that is doing splendid work with undamped waves. By automatic transmission, this system has attained speeds over long ranges that compare most favourably with what has, as yet, been secured on a cable—and this, too, with excellent recorded signals.[*] It should, however, be added that, though admirably adapted to long-distance, high-speed, shore-to-shore communication, it does not appear to be well suited for installation on board ships, or for general intercommunication with other systems.

Possibly these objections would be stated as the reason why this system has not been accorded an opening over the Imperial scheme. Yet these grounds do not appear to be altogether sufficient explanation for the agreement arrived at solely with one company in regard to this far-reaching and obviously costly project. It has to be remembered that by the system referred to the necessity for relay work would be obviated. Another possible defence for the agreement would be on the score of the recent litigation in wireless telegraphy over which the Marconi Company has come out very successfully; and certainly in acquiring the Lodge-Muirhead system (with its 'receiver') the said Company has placed itself in a very strong position. But be that as it may, all agreements of this nature are invariably made to provide for litigation contingencies.

Government Inquiry

It would seem to me that the Government might suitably justify itself for the expenditure of public money solely on one particular system of wireless telegraphy in preference to the

[*] One advantage in the signals being recorded is that improper messages for dishonest purposes are thereby to a great extent obviated and are also more likely to be traced.

constantly urged Imperial Atlantic cable scheme; and that, to this end, an absolutely independent Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire into the relative merits (under the principal heads) of all existing methods of communication. Such a course would, indeed, be following on the lines of the Royal Commission of 1861 for inquiry into the best form of construction for a submarine telegraph cable—the labours of which served so eminently useful a purpose. If, as the result of such an inquiry, it can be shown that shrewd business-people are foolish in going on investing in cables—aye, and keeping their money in cables—those concerned may just as well know it, and the sooner the better.

Another inquiry that might usefully be made for confirming, or otherwise, the recently adopted Government policy, would be as to whether the Imperial wireless scheme—competing with British private enterprise and an excellent service—was more required than the previously proposed All-British link with Canada. If the answer happened to be in the negative, whether this latter link should be by cable or 'wireless' would depend upon the result of the other suggested inquiry. In any case it should be remembered that—so far as a second string goes—this is already available in the Marconi transatlantic service.

Colonial and Foreign Views

The views of the Government in regard to effective telegraphic communication do not appear to be shared either by the Colonies (which continue to press for the All-British line) or by our neighbours. If wireless telegraphy is more effective than the cable, how comes it that the Canada-West Indies Royal Commission of 1910 urged for the latter rather than 'wireless' for connecting up Bermuda with Barbados, Trinidad and British Guiana, even though expert wireless evidence was taken, and even though the cable was agreed to be more costly? The Commission only recommended 'wireless' for the purpose of connecting some of the other, less important, West Indian Islands, where the sea-bottom is eminently unfavourable for cables. The Home Government showed a disinclination to follow up these recommendations in the matter of cables, whereupon the Ottawa Conference of last month have now strongly confirmed them in the face of the Home Government's suggestion for wireless telegraphy.

And how do foreign countries act? Germany, France, and Italy all possess admirable wireless systems; yet all these countries, recognising the importance of being independent of our cable system, have established one of their own, and are con-

German Government subscribes annually to two Atlantic cables no less than 85,000*l.*, and a further 75,000*l.* towards the German-Dutch cables to the East. Our American cousins, too, can hardly be said to lack in enterprise or appreciation of what the latest inventions can do for them; and the Western Union Telegraph Company of New York would scarcely have indulged in a new Atlantic cable, and practically bought out five British lines, if it had thought 'wireless' would prove more efficient in the end.

It will, of course, be generally admitted that competition by means of an inferior article is scarcely satisfactory, even though the terms may be more favourable; and it is to the credit of the Government that it presumably thinks to 'knock out' other countries in this matter; but *will* it?

INDEPENDENT CONCLUSIONS

It must always be borne in mind that development cannot be reserved for either industry alone; and, though people seem to imagine that cable development is standing still, the reverse is very much the case, both technically and in a business way, the result being that the network of cables goes on increasing steadily from year to year—as much as ever; and, judging by recent events, there is no sign of any change in this respect.

For long-range shore work it would seem that the typical 'wireless' future lies before us primarily in the use of persistent oscillations, preferably generated by mechanical rather than physical means. Here we ensure securing all the advantages associated with the use of undamped oscillations—provided the mechanical problems associated with such a machine are capable of solution—without the objections attached to a more or less unstable arc. Such a system would not, however, adapt itself to ordinary maritime purposes.

Dealing with facts as they are to-day, my own view is that cable and wireless telegraphy each has its independent uses. Whilst we require more cables, I am also in favour of wireless telegraphy as an auxiliary service. I would, indeed, supplement every inter-Imperial cable by some wireless system, thereby affording a convenient test for the relative merits of cables and of different wireless systems.

Meantime, the Mother Country may any day be put to shame by our Dominions beyond the Seas—or by some Imperially minded individual—producing the necessary half-million capital to remedy our present position in regard to telegraphic communication with Canada and the All-British Pacific line to Australasia.

CHARLES BRIGHT.

WELSH DISESTABLISHMENT

(I)

SOME AUSTRALIAN EXPERIENCES OF THE ORGANISATION OF A DISESTABLISHED CHURCH

A SPEAKER during the debate preceding the second reading of the 'Established Church (Wales) Bill' said that the right honourable gentleman in charge of the Bill was 'not giving to the Church in Wales the freedom he intended to give. What the Home Secretary was trying to do was to found a new Church.'

It is obviously a much more difficult thing to uproot an organism which is the oldest in a country than it is to plant a cutting from that organism in new conditions in a new land. But some information as to the organisation of an unestablished Church in the Empire may not be without interest and usefulness ere the details of the Bill come before the Committee of the House. Australia, as I have often ventured to say, is a 'testing shop' for social, political and ecclesiastical experiments. Almost as much can be learned from our failures as from our successes. And I may add that, in venturing to give some information upon this subject, I do not hold any brief either for the Government or for the Opposition. I am simply setting down the result of my observation, and my conclusions after sixteen years' work in Australia.

CONNEXION WITH THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH

Taking it for granted that the Government intends to give freedom to the Church in Wales, it is by no means certain that the Bill in its present form will realise such good intentions. The crucial point is not the attitude that the State proposes to take towards the Welsh Church. That is indicated by Clause 3 of the Bill. It is the conditions upon which the Welsh Church *after disestablishment* will hold its property. 'Established by law' is a popular phrase, but, like many other popular phrases, it is not easy to define. It is still more difficult to reduce within terms of law an institution not originally called into existence by statute. And the connexion between such an institution and the State, with which for very many centuries it has been identified, is still more difficult wholly to disannul. For instance, the Bill contains no

schedule of Acts repealed. It will be important to forecast accurately how a court would interpret an Act framed without such repealing clause. Again, how would a court interpret the franchise question raised in Clause 13 providing for the constitution of a representative body? These criticisms are not intended to be full. They are simply intended to illustrate the need for settling what will be the exact legal position of the Church in Wales in the case of disestablishment. The point has been raised by an acute Welsh correspondent of *The Times*, who writes:

> The attempt . . . to reduce a National Church to the level of a voluntary association . . . has resulted . . . in a half measure which would shatter the oldest organism in Wales . . . without endowing it with the independence which is held to be one of the blessings of disestablishment.

Australian experience here shows the unwisdom of trusting too much to good intentions. The English State, at least for forty years, has made no claim to any ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the British Colonies. The courts have declared that the 'law of the Church does not follow the law of the flag.' The English Church has told us that we shall render our best contribution to the Church Catholic by growing freely in our own environments. And in Australia until last year it was generally thought that the Church was quite free. In this conviction the Church organised itself as completely, although perhaps not as efficiently, as possible. Serious doubts as to the reality of that freedom, however, were expressed from time to time, and consequently the General Synod, at their 1910 session, sought legal advice in England. It is now common knowledge, although it is not officially announced, that the General Synod Committee have been advised that the Anglican Churches in Australia and Tasmania are all tied up in such a fashion that, although they are free in the eyes of both the English and Australian States, they are legally (in the eyes of the courts) subject to the same laws as are binding on the Church of England. The authorities of the Church are not competent to permit the use of any services not provided by the Book of Common Prayer which an English Bishop cannot lawfully permit in his diocese in England. The Australian courts must regard as binding, in matters respecting the proper use of property, the decision of English courts. And any persons in possession of Australian Church property disregarding such decisions must be regarded as guilty of a breach of trust, and be dealt with accordingly. This surprising state of affairs obviously is a serious weakness to the Australian Church. It is safe to say that it was not contemplated by those who framed the organisations of the Church there. A simple method of putting the position right undoubtedly can be found, but until the matter is put right all Church organisation in Australia is in an exceedingly

unsound condition. It is necessary to understand this state of affairs to obviate any confusion between the organisation of the Australian Church and the basis upon which that organisation rests. It has also a bearing upon the future of the Church in Wales. It will be a cruel wrong to leave the Church in Wales deprived of endowments, suffering from all the inconveniences of establishment with no corresponding advantages.

Connexion between a Disestablished Church and the State

Assuming that the Government honestly intend the Church in Wales to be really free, that is, not fettered by any vexatious restrictions similar, let it be said, to those in France, the exact connexion with the State demands more careful consideration than it has received in the Bill. Here also something may be learned from Australia.

So far as all the States of the Commonwealth are concerned, the Church in Australia is completely and entirely free. Nowhere does the Church occupy a different position from that of any other religious body.

The form of legal connexion with the State varies, however, in the several States. In Queensland the connexion is of the simplest character, and for that reason it is the most satisfactory. The Synod of each diocese in Queensland is incorporated under the provisions of the 'Religious, Educational and Charitable Institutions Act of 1861.' The method of incorporation and the subsequent relationship with the Government is identical in the cases of all religious bodies. Friendly Societies are incorporated under the same Act, and have a similar connexion with the State. Each body corporate is competent, so far as the Queensland State is concerned, to make its own laws, to exercise its own discipline and to settle its own qualifications of membership. It must do this by the principles of the law of contract. But since no citizen can contract himself, or be contracted by others, out of his civil rights, the decisions of any Church court are open to review by the Civil courts so far as they affect property and other civil rights. Thus the Queensland State, while it gives absolute freedom to the Church 'to decree Rites or Ceremonies,' and makes no claim whatever to 'authority in Controversies of Faith,' protects, in such matters, alike the civil rights of the Church and of the individual. Either might otherwise suffer from the effect of some *odium theologicum*, which may easily arise so long as men are men and associations are associations.

In this connexion there is a striking similarity between Queensland and Roman law. Although there may have been no official relationship between the Christian Churches of the first century and the pathetic *collegia funeraticia*, yet the inference is

very convincing that the rights obtained by the many charitable associations which sprang up in the early Roman Empire were for a time available to Christians as well. In other words, the Christian Church was probably first recognised by the Roman State as a collection of local 'friendly societies' or local 'burial clubs.' It is, therefore, interesting to note that a similar relationship exists in the most *democratic country* in the world. It is scarcely less interesting to find that this relationship is considered to be eminently satisfactory to-day. This point is worthy of note by English statesmen.

The Basis of Organisation in a Disestablished Church

Any Government disestablishing a Church which it does not wish to disable or destroy, must be satisfied that freedom will not entail anarchy in Church organisation. To prevent such a state of affairs arising in Queensland, Church people themselves adopted what is generally known as the 'Consensual Compact.' In other Australian States an endeavour was made to settle the conditions of relationship within the Church by successive Acts of the respective State Parliaments. This method, although in force outside Queensland, is both cumbrous and unsatisfactory. There is *no apparent desire on the part of members of Parliament to hamper* the progress of Church Bills in the Australian Legislative Assemblies and Councils, yet there undoubtedly exists a danger of improper interference while any Bill is in its Committee stages. And, owing to pressure of other parliamentary business, even Church Bills may share in the 'slaughter of innocents' at the end of almost every session. In Queensland, where the law of contract is the basis of Church relationship, there has been little or no need for appeals to the State Parliament. All members of Synod, including the Bishop, all churchwardens, readers, schoolmasters, and other office-bearers must sign a declaration of submission to Synod. The Bishop's declaration in the diocese of North Queensland is as follows:

> I, A.B., chosen Bishop of the Church and See of North Queensland, do promise that I will maintain and teach the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England as acknowledged and received by the Synod of the Diocese of North Queensland; and I consent to be bound by all Canons and Regulations of the Synod now or hereafter in force; and I hereby undertake immediately to resign the said Bishopric and all the rights and emoluments appertaining thereto if sentence requiring such resignation shall at any time be passed upon me after due examination had by the Tribunal acknowledged by the said Synod for the trial of a Bishop in accordance with the Determinations of the General Synod.

The declaration required from others is in the following form:

> I, A.B., declare that I am a *bona-fide* member of the Church of England, and that I am a communicant of the same, and I submit to the authority

[illegible] in the Diocese [illegible] and constituted by a Constitution agreed to on the 15th of [illegible] [illegible], and I consent to be bound by all the provisions of the Constitution and by all the Canons and Regulations now or hereafter in force so long as I hold any office, appointment, or emolument in or under the said Synod. And I hereby undertake immediately to resign my office or appointment and all the rights and emoluments appertaining thereto if sentence requiring such resignation should at any time be passed upon me after examination had by the Tribunal appointed by the Synod.

The Government of a Disestablished Church

Where the State gives real freedom to a Church the details of government are properly outside its province. It will be sufficient if the government is carried out in an orderly fashion with due regard to the just rights of the individuals concerned. The form of government in an unestablished Church is instructive, however, and the method by which an efficient system of government is best reached is very important. Here much can be learned from Australian failures.

The Government of the Church in Queensland is effected by Diocesan Synods, and in certain defined matters by a Provincial Synod created by the dioceses in 1905. In still wider matters, such as the election of a Primate, the formation of provinces and the constitution of an appellate tribunal, rules are made by General Synod of all Australia, and these rules or determinations are *accepted* by Provincial Synod for all the Queensland dioceses. This point should be noted because the greatest cause of weakness to the Australian Church has been the recognition, made during the early days of Church organisation, of the diocese as the unit of Church life. The Church has progressed to the organisation of Provincial Synods and a General Synod, but the determinations of General Synod are still not binding in any diocese until the diocese itself has accepted it. Some dioceses, in point of fact, have never accepted some particular determination. Other dioceses have subsequently repealed their acceptance for purposes of their own. Others, again, have repealed Acts, and have failed to accept amending determinations of General Synod. Consequently the larger organisation of the Church has been reduced to such a tangle as might fill any jurist with despair. The worst is that the Australian Church has not profited by its own experience. The amazing error of making laws which are dependent upon constituent bodies for their efficacy has been repeated in the Provinces of New South Wales and Victoria. In Queensland only a better state of affairs exists. But the point which is of interest in England is that the experience of Australia shows that the true unit of effective Church Government is a central body.

Presuming that the Church in Wales is disestablished, this point should be clearly borne in mind by those responsible for the organisation of the Church. With a vivid knowledge of the weaknesses of Australian organisation, I could not help feeling relief, almost delight, that the Welsh Church Bill provided for the recognition of a representative body, although I may add that a remark of Mr. McKenna to the effect that the Government contemplate differentiating between a representative body and a Synod has done much to modify my first feelings. A single administrative body should render it possible from the first for Church development in Wales to be planned from the centre rather than from the extremities. Let the aim be to make the representative body the parliament of the Church, supreme in its own sphere.

But, if the experience of an unestablished Church is of any value, there must be a strong representative basis for that representative body. Free Churches will not tolerate a predominantly *ex-officio* representation. There is no provision in Queensland Synods for the inclusion of a solitary clerical or lay member who sits by virtue of an office. The Bishops themselves represent the suffrages of the Church as a separate order.

The organisation of the parishes, so far as it affects self-government, is also a matter of primary importance, but the amount of self-government should be determined and delegated by the representative governing body of the Church. I can foresee nothing but weakness for any unestablished or disestablished Church if development is allowed to proceed from the parishes to the representative body.

Church Courts

The formation of Church Courts is provided for in the Bill, and these are probably essential. In Australia the Church has organised diocesan and provincial courts, and a Judicial Committee of General Synod. In Queensland the procedure of the Supreme Court of the State, both in hearings and in appeals, has been adopted alike in the Bishops' court and in the Metropolitan's court. But by a curious development it seems likely that the Civil Courts will almost invariably be used where rights of property are involved, except in comparatively unimportant cases. It is felt not only by the defendants, but by the appellants, that there is a certainty of better justice being done in courts where the judges are better trained in sifting facts and weighing evidence. It goes without saying that in Queensland the Civil courts administer, in Church matters, association, that is Church, law except where civil rights are otherwise affected thereby. This fact is worthy of note, although it may not be approved, and although Church courts may still settle many disputes which it is better should not be taken into Civil courts.

Electoral Qualifications

The electoral qualifications of Church members have not apparently been considered in the Welsh Church Bill. It is a matter in which the Church in Queensland has made some valuable experiments. And while the qualification is not yet exactly identical throughout Queensland, development is proceeding in various dioceses upon much the same lines. At first the qualification for a parishioner was left as vague as it is now in England. Next a written declaration of *bona-fide* Church membership was required, with proof that the candidate had contributed a certain fixed sum during the previous year to Church funds. This monetary qualification was manifestly undesirable, and a very strong effort was made to insist upon a communicant qualification instead. It was decided in 1906, largely through a traditional dread of tests, to make a loophole for the 'accustomed attendant' who might or might not be a communicant. The declaration in North Queensland at present runs :

> I, A.B., declare that I am a baptised member of that branch of the Holy Catholic Church commonly known as the Church of England in the Dioceses of Australia and Tasmania: that I am of the full age of twenty-one years, that I am a communicant as defined by the Book of Common Prayer (or that I have been an accustomed attendant for the twelve months last past at —— Church within this district); and that I am not registered in any other district as a Parishioner.

It may, *en passant*, interest the supporters of Women's Suffrage to learn that women have equal voting power with men. They are at present excluded from Church offices and from Synod, but I am not prepared to maintain that such exclusion is rational, or that it is likely to continue.

A great deal can be said against the theory of enfranchising the 'accustomed attendant.' In practice it is found that the loophole is seldom utilised. It is becoming more and more felt by the laity that a parishioner should be in full communion with the Church. The canon at present sets Holy Communion as a *standard* rather than a *test* for parishioners. None the less, the trend of Church opinion is towards insisting that only those who are communicants shall take any part in the elections of the Church. The importance of electoral qualifications cannot easily be overestimated. In both England and Wales at the present moment the position is simply chaotic.

Church Appointments

The basis of all Church appointments in Queensland is strongly democratic. The parishioners elect the churchwardens, the auditors, the lay members of Synod, the parochial members of the nomination board for the appointment of their respective rectors and vicars, and two-thirds of the number of the parochial

council. The members of Synod, clerical and lay, elect in Synod the diocesan members of the nomination board. The diocesan members act in all appointments. The parochial members act only in the appointments affecting their respective parishes. The members of Synod also elect the Bishop when a vacancy in the see occurs. The Bishop, therefore, holds office and authority by virtue of a democratic vote.

The method of election of a Bishop in open Synod is often open to grave criticism in practice, although it usually results in the selection of 'safe men.' The choice of Bishops by a Prime Minister, on the other hand, although it may be wrong in theory, works out in practice extremely well. I am unable to suggest any completely satisfactory plan of electing Bishops in an unestablished or disestablished Church. On the whole, I think it is better to have a committee of clergy and laity appointed by each Diocesan Synod, and called a Bishops' Election Committee, who shall, acting together with the provincial Bishops, make an election. A method of escape can be arranged in case of deadlock.

Endowments and Finance

Questions connected with the justice of disendowing the Church in Wales do not fall within the lines laid down for this article. But the payment of clergy is a constant source of anxiety in a Church where there are no parochial endowments. The experience of all Free Churches is identical on this point. There is a general movement throughout Australia towards payment through central diocesan funds. It has everywhere been found practically impossible otherwise to guarantee a fixed and reliable stipend to any clergyman coming to a parish. Payment is made by results, and the clergy very often receive much less than they were led to expect when they were appointed. This 'payment by results,' satisfactory as it may appear in theory, in practice renders it not only difficult to obtain clergy for particular appointments, but it militates against men of education and power coming forward for ordination. The clergy never expect, in Australia, large salaries, but, like men in any other walk of life, they wish their small stipends to be secure. The present system also tends to make congregations and clergy regard constant popularity as being the chief qualification of a clergyman—a very regrettable and dangerous view of the Christian ministry. The remedy for this seems to be the payment of clergy through a central fund—parishes paying into the diocesan office the parochial contributions to stipend, and the office paying out the full stipend every month to the particular clergyman. To bring this into practice a central clergy endowment fund will be necessary in order to assist poor parishes to pay a living wage, and to adjust any temporary deficit

in the parochial contributions. This method of payment, where it is worked well, has been found to promote security and sound finance. If the Church in Wales is disestablished and partially disendowed, it is devoutly to be hoped that a central endowment fund sufficiently to augment contributions from poor parishes will be formed at the beginning. Otherwise the work of the Church will be temporarily paralysed at least in the poorer parts. The fund should be vested in the central governing body for administration. For this purpose it is necessary to constitute the representative governing body as a 'corporation sole' to ensure corporate action and continuity of tenure as trustees.

This point has been provided for in the Bill, and it has been clearly provided that the representative body should be the trustees and administrators of all Church funds so far as the Government is concerned. But as I have already indicated, from an answer made by Mr. McKenna to a question by Mr. Ormsby Gore it would seem probable that the Government contemplates making some amendment in Committee by which two Church bodies will be created—a representative body to 'hold and manage Church property,' a Synod 'with power to lay down and alter the doctrine, discipline, rules and articles of the Church in Wales.' Here there arises a grave danger of dual control and probable antagonism. Why cannot Synod be constituted a corporation with both powers in its own hands? Australian experience is entirely in favour of an undivided control.

Again let me say, I hold no brief either for the Government or for the Opposition. I have tried to the best of my ability to avoid taking sides, but I venture to hope that the experience of an unendowed Church may be of interest and use to both parties. Government statesmen, in my humble judgment, will not be just if, in their desire for what they believe to be national justice, they end by leaving the Church in Wales crippled and unable to fulfil its mission. Opposition Churchmen, also in my humble opinion, will not be wise if in their opposition to the present Bill they fail to present, at least in Committee, some definite constructive plan for a disestablished Church in Wales in case the present Bill become law.

George H. Frodsham,
Bishop of North Queensland.

WELSH DISESTABLISHMENT

(II)

THE CLERGY AND DISESTABLISHMENT: A REPLY TO THE REV. FRANCIS POWELL

If Mr. Francis Powell's exposition of the reasons 'why some of the clergy will welcome Disestablishment'[1] be intended as a serious contribution to the discussion on Welsh Disestablishment, it is open to the same criticism as most of the speeches of Ministers on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill. These speeches are said, not unjustly, to have been vague dissertations on the abstract desirability of Home Rule for Ireland, and practically to have ignored the Bill which was supposed to be their subject. Mr. Powell's article shows no interest whatever in the Government's proposals for dealing with the Church in Wales, but merely uses the agitation against those proposals as a convenient text to urge immediate disestablishment of the Church in England. Mr. Powell may reply that the greater includes the less, but this is hardly practical politics at the present time. Nevertheless his arguments are well worth discussion, if only because they are opposed to the opinions of the great majority of his clerical brethren, and probably a still greater majority of the professed laity of the Church of England. People who place themselves in disagreeable antagonism to the greater number of those among whom they live and move and have their being have, as a rule, not only courage, but good reasons and a good conscience.

Mr. Powell admits readily enough that Establishment is not a definite status given by the State to the Church by a special Act at a certain definite time, but he does compare it to the setting up of the territorial forces. 'Where,' he asks, 'would be the *amour propre* of our territorial forces if, in defiance of the nation's will, they objected to their disbandment?' But the analogy does not hold good. The territorial forces are purely a State creation for State purposes only, and have neither use nor meaning apart from the State. But Mr. Powell assuredly does not so conceive of the Church. The statement would be erroneous even in respect of establishment. It has been, he admits, the growth of long ages. 'Crescit occulto velut arbor aevo' is the true account of the relations between Church and

[1] *Nineteenth Century and After*, May 1912.

[illegible] Faith gave to [illegible] [illegible] here the unity Constantine [illegible] she would give to the decaying Roman Empire. By her example those tribes developed into one nation, by her the nation was admitted within the Christian commonwealth, through her it was brought under the influence of the civilisation and learning of the rest of Christendom. Naturally the Church, which was co-extensive with the nation, although never merely identified with it—still less looked upon as its creation, even in the aspect of 'establishment'—was regarded as the source and centre of all that was highest and best in the national life; hence the continuance of that common growth and mutual support which afterwards came to be called Establishment and almost defies analysis. There is not, then, the smallest resemblance between the Church and the territorial or other forces in respect of their relations with the State. But perhaps even the territorial forces might, without any damage to *amour propre*, protest against disbandment if a foreign force had just invaded the land and were threatening the national existence. Establishment means the outward and visible recognition of Christianity by the nation as the true religion, and of the Church as the Society which brought her that religion, and in which it has concrete embodiment. The Church is surely not clinging to privilege—what privilege does she possess? Are not the Nonconformists rather the 'spoilt children' of the nation now?—but is simply clinging to the post of duty, if she strains every nerve to preserve that recognition, in the hope of making it again the reality it once was.

This brings us to Mr. Powell's palmary argument. 'That both Church and State,' he writes, 'are weakened through Establishment few intelligent observers can fail to notice.' If, indeed, he can make that good, the question is settled. But he makes no attempt whatever to show that the State, even from his point of view, has been let or hindered in any good course by her connexion with the Church. It is against the Church, as established, that his diatribe—he must allow me the word—is directed; and the head and front of the Church's offending seems to be that the immense majority of her clergy and zealous laity decline to support the Liberal party.

> It was the attitude of the Church as a whole [he tells us] during the last two General Elections, when it is not too much to say that the hard-won liberties of our race were in considerable jeopardy, which made the writer vow that never again would he support the Establishment.

Well, well! It is quite impossible for Mr. Powell to understand that many of us thought, and still think, that 'the hard-won liberties' were not only threatened but have been seriously

injured by the party he admires? It is impossible to argue the question here, but a conscientious man may surely believe, and do his best to make others believe, that a practically unchecked Single-Chamber Constitution, modern party discipline being what it is, is likely to be as injurious to liberty, as unjust and tyrannical, as the government of Louis the Fourteenth. Mr. Powell is shocked at the idea of the Church siding with those who desired to maintain what he calls 'the absurd veto of the House of Lords upon the legislation approved by a huge majority of elected representatives of forty-five millions of people.' Considering how divided the country is on the question—although only six or seven millions out of Mr. Powell's forty-five millions possess votes—these remarks are more like an extract from a violent Radical leaflet than a serious criticism of the Church. More unjustifiable still is his unwarrantable assertion that the Church 'would rather the food of the poor were taxed instead of the unearned increment of the landed property of the rich.' It must be obvious to anyone not blinded by party spirit that a Tariff Reformer may be as anxious to benefit the poor as the most uncompromising Cobdenite, and that he advocates his policy as the very best method of raising wages and curing the evil of unemployment. Since he has the opinion of nearly the whole civilised world, outside Great Britain, on his side, it is supremely ridiculous to make the Church's support of such a policy—if she does support it, which Mr. Powell does not prove—a serious reason for advocating her disestablishment.

Another count in Mr. Powell's indictment of the Church is what he assumes to have been her attitude on the question of Chinese labour in South Africa. Really this is a dangerous subject for Mr. Powell's friends. Has he quite forgotten Mr. Winston Churchill's famous admission as to 'terminological inexactitudes'? The fact that the Liberal party has been remarkably shy of raising the taunt of 'Chinese slavery' of late years, which would have been worked for all it was worth had the Unionist policy been really so immoral as was alleged in 1906, tends to show that Mr. Churchill's phrase was a true but charitable description of an outcry that was none too creditable in regard to the language used.

It is unnecessary to follow Mr. Powell further in the instances he gives of the political obliquity of Churchmen in general. In nearly all his cases the accusation is that they have not supported several of the measures of the present Government.

> What plagues and what portents! What mutiny!
> What raging of the sea! Shaking of earth!
> Commotion in the winds! Frights, changes, horrors,

> Divert and crack, rend and deracinate
> The unity and married calm of States
> Quite from their fixture!

because a majority, possibly a large majority, of Churchmen cannot see their way to support Mr. Asquith! It is, alas! true enough that many a time the Church, in the person of her leaders, has advocated, or at least supported, a policy that we now see was mistaken and wrong. No society that has endured for many centuries, no nation either, is there that has not cause to blush for many errors, and that has not many a time, with the best intentions, 'come short of its suppose,'

> Sith every action that hath gone before
> Whereof we have record, trial did draw
> Bias and thwart, not answering the aim,
> And that unbodied figure of the thought
> That gave 't surmisèd shape.

But it may fairly be said that a party which has been avowedly attacking the Church in her schools and—in the case of Wales—in her possessions and immemorial status cannot fairly complain if very many Churchmen find themselves driven, sometimes against their will, to support for the time being the opposite party. Nor can that attitude, in view of the admitted zeal, activity, and devotion shown by the Church of England during the last sixty or seventy years, be by any process of reasoning alleged as a sufficient cause for condemning her as incorrigibly wrongheaded and obstructive, and therefore terminating her long connexion with the State.

Mr. Powell, however, does not rely only on the fact that most of the active supporters of the Established Church are hostile to the present Government. He brings a formidable series of charges against the Church for her action in past times, taken from an article in the *Times*, published, it would seem, some years ago, in which that journal acknowledged that the Establishment was in favour of most of the wrongdoing, and against most of the improvements, of the Governments of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. These charges are fortified by an appeal to Lord Morley's remarks upon the same subject.

It cannot be denied that this attack is far more justified than the attacks on the Church of our own day which have occupied our notice hitherto. But is Mr. Powell right in charging the *Church* ('the Church as a whole' is his phrase in one passage) with all these misdeeds? Surely the guilty parties he is thinking of were the bishops in the House of Lords. The bishops are not the Church. There is no reason to suppose that during the

period in question they paid much attention to the opinion of clergy or laity. They were appointed for political reasons, and what the Government sought for, when bishops were to be appointed, was supporters; and (if the popular phrase may be allowed me) they 'saw that they got them.' Hence the bishops of those days were as certain to 'vote straight' as the member of Parliament is now. They voted with the party that appointed them. It is a mournful reflection for Churchmen that the State so abused its trust, and could find some clerical accomplices; but surely in this case the State itself, which made the appointments for such reasons, was the guilty party. The voice of the rank and file of the clergy was stifled, and Convocation was not allowed to meet 'for the despatch of business.' Parliament itself was supposed to represent the laity, but the unreformed Parliament was returned chiefly by the interest and often by the nomination of Whig and Tory grandees. In very truth it was the rank and file of the Church which brought about the reforms enumerated by the *Times* and quoted by Mr. Powell. It was a soldiers' battle certainly, but the soldiers really are a part of the army. To take some of Mr. Powell's instances: the Parliament that abolished the slave trade was exclusively a Church Parliament; so was the Parliament that repealed the Test and Corporation Acts; so was the Parliament, with hardly an exception, which granted Roman Catholic Emancipation; so was the Parliament, with a few exceptions, which abolished slavery; and William Wilberforce, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, was a Churchman and a representative of the most living and vigorous Church party of his day. If the 'Church as a whole' had opposed those reforms, not one of them would have been carried in those days. So in regard to the Factory Acts. Lord Shaftesbury, a typical Evangelical Churchman (who was that first and before everything), was the hero of the fight, and John Bright, the Liberal, and the Manchester school were not absolutely conspicuous champions of that reform.

We might go further and retort upon Mr. Powell that, during the greater part of the time referred to in his extract from the *Times*, the predecessors of the present Liberal party were in power and had the appointment of the bishops in their hands. For a century after the Revolution of 1688 (except for the latter years of Queen Anne's short reign) the Whigs were in power, 'the party of progress,' and the leaders of the Church obediently followed them. And that was, strange to say, the century of the Church's most conspicuous failure. It is a retort as fair as the charge. But, in sober truth, neither the one nor the other is very convincing. The fact is that during the eighteenth century the Church, in spite of being established, was

[illegible] occupied with the prevalent [illegible] to dream of giving a 'lead' to the Government of the day. It seemed to the most thoughtful prelates of the time that the best that could be hoped for was that, with pain and difficulty, the Church might keep the banner of Christ still flying. Surely Mr. Powell has not forgotten Bishop Butler's lament that 'it is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry; but that it is, now at length, discovered to be fictitious.' Again, in the first part of the nineteenth century, the bloody issue of the French Revolution and its culmination in the career of Napoleon did very much to make people suspicious of the very name of reform. The argument of the 'thin end of the wedge' is often a most mistaken one, but it is very intelligible and not wholly inexcusable in those who believe that they have already seen the wedge driven home in a neighbouring land with the most disastrous results. Neither the *Times* writer, nor Mr. Powell, nor Lord Morley appear to have thought of these explanations. They have regarded the bishops of those days (though they did not comprise 'the Church as a whole') rather as dummy antagonists to be set up and riddled with the shot of Liberal criticism than as human beings, not wholly unintelligent, and not proved to be unkindly, but swayed—as most men are—by the fears and alarms and also by the difficulties and obscurities of their day.

It may be rejoined that, at any rate, all these blunders were due to the fact of establishment, for if the State had not possessed the appointment of bishops, the Church might have chosen leaders who would have spoken with her voice and not have compromised her so gravely. If this be Mr. Powell's contention, he will find that the majority of Churchmen agree with him. But the right of nomination to bishoprics is not of the essence of establishment. In Scotland, too, there is an Established Church. The State, however, does not appoint its General Assembly nor its Moderator. Freedom to choose its own rulers could be granted to the Church in England as well as in the Scottish Establishment, without any interference with its established position or its endowments. Nor need the bishops be members of the House of Lords. The kirk has none of its ministers sitting there by right of office. Assuredly one need not advocate the immediate pulling down of a house because its roof needs repair.

Mr. Powell is well warranted in pointing out the great difficulty experienced by the Establishment in dealing with its own abuses. He must, however, admit that the chief reason for this, during the last thirty years at any rate, is the unrelenting hostility and obstruction on the part of Liberal members of Parliament. What enormous difficulty Archbishop Benson had

to contend with in his struggle for the Act for the removal of evil-living clergy and for the Benefices Act! Even such purely domestic matters as the division of overgrown and unwieldy sees were not allowed to be non-contentious by small knots of Liberals who, for the most part, did not profess to be members of the Established Church. Who is responsible for the failure to pass the Bishoprics Enabling Bill during the last two or three years? To obstruct every effort on the part of the Church authorities to obtain leave to reform abuses, and then to taunt the Church with those abuses, and even make them a pretext for her disestablishment, is flagrantly unjust and ungenerous. If advocates of Disestablishment in Parliament would, as a matter of honour and decency, treat purely Church measures with the same respect and consideration as was shown by the whole House to the Act for uniting the Bible Christians and the United Methodist Free Church, or the Act settling the difficulty between the Free Kirk in Scotland and the 'Wee Frees,' clergy like Mr. Powell would not long have to complain that the Church's most flagrant abuses are left untouched. Mr. Powell is quite justified in expressing disappointment that more was not done in this direction during the ten years that the Unionists were in power. His disappointment is shared, doubtless, by many of those who are strongly opposed to the opinions set forth in his article. Still, it is fair to remember that those ten years included the years of the Boer War, and the schism in the Unionist party caused by the violent differences on the subject of Tariff Reform; and also that what time Parliament could spare to the Church was wasted in absurd and unprofitable discussions on the question of 'Ritualistic practices.' Indeed, the Kensit movement, which began in 1898, by re-enkindling party differences in the Church—which were on the high road to healing—made it very difficult even for Churchmen to unite in urging non-contentious but necessary measures.

One other reason for Disestablishment is alleged by Mr. Powell. It deals with very serious matters indeed. Freedom from State control will enable the Church to 'restate the whole Christian position,' and to do away with 'our narrow, stereotyped formulae which tend to sterilise living thought.' These expressions are so general, and all that Mr. Powell says on this subject is so vague, that one is not quite sure what he means. If by 'restating the whole Christian position' Mr. Powell means no more than doing for this twentieth century what St. Thomas did for the thirteenth, there is no possible obstacle now. The Angelic Doctor neither asked nor needed any change in the Creeds or the Liturgy. Or does he mean such a revolt from the doctrinal teaching of the Prayer Book as Luther inaugurated in

Germany? But Luther did not wait for any change of 'narrow stereotyped formulae.' He convinced people first—in spite of 'Establishment'—and then the congruous changes came naturally. There is really nothing to prevent Mr. Powell and the clergy who think with him from doing the same thing now. If they have a message for our day and generation, let them deliver it and face the consequences. That is what Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas did; so did Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin; so did Laud and Wesley; so did Venn, Romaine, and Newton; so did Newman, Pusey, and Keble. Nothing whatever can be done until they convince the existing clergy and lay members of the Church. Were the Church disestablished to-morrow, the same clergy and laity would be there to oppose and reject Mr. Powell's 'restatement,' as they oppose and reject it now, if it be inconsistent with the historic Faith for which they are zealous. Before Mr. Powell asks for Disestablishment, in order to make this restatement he should tell us what it is. It may be Catholicism, it may be Modernism, it may be Evangelicalism, it may be Ritschlianism, it may be the New Theology. Obviously it is some kind of change in the Prayer Book and Articles that he desires, for anything else can perfectly well be done now. Revision of the Prayer Book is going on now in Convocation. If it comes to nothing, it will be because the rank and file of the Church—the very people who would have charge of a revision if the Church were disestablished—will have none of it. A revision opposed by such representative men as the Dean of Canterbury, Canon Newbolt and Lord Halifax would have even less chance then than now.

We must admit, sadly enough, that 'many fine young minds,' as Mr. Powell says, 'go to the Universities with the intention of becoming ordinands who are repelled' by present circumstances. Their doubts go down to the root of things: doubts concerning the Divinity of Christ, concerning miracles of any kind, concerning the Sacred Scriptures, concerning the supernatural. But the abolition of the old religion and the invention of a new one is a strange way of solving their doubts, even if the new one were falsely labelled 'Christianity.' But would Disestablishment lead earnest Churchmen to consent to this? Let Mr. Powell look round at those Churches in communion with the Church of England which are not established, and which are free to believe and do as they please. What have they done in the direction he appears to indicate? Let us omit the Australian Church, parts of which seem to have bound themselves to make no change that has not been authorised by the Church of England. Has the Church in South Africa done anything towards the 'restating' of the whole Christian

position? The Episcopal Church in the United States is free enough; but neither has she committed herself to any religious revolutions; nor has the Church in Canada; nor the disestablished Church in Ireland; nor the Episcopal Church in Scotland. We need not disestablish the Church either in Wales or England in order to enable her to do something that none of her disestablished or non-established sisters have done, and that it is morally certain she herself will not do.

What we have to do—it sorely needs doing—is to learn how best to commend the old Faith to those who at present do not see how to reconcile it with modern thought; not to offer them a new one of our devising, which will only go the way of all fancy religions.

In conclusion, it may be said—it ought to be said—that Mr. Powell is by no means without justification in the reproach (quoted from Bishop Gore) which he levels at the mass of Churchpeople in regard to their 'blank and simply stupid refusal . . . to recognise their social duties.' There are, of course, notable exceptions to be found, no doubt, in every diocese; but they are to the great mass rather as the pelican in the wilderness. But while acknowledging this to the full we may venture to suggest that there is some palliation for their attitude. We are bound to admit that, as Mr. W. S. Lilly tells us in the article immediately preceding Mr. Powell's, 'the great problem now before the world is the reorganisation of industry upon an ethical basis.' Churchpeople are bound as members of the Kingdom of Christ to do all they can to contribute to its solution, and for past failure there is nothing left but confession and amendment. But their apathy has not always been due to selfishness or neglect of known duty. It is often the result of utter perplexity. Many of us do not see our way to accept State Socialism as the cure. The remedy appears worse than the disease. Syndicalism, again, seems a worse remedy still. The Liberal party, as such, does not appear to have any policy in this matter any more than the Unionists; although the latter do suggest Tariff Reform, which may possibly be of use, but in itself is mere tinkering. Most of us are without the time or means—possibly without the capacity—to dive right into the question for ourselves. We should, it may be hoped, recognise and support a good solution when it is offered, but it has not yet come. And so we sit still and wait. It is, no doubt, blameworthy, but 'is there not a cause?'

At least we may be excused for saying that Disestablishment has not the remotest bearing on the question.

A. St. Leger Westall.

METRICAL VERSIONS OF THE ODES OF HORACE

HORACE has with justice characterised Pindar as the great untranslateable. With still greater justice it may be said that his own Odes defy the translator's art. When the *Dublin University Review* was started under happy auspices more than half a century ago, the editor declared that there were two kinds of literary effort to which he would invariably refuse a place in his pages. These were Vice-Chancellor's prize poems, because they were immature, and renderings of the Odes of Horace, because they were impossible.

Even the great poets, Milton and Dryden, have not achieved absolute success in dealing with single odes, and we may fairly hold that of those (more than fifty in number) who have essayed a rendering of the whole body of the Odes few there are of whom it can be said that even half of their renderings read like English poems and at the same time recall the manner and art of the Roman lyrist. The Odes are exquisite exotics, miracles of diction and metre. It is hard to trace in them any ordered train of reflection or sincere vein of sentiment; but the easy handling of imported metres, new to Latin and invented by inspired Hellas, as well as the happy daintiness and dignity of language, undoubtedly comes as near to absolute perfection as it is given to human art to approach.

Many of the translators, in setting forth the principles which have guided them, have put forward views about the general character and salient attributes of these charming poems which are mainly just and reasonable. One, among the most recent and certainly the most eminent of them all, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, lays down as an undoubted truth a proposition which is wholly untenable and absolutely misrepresents the character of the Odes. He thus writes in his Preface to the third edition (1895):

There is, in my view, one special necessity of translation from Horace, which has, so far as I know, heretofore received in many quarters what seems to me a very inadequate share of attention: that is to say, the

necessity of compression. . . . Without compression, in my judgment, a translation from Horace, whatever its other merits may be, ceases to be Horatian, ceases, that is, to represent the original.

This is diametrically opposed to the true view of the case. Hear Sir Stephen De Vere, one of the very best of the translators, whose version appeared the year before Gladstone's:

No classical author is so difficult of translation as Horace. His extraordinary *condensation*, so little in harmony with the English language or the usual current of English thought; his habit of embodying in one sequence a single idea connected through all its phases by an almost imperceptible thread; the 'curiosa felicitas' with which he draws a picture by a single epithet, such as 'fabulosus Hydaspes,' 'placens uxor'; his abrupt transitions; the frequent absence of a connecting link enabling the modern reader to track the pervading idea of the poet through the apparently disconnected passages of the poem . . . these are a few of the obstacles with which a translator of Horace has to contend.

Having laid down an entirely unsound principle, the Right Honourable versifier proceeds to apply it—we will see with what result. It is excusable, perhaps, to dwell so much on what is certainly the least successful attempt to transplant the priceless exotics of the Latin lyrist. But the eminent name on the title-page has carried into a third edition a book which without it would not have had half a dozen readers; and it is painful to think what an impression about Latin poetry will be conveyed by it to those who have no Latin, and cannot see for themselves that the volume has in it no trace either of poetry or of Horace. The book on its appearance was welcomed with eulogy quite undeserved by the English Press, receiving from the *Quarterly Review* a paean of laudation.

Let us examine a few examples of that 'compression' which is so indispensable. To take the first ode, the picturesque expression

Metaque fervidis evitata rotis,
The turning-point grazed by glowing wheels,

appears as

The goal well shunn'd.

Is this compression, or is it mangling and mistranslation? Everything is omitted that is picturesque in the image of the chariot grazing the turning-point with glowing wheels. *Meta* is the turning-point which was at the end of the *spina* (or central ridge running the length of the oval racing-track) farthest from the winning-post. This turning-point the charioteers naturally tried to cut as fine as possible. The Gladstonian phrase, if it meant anything, ought to mean 'the prudent abandonment of chariot-racing.' Compression of this kind is characteristic of the

[illegible] in the story of [illegible] [illegible] (III. xi.). Perhaps the most familiar phrase in Horace is 'splendide mendax.' How is it reproduced? It is not reproduced at all. It is omitted, burked, doubtless in the interests of compression. Other choice phrases which have become household words are slurred and spoiled. 'Sublimi feriam sidera vertice' is 'The stars to kiss my head will bow.' In no other version do the stars come down to the poet. Horace and all his other translators make the poet ascend to the stars. 'Dilapsam in cineres facem' (IV. xiii.) is 'Once a flambeau; now an ash.' 'Dulce est desipere in loco' is hardly suggested by ''Tis well to rave in time and place,' and still less can the fine phrase 'famosis laboribus,' so vigorous in Calverley's 'all thy studious infamies,' be recognised under the poor guise of 'All thy plots new scandal make,' which does not even give the meaning of the words. In the same ode (III. xv.) 'nequitia' is 'knavish tricks,' a 'damnosa hereditas' from the National Anthem. The word is a very strong one. 'Harlotry' would hardly exaggerate its force. The eminent statesman had forgotten the atmosphere which encompasses Latin words. We doubt if he ever felt it. The study of the Latin language was rudimentary in Oxford when Gladstone won his First. It has since advanced 'by leaps and bounds,' to use the statesman's own phrase. There are not a few serious misapprehensions of the meaning of the Latin text, but we will not advert to these. Our essay aims at estimating the literary qualities of the versions, not their scholarship or accuracy.

Gladstone in his preface lays down a law, as we have said, which is absolutely fatal for the rendering of Horace, in calling for compression while extreme condensation is the leading characteristic of the original; this law he obeys with disastrous results. He adds another admonition to translators, which is quite excellent (indeed, almost superfluous), but which he habitually violates. It is that the translator

> should severely limit his use of licentious and imperfect rhymes, and should avoid those irregularities in the use of the English genitive which are so fatal to euphony.

Yet we have *set* rhyming with *unbusièd* (p. 33), *wrecked* and *erect* (p. 130), *abyss* and *frees* (p. 138). Of cacophonous inflexional forms we have such genitives as the *Edons'*, *clients'*; such verbal inflexions as *equipp'st, flung'st*; and such rhythmical blots as *Elian*, *Argian* (dissyll.) and *Patarean, Romulean, Anchisean* (trisyll.). Moreover, such words as *pate, nape,* and such phrases as 'quitting earth *for good*,' 'the day's entire,' for

'the whole of the day,' are quite alien from the distinguished and refined diction of the Odes, which even avoid diminutives. Nor can we patiently endure 'poetic licences' redolent of Sternhold and Hopkins, like the omission of the article in 'Myrtoan wave' (compare 'Like pelican in wilderness' in the famous perversion of the Psalms), and inverted order of words, as in II. xiii.:

> On evil day thou planted wast.

The version as a whole takes its place beside our English metrical version of the Psalms. The undeniable eminence of Gladstone as a speaker would lead a reader who recognises a certain kinship between political oratory and literary faculty to surmise that he might have been more successful, or certainly would not have failed so completely, if he had not disabled himself by his ill-judged attempt to 'abridge the syllabic length of the Latin text, and to carry compression to the furthest practicable point.' Yet sometimes we find thoughts and phrases introduced without any warrant in the text, either to achieve a supposed beauty of expression, as in 'The flood of thy Licymnia's hair' for 'crine Licymniae,' or to eke out the rhyme, as in III. xxviii., where the italicised words are due only to the translator:

> Up, Lyde, *that fine juice*
> *Old* Caecuban, produce;

and *ibid.* 16:

> Then, *when the hours grow dim,*
> *Old* Night shall have her hymn;

and in I. ii. 10:

> The elm-tree top to fishy kind
> *Gave harbour.*

Now Horace never thought of a harbour for fishes, which indeed would seem superfluous.

In III. i. 33 in the Latin

> Contracta pisces aequora sentiunt

there is no 'think' or 'spy,' as in

> Their realm is less, the fishes think,
> When buildings in the sea they spy.

Are we captious in seeing a ludicrous image, and recalling an occasion on which the fishes are said to have become profane under 'the sun's perpendicular heat'? Again, we are offended in III. xxiv. 54:

> Nescit equo rudis
> Haerere ingenuus puer,
> Venarique timet.

We are aware that in old-fashioned English 'to clip' means 'to surround, encompass,' hence (perhaps) 'bestride,' but in

> Our highborn youth nor hunts nor rides,
> He cannot clip his horse's sides,

we cannot but think of the accomplishment rather of a groom than of a highborn youth; while in the same ode 'filthy stuff' is solely *metri gratia*, like 'affront the skies' in IV. xi. 12, 'begun and ended' in IV. vi. 40, and 'till their blood runs icy cold' for 'exanimari' in III. xii. 2. On the other hand, 'splendide mendax' (III. xi. 35) is untranslated, like 'Troiae prope victor altae' (IV. vi. 3), and 'renidet,' almost a keynote of the ode (III. vi. 12). A strange phrase in the poem on the abduction of Europa is not so much a piece of padding as a mistranslation. Europa (III. xxvii. 38) asks herself is she 'awake or dreaming':

> vigilansne ploro
> Turpe commissum?

This appears as

> Ah, the awakened sense
> Of sin!—

a sentiment which will appeal (perhaps) to the nonconformist conscience, as 'engender heat' for 'torrere jecur' will recommend itself to 'scientists.'

The choice of metres is a most essential matter in the rendering of the Odes. It is obviously incumbent on the translator to render in one and the same metre all odes which Horace has written in this or that metre, Alcaic or Sapphic or Choriambic. Gladstone repudiates this obligation on the quite insufficient ground that Horace has in many cases employed the same metre for odes the most widely divergent in subject and character. In other words, the translator is a better judge than the poet on the delicate question of the auspicious marriage of metre with matter. Gladstone's favourite rhythm is the octosyllabic, which is used effectively by Swift and Butler, and which (with variations) achieves some dignity in the oriental love-tales of Byron and the Border minstrelsy of Scott; but it is quite unsuitable to reproduce the effect of Horace's higher flights in Alcaics and Sapphics. Let us observe how mean is the octosyllabic metre of Gladstone in the fine Alcaic ode (I. xxxvii.) on the death of Cleopatra, and how the better-chosen measures of other translators have raised the tone of the poem. We give the final and loftiest stanzas:

> Ausa et iacentem visere regiam
> Voltu sereno, fortis et asperas
> Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
> Corpore combiberet venenum.

Gladstone.

Bold to survey with eye serene
The void that had her palace been,
She lodged the vipers on her skin,
Where best to drink the poison in.

Sir Stephen de Vere.

In her realm once more,
Serene among deserted fanes,
Unmoved 'mid vacant halls she stood,
Then to the aspic gave her darkening veins,
And sucked the death into her blood.

Theodore Martin.

So to her lonely palace-halls she came,
With eye serene their desolation view'd,
And the fell asps with fearless fingers woo'd
To dart their deadliest venom thro' her frame.

F. L. Latham.

She dared upon her palace lying low
To look with face serene; nor did she shrink
Grim snakes from fondling, that her body so
Might in its life-blood their black poison drink.

Conington.

Amid her ruin'd halls she stood
Unblench'd, and fearless to the end
Grasp'd the fell snakes, that all her blood
Might with the cold black venom blend.

Conington's version of the next verse—

Deliberata morte ferocior—

is singularly fine:

Death's purpose flushing in her face.

Martin rises to the height of the subject in the last stanza:

Embracing death with desperate calm, that she
Might rob Rome's galleys of the royal prize,
Queen to the last, and ne'er in humbled guise
To swell a triumph's haughty pageantry.

This is surely the loftiest of the Odes. Many would crown that on Regulus (III. v.), but it is disfigured by a lamentable bathos in its last stanza.

De Vere and Conington, it will be seen, have used the same metre—a stately one. Latham has chosen one longer by a foot in each line, while Martin employs a modification of the *In Memoriam* stanza. Gladstone alone sinks to a rhythm redolent of the nursery moral lyre:

Bill Davis was a dunce and fool,
He would not go to Sunday-school.

The famous Amoebean ode, III. ix., so much admired by a great scholar that he said he would rather be its author than be King of Spain, is better turned by Gladstone, but we have again

his favourite creeping octosyllabics. The last two stanzas are his best, though 'resign' in the third line should be 'resigned,' and we have never met a fickle cork. We will compare his version with others:

Horace.

Gladstone.

What if our ancient love awoke,
And bound us with its golden yoke?
If auburn Chloë I resign,
And Lydia once again be mine?

Lydia.

Though fairer than the stars is he,
Thou rougher than the Adrian sea,
And fickle as light cork, yet I
With thee would live, with thee would die.

Horace.

Lord Derby.

What if the former chain,
That we too rashly broke,
We yet should weave again,
And once more bow beneath the accustom'd yoke?
If Chloë's sway no more I own,
And Lydia fill the vacant throne?

Lydia.

Tho' bright as Morning Star
My Calaïs' beaming brow;
Tho' more inconstant far
And easier chafed than Adria's billows thou,
With thee my life I'd gladly spend,
Content with thee that life to end.

Horace.

Conington.

What now, if Love returning
Should pair us 'neath his brazen yoke once more,
And, bright-hair'd Chloë spurning,
Horace to off-cast Lydia ope his door?

Lydia.

Though he is fairer, milder,
Than starlight, you lighter than bark of tree,
Than stormy Hadria wilder,
With you to live, to die, were bliss for me.

Horace.

Walker.

What if old love return and bring once more
Our sever'd hearts beneath its yoke of brass,
And thrust be gold-hair'd Chloë from the door,
That opes for slighted Lydia to pass?

Lydia.

Tho' fairer he than radiant star, and thou,
More light than cork, in temper dost outvie
Rough Adria's angry sea, with thee I'm now
Well pleased to live, with thee not loth to die.

All the above versions, except the first, seem to have something of poetry and something of Horace. Lord Derby, it will be observed, omits 'levior cortice.'

We have inveighed against octosyllabics, and we must protest against one other metre used (so far as we know) only by Sir Theodore Martin, who in his other metric effects is, perhaps, the happiest of the translators. It is the tinkling cymbal of Moore. Unless the subject is weighty and serious, anapaests degenerate into doggerel, as in

> I myself, wooed by one that was truly a jewel,
> In thraldom was held which I cheerfully bore,
> By that vulgar thing, Myrtale, though she was cruel
> As waves that indent the Calabrian shore.

The same rhythm has utterly vulgarised the pretty ode to Xanthias Phoceus (II. iv.). Surely hardly anything could be more alien than this from the distinguished manner of the Horatian Odes. Yet Martin is one of the best translators, disputing (in our opinion) the primacy with De Vere and Conington. As examples of the art of these three, we would offer, in addition to extracts already made, the following characteristic specimens. De Vere and Martin are champions of freedom, and never bald. Conington is wonderfully successful in steering clear of the reefs of baldness while hugging the shore of the text:

'Felices ter et amplius' (I. xiii. 17).

Martin.

> Oh, trebly blest, and blest for ever,
> Are they whom true affection binds,
> No cold distrusts nor janglings sever
> The union of their constant minds,
> But life in blended current flows
> Serene and quiet to the close.

'Somnus agrestium' (III. i. 21).

De Vere.

> Sleep hovers with extended wing
> Above the roof where labour dwells,
> Or where the river murmuring
> Ripples beneath the beechen shade,
> Or where in Tempe's dells
> No sound save Zephyr's breath throbs thro' the silver glade.

'Irae Thyesten' (I. xvi. 17).

Conington.

> 'Twas wrath that laid Thyestes low;
> 'Tis wrath that oft destruction calls
> On cities, and invites the foe
> To drive his plough o'er ruin'd walls.

On the whole, perhaps, Conington is the most successful of those who have essayed what many would call an impossible feat,

one in which even the august hand of Milton did not maintain [illegible] [illegible] of touch, though in his sonnets to Laurence and to Cyriack Skinner he gives the express quintessence of the manner of Horace, far more perfectly than Marvell in his *Ode on the Return of Oliver Cromwell from Ireland*, which has been called the most Horatian poem not written by Horace. Conington sometimes treats us to a delightful reminiscence of English poetry, as in II. ix.:

> The rain, it rains not every day
> On the soak'd meads.

His weakness is that he sometimes introduces a thought or figure not to be found in the original, a practice to be condemned, even though the figure be in itself beautiful and poetical, as in

> A *spectral form* Soracte stands.

It is a worse fault to emulate the conceits of the Elizabethan age, as in the somewhat cruel ode to poor *passée* Lyce (IV. xiii.):

> The white has left your teeth
> And settled on your brow.

However, he does not taunt her in Gladstone's rude phrase as

> Once a flambeau, now an ash,

but more courteously deplores her as

> A fire-brand, once ablaze,
> Now smouldering in grey dust.

His choice of metres is very happy. We only regret that he has not made use of the *In Memoriam* rhythm so happily employed by Calverley in I. ix. 21:

> Hear now the pretty laugh that tells
> In what dim corner lurks thy love,
> And snatch a bracelet or a glove
> From wrist or hand that scarce rebels.

It may be interesting, after the longer extracts, to compare the different versions of expressions which have won their way into common use, and become household words. Such is 'simplex munditiis' in the famous ode to Pyrrha (I. v.):

Gladstone.	With simple care.
Conington.	So trim, so simple.
Martin.	With all thy seeming-artless grace.
De Vere.	In simple neatness artfully arrayed.
Thomas Hood.	With cunning carelessness.
Latham.	In unbedizened neatness fair.

'Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
Dulce loquentem' (I. xxii. *fin.*).

Gladstone. Thy voice, thy smile, my Lalage,
I'll love them there.
De Vere. I'll love and sing my Lalage,
Her low sweet voice, her sweeter smile.
Conington. That smile so sweet, that voice so sweet,
Shall still enchant me.
Martin. Still Lalage's sweet smile, sweet voice e'en there
I will adore.
E. Yardley. Yet laughing, lisping Lalage
For ever will I love.
Latham. My Lalage's sweet laugh I still shall love,
Her prattle sweet.

'Splendide mendax' (III. xi. 35).

Gladstone. Omitted.
Lord Lytton. By glorious falsehood.
Martin. Magnificently false.
De Vere. Nobly untrue.
Latham. Gloriously false.
Conington. That splendid falsehood lights her name
Through times unborn.

'Voltus nimium lubricus aspici' (I. xix. 8).

Gladstone. And face Ah! perilous to view.
Conington. That too fair face that blinds when look'd upon.
Martin. And face too dazzling for eye to 'bide it.
Latham. And look too bright for mortal eye to endure.

'Domus exilis Plutonia' (I. iv. 17).

Gladstone. Pluto's cribbing cell.
Conington. The void of the Plutonian hall.
De Vere. Pluto's gloomy mansions.
Martin. The starveling house unbeautiful of Pluto.
Sargent. Pluto's narrow house. (So Latham.)

'Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,
Labuntur anni' (II. xiv. 1).

Gladstone. Ah Postumus! Devotion fails
The lapse of gliding years to stay.
Conington. Ah Postumus! They fleet away,
Our years.
De Vere. Alas, my Postumus, our years
Glide silently away.
Martin. Ah Postumus, the years, the fleeting years,
Still onwards, onwards glide.
Lord Lytton. Postumus, Postumus, the years glide by us.
Latham. Ah Postumus, ah Postumus, away
Glide the swift years.

'Placens uxor' (II. xiv. 21).

Gladstone. Winsome wife. (So Martin.)
Conington. Your lovely bride.

De Vere. Thy gentle wife.
Lord Lytton. Wife in whom thy soul delighteth.
Latham. Thy wife adored.

'Fortiter occupa portum' (I. xiv. 2).

Gladstone. Hold the port: be stout.
Conington. O, haste to make the haven yours.
Martin. Boldly seize
The port.
De Vere. Hold fast the port.
Latham. Abide
Fast in the haven.

'O matre pulchra filia pulchrior' (I. xvi. 1).

Gladstone. Fairer than thy mother fair.
Conington. O lovelier than the lovely dame
That bore you.
De Vere. O fairer than thy mother fair.
Newman. Fairer child of mother fair!
Latham. O daughter fairer than thy mother fair.

'Cuius octavum trepidavit aetas
Claudere lustrum' (II. iv. *fin.*).

Gladstone. Eight my lustres,
And my shield my age.
Conington. A rival hurrying on to end
His fortieth year.
Latham. One whose life hastes to close in its decline
Its fortieth year.

'Odi profanum volgus et arceo' (III. i. 1).

Gladstone. Begone, vile mob, I bar my door.
Conington. I bid the unhallowed crowd avaunt!
Martin. Ye rabble rout, avaunt!
De Vere. Away, ye herd profane!
Latham. I hate and banish hence the godless crowd.

'Divitias operosiores' (III. i. *fin.*).

Gladstone. Wealth that taxes toil and time.
Conington. More laborious luxury.
De Vere. The dull load of luxury.
Martin. Wealth which new-born trouble brings.
Latham. Riches that but add a heavier load.

'Non sine Dis animosus infans' (III. iv. 20).

Gladstone. A charmèd life by heaven's command.
Conington. The child's inspired: the gods were there.
Martin. By the gods' peculiar grace
No craven-hearted child.
Lord Lytton. Infant courageous under ward divine.
Latham. An infant by the gods inspirited.

We might perhaps fitly conclude by giving a few examples of the earliest renderings, and one (Mr. Latham's) which we believe

to be among the very latest. The first comes from the [illegible] Earl of Surrey, and was written about 1545. It is a version of II. x. ('Rectius vives'), of which we give a few lines:

> Whoso gladly halseth the golden meane
>   Voyd of dangers advisdly hath his home
> Not with lothsome muck as a den uncleane,
>   Nor palace-like wherat disdayne may glome.
> The lofty pyne the great winde often rives,
>   With violenter swey falle turrets stepe,
> Lightnings assault the huge mountains and clives.
>   A hart well stayed in overthwartes depe
> Hopeth amends, in swete doth fear the soure.

Under Charles I., William Cartwright, a distinguished scholar of Oxford, translated IV. xiii. ('Audivere, Lyce'), of which the following is a stanza:

> Thou wert awhile the cried-up face
> Of taking arts and catching grace,
>   My Cinara being dead;
>   But my fair Cinara's thread
> Fates broke, intending thine to draw.
> Till thou contest with th' aged daw.

Milton's and Dryden's versions of single poems are so well known that we will content ourselves with a few lines of Dryden's magnificent paraphrase of III. xxix. ('Tyrrhena regum progenies'), of which it has been said that it is probably the one poem written in imitation of Horace that surpasses the original. It is a challenge to Fortune:

>   What is 't to me,
>   Who never sail in her unfaithful sea,
>   If storms arise and clouds grow black,
>   If the mast split and threaten wrack?
> Then let the greedy merchant fear
>   For his ill-gotten gain,
> And pray to gods that will not hear,
> While the debating winds and billows bear
>   His wealth unto the main.

The following is a characteristic specimen (I. vi.) of the art of Mr. F. L. Latham, of Brasenose College, Oxford, the most recent wooer of the Odes, whose volume appeared in 1910:

> Who Mars in adamantine vest arrayed
>   Shall fitly write, or with Troy's dust asmear
> Merion, or Tydides by thine aid,
>   Pallas, of gods the peer?
>
> I sing of revels, I of wars of maids
>   With neat-trimmed nails keen against youths to fight,
> With empty heart, or, if some flame invades,
>   With heart as ever light.

[illegible] by Whyte Melville, [illegible] [illegible] 'vacui sive quid urimur':

> Bards of the banquet's rival jests are we,
> Or amorous struggles of the wanton fair,
> Touch'd by love's glowing dart or fancy-free,
> Still merry, still devoid of care.

If anyone thinks this graceful verse almost runs into numbers, let him observe how it comes out in the triscelerate octosyllabics so dear to the aged statesman:

> No: me the feast, the war employs
> Of girls (their nails well clipt) with boys,
> Me fancy-free or something warm;
> My playful use does no one harm.

The last verse can hardly be called English for

> Non praeter solitum leves.

We cannot refrain from adding the felicitous stanzas of Conington and Martin:

> Feasts are my theme, my warriors maidens fair,
> Who with pared nails encounter youths in fight;
> Be Fancy free or caught in Cupid's snare,
> Her temper still is light.

> Heart-whole or pierced by Cupid's sting,
> We in our airy way
> Of banquets and of maidens sing
> With pared nails coyly skirmishing
> To keep young men at bay.

Widely divergent in their views as to the best method of rendering the Odes of Horace, in one point the translators are agreed. Nearly all of them proclaim in their prefaces that these delightful poems are untranslatable, at least into verse. Mr. Godley, of Magdalen College, Oxford, whose masterly versions we have not quoted, as lying, like Wickham's, outside the scope of our article, which deals only with metrical versions, puts the case well:

> Essays in translating the Odes metrically have never yet been crowned with any real success: they have not so far accomplished anything, save, indeed—and this is itself a gain—that they demonstrate by actual experiment the peculiar evanescence of a lyric charm which is so intimately bound up with the genius of the poet, perhaps with the Latin language itself, that it cannot survive transplantation. . . . These essays will no doubt continue to amuse the leisure of scholarly dilettantists. But the result will be negligible till some really great poet gives himself to the task; and their very magnitude makes great poets too careful of their reputation to attempt a labour where failure is damaging and success, after all, would hardly immortalise.

The late Dean Wickham and Mr. Godley have produced prose versions of the Odes which touch perfection in their scholarship and elegance of style. It is no exaggeration to say that they contain in them as much poetry as the most poetical of the metrical versions. We almost regret that Mr. Godley has made the great refusal of metrical garb. His poems in *Oxford Echoes* and elsewhere show him to be richly endowed with just that kind of literary artistry which might have fitted him to cope with the 'curiosa felicitas' of the Latin lyrist.

We thankfully record our gratitude to those who have delighted us with a rare orchid or splendid jewel here and there. But we must protest against such as, in the interests of compression, have crushed basketfuls of choice exotics into a shapeless mass. Nor can we commend those who use the Odes as little more than pegs on which to hang their own wares. Nearly all the translators admit (as we have observed) that the Odes are not capable of reproduction, yet they are not deterred from attempting the impossible. A medieval philosopher proudly vaunted his faith in the words 'Credo quia impossibile.' We would suggest as a motto for the numerous transplanters of the Odes 'Reddo quia impossibile.'

R. Y. TYRRELL.

THE ULSTER SCOT IN THE UNITED STATES

In the eighties of the last century, just before entering political life, Mr. Roosevelt wrote a remarkable book, entitled 'The Winning of the West.' The region treated of in his inspiring and vigorous pages was not, however, the later West of common parlance, with its cattle ranches, gold mines, grizzly bears, and 'bad men,' but the West of the preceding century, those fat, rich States which lay just behind that section of the great Appalachian chain commonly known as the Alleghanies. For this very reason, perhaps, though the book took its place at once as a standard work in the United States, it seems to have reached few British readers. Some sense, possibly, of the atmosphere in which its scenes are laid was requisite for a full appreciation of what was indeed something of an epic, written as a labour of love by an author then singularly well equipped for doing justice to so fresh, attractive and stirring a subject. To the few in this country who had breathed the atmosphere and knew the scenes it treated of, the book was an unqualified delight. Yet there is some reason to believe it never found its way into Ulster; and this is singular, since it was incidentally an eloquent and glowing tribute to the notable part which the expatriated Scotch-Irish had played in the making of the United States. The very fact indeed that it was not written from an Ulsterman's point of view, or by an author connected with that stock, or with any design whatever upon a Scotch-Irish public on either side of the ocean, should make such a tribute the more significant.

Now the 'American-Irish' of ordinary current speech, otherwise the Catholic Irish element of to-day, are, as a type and community, a product of the nineteenth century, chiefly associated in the American mind with populous centres, and certainly more with politics than with pioneering. The Scotch-Irish American, on the other hand, belongs emphatically to the eighteenth century, and emerged from his pioneering labours, as Mr. Roosevelt declares, 'an American of Americans.' Of the causes of these great and lamentable flights of Irish Presby-

terians across the Atlantic the author said nothing, and possibly knew little. He was not inditing a record of the Scotch-Irish, but of the perilous laborious advance of the white man across the Appalachian ranges and the creation of those great States be[illegible] now broadly known as the 'Middle West'; and the Ulster i[illegible] grants happened to be the breed that took a foremost part i[illegible] enterprise.

It seems almost imperative, however, that a word or [illegible] should be said of the generally-forgotten but deplorable [illegible]ceedings which in a brief space expelled a sufficient numbe[r] of the hardy Scotch Protestants who had settled in Ulste[r] to fight the American wilderness with such effect as vitall[y] to influence that country's destiny. So far as Englishme[n] or Americans know anything at all of the planting of the six counties of Ulster under James the First, there is, I conceive, an inclination to picture the original colonists as entirely or chiefly Scotsmen. A glance over the Statutes of the Ulster Plantation, with the full lists of the Undertakers, shows the confiscated lands of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, a[nd] the numerous lesser chiefs involved in their rising, to ha[ve] been about equally divided between lowland Scottish and E[ng]lish; the former coming mainly from the counties of Dumbarton, Dumfries and Renfrew, and the latter, curiously enough, less from the northern than from the southern half of England, Norfolk and Suffolk being conspicuous. This may accoun[t] for the statements made in contemporary letters that the English, for climatic reasons, could not stand the transfer as well as the Scots, while from their higher conceptions of comfort they were less contented and successful as settlers. The grants, for which nominal head-rents were paid, consisted of uniform tracts [o]n three scales of 2,000, 1,500, and 1,000 acres respectively, wi[th] obligations to erect 'a castle or house of stone surrounded by a bawne,' or walled yard, suggestive of the Border Pele Tower and Barmykin. About a third of the land was precisely specified as demesne, the balance to be planted with tenants from England or the Scottish lowlands, in proportionate and specific numbers, whose houses were to be erected adjoining the bawne—a needless injunction one might fancy! Heavy bonds of performance were given by the grantees. The whole business was thoroughly carried out as we know, and proved materially a complete success. The area at disposal was nearly four million acres; but large portions of this were distributed between the church, the university, the free grammar schools and a few other beneficiaries, while the City of London had all or most of the county called by its name. Lastly, a certain number of the dispossessed natives, the 'meer Irish' as the Statutes have it,

[illegible] ... only on small holdings and on the poorer [illegible]

[illegible] spite of the massacre of 1641, by which many thousand [illegible]s, at the lowest estimate, lost their lives, the Ulster colony [h]ave made amazing strides, and that, too, without any assistance from later immigration. For at the opening [of the] eighteenth century some 30,000 of its people sailed for [Ameri]ca, and altogether within thirty years thrice that number, [mostl]y Scottish Presbyterians, shook the dust of Ireland off their [feet]. For by this time they were more numerous in the North-East than their English fellow-colonists, chiefly Episcopalians. One would expect in such a situation to write 'co-religionists,' but this would be indeed the climax of irony, seeing that religious intolerance was a leading facter in the prolonged and disastrous leakage.

The first stimulus to Protestant emigration was the destruction of the Irish woollen trade through the jealousy of English manufacturers, and the Ulster exodus, estimated at 30,000, was merely her large contribution to the general stampede of English, Scottish, or Huguenots, from all over Ireland which it occasioned. But the protracted and even more serious drain which followed was less the fault of England, whose statesmen indeed made languid protests, than of the precious Parliament in Dublin. To be quite fair to that eloquent assembly, the final blame rests with its Upper House, or, to be yet more concise, with that astonishing group of well-endowed persons, its bishops, who with brilliant exceptions are surely the most complacently preposterous figures in modern history. But it is enough here that they were the chief instruments in retaining the Presbyterian two-thirds of the British garrison in Ulster under humiliating civil and military disabilities. One would hesitate to quote the glowing periods of Mr. Froude in unsupported evidence on contentious points of Irish history. But there is nothing contentious in this. All are agreed, and he puts a common truism, as might be expected, more trenchantly than the rest.

In 1719 a slight concession was wrung from the Dublin Parliament giving the Presbyterians legal permission to erect, and worship in, their own chapels. 'The Irish prelates who swooped down in many cases from London, Bath, or Paris to oppose it were panic-stricken, that the men who saved Ireland from Tyrconnel, who formed two-thirds of the Protestant population of Ulster, were free to open chapels of their own. Though they were incapacitated from holding public employments, though their marriages were invalid, though they were forbidden to open a single school, or hold any office in town or country above the rank of a petty constable, their mere existence as a legal body was held

as a menace to the Church. Vexed with suits in the Ecclesiastical Courts, forbidden to educate their own children in their own faith, treated as dangerous to a State which but for them would have had no existence, and associated with papists in an Act of Parliament which deprived them of their civil rights, the most enterprising of them abandoned the unthankful service. And then recommenced that Protestant emigration which robbed Ireland of the bravest defenders of the English interest, and peopled the American sea-board with fresh flights of Puritans.' But it was not the already occupied sea-board that they peopled; so we purpose here to continue the story so far as the limitations of space admit of.

It is not so much the truculency of the dominant religious faction which provokes astonishment, for that was characteristic of the period everywhere, but the political fatuity of this particular exercise of it. Moreover, the Ulster Presbyterians were after all dissenters but in a technical sense, not as English nonconformists who had broken with the Establishment of their country. These people were hereditary members of a communion that was recognised by King and Parliament as the Established Church of Scotland, enjoying, like that of England, the remnant of the pre-Reformation Church endowments. In Scotland Episcopalians then, as now, were dissenters. But they suffered in the eighteenth century under no disabilities, though for the most part Jacobites; whereas the Ulster Presbyterian was a staunch whig, and supporter of the reigning family! Even the Irish Parliament viewed this drain on Protestant Ireland with anxiety. Indeed, commissioners were appointed to inquire into the cause; which, for an Assembly whose sense of humour was traditionally its strongest point, is excellent. However, it got its information in Blue-book form, and did nothing for sixty years. Meanwhile, as has been stated, 100,000 Ulster Scotsmen left the country within thirty years. For the succeeding forty there was a small but continuous outflow till the further great flights of 1772-4, of which anon.

Now the drift and distribution of the Scotch-Irish emigrants from the very first was as unusual as it proved consistent, but was accounted for in great part by the sentiments they carried with them. Most of the American Colonies south of New England, save the later one of Pennsylvania, either preserved the Anglican establishment or had a strong Anglican flavour in their governing classes. This alone, though there were no bishops, was enough to intimidate these Presbyterian exiles. Nor had New England, so late in the day, any great tracts of unoccupied lands worth having. Yet more, she was herself a group of militant theocracies, and would have given but dubious welcome to a rival form of

[illegible] and one was so historically opposed to her own.[1] [illegible] the larger portion of this exodus, sailing week after week in the comfortless little ships of that day from Belfast and Derry, headed for Philadelphia, while a substantial minority made for Charleston, South Carolina. It would seem in both cases that the Ulsterman had made up his mind to have nothing more to do with any Governments, British or Colonial, civil or religious. In South Carolina, though a fairly tolerant province, he made his way rapidly through civilisation and settled along the then unoccupied foothills that rise gradually to the most southern section of the Alleghanies. The larger northern stream pressed through the fat sea-board Quaker districts of Pennsylvania, pushed past the German farmers of the second belt, and flung themselves with no little daring upon the perilous Indian frontier and the straggling northern section of that mighty forest range.[2]

Now the Alleghanies traverse a south-westerly course, roughly speaking from Pennsylvania to Georgia; a huge natural wall, forming at that day the western barrier of Maryland, Virginia, and the two Carolinas; a deep range of successive ridges, rising in places, to four, five, and in North Carolina even to six thousand feet.

Between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic lay the lower country, from one to two hundred miles in width: where in this eighteenth century dwelt the whole population of our middle and southern colonies, say a million whites and four hundred thousand negro slaves. In 1730, to take a pertinent date, these provinces had some hundred years more or less of existence, and were rapidly growing in population, with but slight assistance from immigration, which, save in Pennsylvania, had long ceased to arrive in any strength. The sea-coast regions were the seats of now old-established communities, giving gradual way to a back belt of country still in process of taming by the first or second generation of its occupants. There was still a great forest solitude between this 'back country' and the Alleghanies, and into this along the foot of the mountains the bulk of the Scotch-Irish pressed their way. As will have been gathered, they struck the range near its two extremities at points some 700 miles apart. The larger groups in the Pennsylvania foothills pushed gradually south, while the Carolina borderers pressed north, till long before the Revolutionary war the two streams had met and

[1] Some of the Scotch-Irish emigrants did go to New England, where they found themselves in many cases compelled to pay dues to the Congregational churches.

[2] Some did not go so far, but settled on the edge or within the radius of 'back-country' civilisation, and were supplied with ministers by the Scottish Presbyterian Church.

[illegible]

[illegible] against the Indian, who roamed among the [illegible] of the Alleghanies and was in considerable strength behind them.

These mountains were then the western limit of the British Empire. Behind them, short of the Spanish and French territories in the remote West and far South-West, all was a shadowy no-man's-land, vaguely claimed by three nations but virtually held by the most formidable savage warrior, in his own woods, that the world has ever seen. It was the Scotch-Irishman's destiny—if deliberate choice can be so termed—to encounter him in the continual twilight of his own thick forests for three, or even four, generations, and finally to push him out of the far richer transmontane country of the Ohio and Eastern Mississippi basin. Mention too may be incidentally made of the great French scheme of trans-Alleghany dominion, and indeed of a French North America; the attempt at which took shape in 1754 and culminated in the American wing of the Seven Years' War, Wolfe's victory on the Plains of Abraham, and the ultimate expulsion of the French power from the continent.

But the long-drawn line of Scotch-Irish fortified settlements cared less than nothing for British Imperial conquests, and very little at that time for Pennsylvanians, Virginians, or Carolinians, within whose several jurisdictions they nominally lived. Indeed, they saw nothing at all of their fellow-colonists but such detached fragments as broke away from colonial civilisation from time to time and went West to join them. They remained, in short, a people unto themselves; whether planted upon the head-waters of the Potomac, the James, the Roanoke, or the Peedee, just 'mountainy men,' as they were called by these others, sheltering far in their rear and themselves less capable of fighting Indians, from whom they had long been removed, than even the British regular of Braddock's day. But the passion for the wilderness which turned these Ulstermen into experts provoked at the same time the inevitable hostility of the savage. The farmer or weaver of Ulster underwent no little transformation amid such grim and stern surroundings, though his grit one may be sure lost nothing by them, and when he emerged again into the civilisation that his fathers had won from the wilderness, he found no trouble in playing a leading part in it. But in the meantime a glance at him during the process would assuredly have astonished his stay-at-home kinsfolk in Antrim or Down! He was a farmer so far as was needful and practicable out of reach of all markets, though as often as not his corn was planted and his grass mown with the long-barrelled, short-stocked, ponderous, small-bore rifle, upon which his life so often hung, placed ready and loaded against a handy stump. What sheep he could protect from the bears and wolves, together with a patch of flax, provided his family with

[illegible] swarthy as an Indian and almo[illegible] [illegible] with hair, the object sometimes of no little pride, falling to his shoulders from beneath a coon-skin cap, a buck-skin hunting-shirt tied at the waist, his nether man encased in the Indian breech-clout, and his feet shod in deer-skin moccasins completed the picture. A hunter, indeed, pre-eminently, not merely for the venison, wild turkey, and bear-meat that more than supplemented his frugal fare, but pelts were almost his sole marketable commodity. Once a year trains of pack-horses laden with the season's spoil of a settlement would go jangling eastward to the border market-towns, returning with salt and iron, articles of vital import to backwoods life. Indeed, a bushel of salt, so laborious was its carriage, was worth a cow and a half!

Such, in the rough, as regards externals, was the Ulster borderer: a type of thousands in the transition period from the civilisation which, though needing him, heaven knows, badly enough at home, drove him out to be the stoutest creator of that other civilisation of which he became later on such a conspicuous figure.

The Alleghanies, with their spurs and lateral ridges, are assuredly the most beautiful mountains in North America—putting the Rockies out of consideration as appealing to a quite different standard. The Adirondacks, the White Mountains, the Laurentians of Lower Canada are at a distinct aesthetic disadvantage from the almost unrelieved monotony of pine forest which covers them. This great eighteenth-century frontier rampart, on the other hand, was clad to its very summits, ridge behind ridge, as it often is yet, with a rich canopy of deciduous foliage. Oak and chestnut, poplar and maple, beech and hickory, elm, walnut and ash here interlace their boughs. Intervals of pine, hemlock, or cedar strike but sombre note here and there amid the lush verdure of early summer, or the gorgeous curtain of red, gold, and saffron which, with a radiant splendour unmatched in New England or Canada, hangs from the blue autumnal skies. For a touch of the Southern atmosphere begins to creep over these mountains. A certain indescribable 'hardness,' which attaches to the region of greater climatic extremes to the northward, sensibly vanishes. The lights become softer and richer, the sun both in its rising and its setting more lavish of great effects. Among the woods, too, is always the music of falling waters; pellucid mountain-streams, burrowing their way down tortuous glens, ablaze in June, beneath the grey columns of the forest, with the purple flare of rhododendrons and the ivory gleam of kalmia.

Such was the country which confronted the Scotch-Irish borderer, along his far-extended line, till quite late in the century

his vanguard crossed to the fat lands that proved his ultimate reward. The first generation, whose apprenticeship must have been severe and pangs of nostalgia acute, had to find consolation in the absence of bishops and all forms of interference by any Government. Their sons, accomplished frontiersmen, knew no other life, while the constant influx of later recruits from overseas had in these pioneers ready instructors in the arts of the wilderness. The Scotch-Irish, to be sure, by no means monopolised the whole strength of this frontier. But they formed its backbone—its controlling element—and set the tone to which all comers conformed. For numbers of adventurers or needy souls from the settled regions cast in their lot with them. Wild or penniless younger sons from the plantations, where entail and primogeniture still flourished, passed through the back counties, their usual resort, and were caught by the fascination of the wilderness. Rough men, too, of wandering habit came here, whether of English, Scotch, Swiss, or German blood: Daniel Boone was of English stock; George Rogers Clarke was an Anglo-Virginian, Sevier, a Huguenot; while Shelby was of Welsh origin—to mention a few conspicuous names. But Scotch-Irish was the dominant strain, and once a mountain-man, nationality had little further significance.

Their small settlements lay mostly in the well-watered valleys among the foothills of the main range. Two rows of cabins of squared logs would stand face to face, their back walls thus forming a compact outer defence; loopholes were pierced for the long-barrelled rifles, while the end of the little street could be readily closed at a crisis.

In the more dangerous posts—for localities naturally differed in this respect—there was a block-house to which the defenders, if hard beset, could retire with their families as the garrison of a medieval castle in like predicament abandoned the inner bailey for the keep. Around the village spread the clearings, their outer fringes still bristling with raw stumps, such as you may see anywhere in the folds of the Alleghanies to-day, and beyond the stumps or the huge skeletons of 'belted' trees was the interminable mysterious forest, whence issued every enemy of the settler, human fiend or predatory beast. Every borderer was an expert shot and a skilled axeman, for the rifle and the axe were the tools essential to life. Physical courage and normal honesty were his title to recognition. Nothing else very much mattered. Their rifles were inordinately long and heavy, bored out of solid iron for small bullets of sixty to the pound, and carrying with precision up to about eighty yards. In past years spent near this old stamping-ground of the Scotch-Irishman I have frequently handled surviving specimens of these portentous, ill-balanced

weapons, some of which were nearly six feet long, and I have seen one or two that only a strong man could hold to his shoulder. But the old backwoodsmen, as a matter of fact, fired when possible from a rest. Every settlement, or group of settlements, possessed a rough military organisation with an appointed leader. But effective discipline, with such heady individualists, was out of the question. The advantage here lay, curiously enough, with the Indians, who by this time were all armed with the rifle, and almost as good shots as the borderer. But efficient as the latter became in every art of forest-warfare and the chase, he could never conceal himself or follow a trail with the consummate craft of the savage. The latter, too, in an action between large war-parties could maintain an extended line in the thick woods with an accuracy beyond the power of any large body of white men. Lastly, he was obedient to his leaders, and, above all, knew exactly when to give up the game and vanish, at which he was a past-master. Of ordinary fear the Red Indian knew nothing, but he held on principle that to fight on for mere bravado and court defeat or even a drawn battle was mere foolishness—poor strategy, in short. For his numbers were limited, and he was really anxious 'to fight another day' to better purpose. In the innumerable sanguinary contests on the frontier between single men or small groups, the borderer held his own: combats that began with the rifle from behind trees or logs, to be often continued by a hand-to-hand fight with tomahawks, and always terminating with the last horror of the scalping-knife. As regards hostilities on a larger scale, however, the battle of the Great Kenawha in 1774, where over a thousand of either colour were engaged, is said to be the first occasion in which a force of borderers ever defeated an equal number of Indians. This is subversive of our accepted ideas of savage warfare, which are accustomed, with good reason, to picture small companies of Britons defying the rage of heathen hosts. But the conditions here were peculiar, as will be patent on a moment's reflection.

The borderers were in a chronic state of more or less warfare with the Indians. The country just beyond the Alleghanies was the common hunting-ground at that time of both the North-Western and the Southern tribes. They resented the intrusion of the 'long hunters' who, in twos and threes, or even alone, would thread the remotest forests for months at a time, under incredible hardships and dangers, fascinated, as it were, by their own dare-devil powers. But, above all, the savage dreaded the slow advance of the settlements, with the result that these last could never feel really secure, and a successful raid on a frontier settlement was in truth a frightful thing. For it meant not merely death and destruction, but for the men protracted horrible

tortures, for the women slavery and degradation. The bloody tale is full of those extraordinary instances, not of mercy, for the Red man was frankly devoid of that amiable characteristic—but of caprice which spared and even cherished an occasional captive. Enoch Ardens figured in frequent incidents of the frontier, where an unwritten law gave the woman her choice between the first husband and the one in possession. Such religion as survived among these descendants of the Covenanters was nominally Presbyterian, and there were even a few log churches. But there was no exaltation of the occasional wandering preacher. On the contrary, in his rousing exhortations he had to be careful of the *amour propre* of his touchy audience lest peradventure he should find himself in the brook!

Nor, again, was there much left of the technical observances, the scriptural searchings, the ardent theological controversies and hair-splittings which distinguished their covenanting forefathers, or their own North British kinsmen. But they retained the designation of their creed, at any rate, and in later days of peace and plenty their descendants mostly resumed their position within its orthodox fold. Sunday seems to have been observed, when convenient. There were a good many Bibles, too, and even a few secular books on the frontier, and the rudiments of education were fairly well maintained. There seems to have been, on the whole, a certain rough-and-ready sense of religion, curiously mingled with a secular truculency that the strain of such an existence naturally fostered. Morality took care of itself, as in the respectable classes of the Southern States, where a detected breach of it was avenged to the death if there were any male relatives to take the part of the woman. Rough justice was meted out to the thief, from death in the case of a horse, to a flogging for a bag of meal. The women and children were treated with kindness and affection; the boys trained to the rifle from a tender age, and taught to take their place at the loophole in case of need. The pastimes of the frontier consisted of shooting-matches, short-course races on the lean, hardy little nags which every man possessed, and last, but not least, wrestling contests. These often degenerated into those savage mauls of biting and 'gouging' that for some inexplicable reason obtained among all types of the common people throughout the Middle and Southern States, and are referred to with horror by English travellers of the period. But such documentary evidence is superfluous. For within my own memory the backwoodsmen of the Southern Alleghanies occasionally indulged in these brutal contests, which seemed so paradoxical among men of British stock. They went out of fashion with the introduction of the revolver after the Civil War. But in the seventies there was still here and

...of these in the remoter counties, ... prowess in these appalling rough-and-tumble. For some were quasi-friendly contests, though only ... with insensibility, and often the permanent disfigurement of the vanquished. The traditional procedure of a competitor for honours at this brutal business was to leap on a stump, crack his heels, flap his arms, and crow in imitation of a rooster (for cock-fighting too was popular), proclaiming at great length, and in a sort of bastard imitation of the boastful Indian brave chanting his war-song, the frightful punishment he would administer to anyone foolhardy enough to accept his invitation.

The most wholesale catastrophe that ever befel the Scotch-Irish frontier was after Braddock's defeat on the Monongahela in 1755. This sheep-like slaughter of the first British regular force ever seen in America was a moral disaster, and brought the Indians, egged on and often led by the French, in their whole strength against the frontier, which was rolled back along its northern half in an orgie of blood, fire, and massacre—upon the terrified outer belt of civilisation behind them. Even the planters of the Maryland and Virginia low country began to quake in their beds; for they weren't fond of fighting at that time, as their deplorable apathy throughout this whole French war conspicuously demonstrated. Their Legislature had rather grudgingly supplied young Colonel Washington, himself of backwoods experience, with a thousand mutinous militiamen and equally inefficient officers. The father-to-be of his country, then stationed in the Shenandoah Valley, speaks of them, and indeed of the whole attitude of his own colony, with scorn and indignation. The sight of the fugitive settlers drove Washington half frantic in his impotency to advance with such a ragged and ill-found regiment, 'mumbling property and liberty' at every touch of discipline. Hundreds of families were flying eastward through the passes, with heartrending tales of the desolation, death, and worse they had left behind them. The smug Quaker Legislature of Pennsylvania for long declined to provide a man or a dollar. They were safe themselves, and war was against their principles. The Scotch-Irish borderer within the limits of that colony, raging at the ruined homesteads and mangled corpses of his compatriots, threatened to ride on Philadelphia. After infinite delay and one ludicrous panic that the wild frontiersmen were actually upon them with immediate designs on the peaceful burghers' scalps, some tardy measures for defence were taken. It was not, however, till the French were driven out of the Ohio Valley two years later that the fiendish work was entirely stayed and peace restored upon the extreme northern frontier, hitherto the less dangerous section. The Quakers had always cherished a

particular antipathy to the Presbyterians. Henceforward we may be sure it was returned with interest.

It seems just possible that the reader may have formed an impression that these borderers were mere nomads, advancing as it were *en bloc*. If so, I must hasten to correct it. The advance was made gradually from position to position by the more adventurous souls and the surplus youth. The rough clearings remained in their owners' hands, to become in time smiling fields, and the log cabins to be replaced by comfortable homesteads. The wave of colonial civilisation in the rear gradually swept in. New counties were formed, with their Court-houses. Churches and schools arose, and the Scotch-Irish belt became by degrees absorbed into the normal life of the colony. But it never lost its racial flavour, and of this vitality the beautiful Shenandoah Valley in Virginia is to-day an admirable illustration. It is the most ornate and best-farmed region of that State, lying between the lofty narrow wall of the Blue Ridge and the main Alleghany chain, and containing four counties and probably 150,000 souls. The dominant racial note is still Scotch-Irish, and 'The Valley' is regarded in Virginia by its mainly English-descended and easy-going people as a Scotch-Irish district, and distinguished for certain characteristics not shared by the typical Virginian of the slave districts, as many years spent near its edge gives me good reason to know. A superiority in farming, in thrift, and the fullest measure of all the essential virtues were always frankly conceded to the Scotch-Irishman. Indeed, his comparatively well-tilled fields, his roomy substantial barn and modest but neat dwelling, were in sufficient contrast to the slovenly farming, the poor out-buildings but more pretentious dwelling, of his eastern neighbour. He had not, as a rule, cared to own many slaves before the War, for practical not conscientious reasons, and showed his sense thereby. But his neighbours were accustomed to qualify their encomiums by certain criticism of his hardness at a bargain, his lack of gratuitous hospitality to the casual wayfarer, his reserve and other traits inscrutable to the more expansive soul of the Anglo-Southerner. Indeed, in the hearing one might almost fancy the latter a Kilkenny squireen discussing the farmer of Down or Antrim, for their temperamental antipathies were of much the same nature.

About 1772 came another great flight of Presbyterians from Ulster. Though their civil disabilities still remained, this later dislodgement was mainly provoked by large and sweeping evictions on several great estates. To be precise, numbers of long leases terminated about this time, and, with but slight regard for the thrifty, long-seated tenant, the farms were relet virtually to the highest bidder, and the Celtic population of optimistic

[illegible]

[illegible] and not as yet of the emigrating habit, [illegible] joyfully into the competition. According to Dr. Reid, a fourth of the rural Presbyterian population of Ulster now crossed the sea —a certain nobleman of large possessions, and a commoner of great estate, seem to have been the chief offenders, followed by many other landlords. This provoked riots and counter-riots, and created the 'Peep o' Day Boys' and 'Catholic Defenders,' and no end of that turbulence familiar to the miserable annals of Irish history. 'It is rare,' says Mr. Froude, 'that two private persons have power to create effects so considerable as to assist in dismembering an empire and provoking a civil war [the Irish rebellion of '98]. One was rewarded with a marquisate, the other with a viscountcy. If rewards were proportioned to deserts, a fitter retribution to both of them would have been forfeiture and Tower Hill.' For this last exodus is commonly credited by historians with contributing in great abundance to Washington's armies. This is probable, as numbers of these 30,000 exiles would have scarcely yet settled down, and so be ripe and ready for an adventure that must have marched at the moment with their embittered feelings. The real borderers, however, took no great part in the War of Independence. Their sympathies would have been almost to a man anti-British, but they were too remotely situated to feel strongly about questions which they neither understood nor were directly affected by. Above all, they had the Indian danger ever present at home. The Shenandoah Valley sent numbers of riflemen, while a thousand mounted men from the much remoter settlements in the North Carolina mountains made in 1780 one flying march into the zone of war, fought on their own account the dramatic and victorious battle of King's Mountain against Ferguson and his Tory militia from the Carolinas, and went back again to fight for their own homes against fresh Indian attacks. The crowning achievement, however, of the Ulster immigrants was the leading part they took in the perilous settlement and peaceful occupation of Kentucky Ohio, and Tennessee at the close of the century. Of all the older stocks who helped to make the United States, it is quite certain that none in proportion to its numbers has deserved better of the Republic, or produced in after years more men of mark in every department of life. No other, perhaps, has proved in this respect its equal.

A. G. Bradley.

RIVAL LAND POLICIES

In a recent debate in the House of Lords the Duke of Marlborough appealed to the Government to make a full statement of their land policy, to which Lord Crewe replied that it was sufficiently indicated in the measures which the Government had passed into law. It seems to me a much more pertinent question to ask what is the land policy of the Unionist party. There is no lack of material from which an answer to that question might be deduced, ranging from Mr. Jesse Collings' Purchase of Land Bill to the suggestions of Sir Gilbert Parker and the Small Ownership Committee, not to mention Mr. Ellis Barker's drastic proposals for the compulsory expropriation of the existing race of landlords and the establishment in their place of 5,000,000 small freeholders. But when we look more closely into the matter, two points of interest emerge. In the first place, it is instructive to notice that the specific proposals which are put forward emanate mainly from men who cannot be regarded as specially representative of the landed interest or of agriculture. I believe that the late Lord Salisbury was once irreverent enough to describe Mr. Jesse Collings as an inveterate Cockney, and certainly neither Sir Gilbert Parker nor Mr. Ellis Barker have hitherto been recognised as agricultural experts. I should be the last person to say that for that reason their proposals are unworthy of serious consideration, but it is at least permissible to note that the Unionist party, who have always affected to jeer at the Liberals for their alleged lack of practical knowledge of land and agriculture, are now being led on these questions by a trio of townsmen. There are some interesting comments on this point by a Unionist writer in the April number of the *Fortnightly Review*, who speaks of 'a vast and ridiculous scheme for peasant proprietorship,' and appeals to Mr. Bonar Law to 'refuse to allow urban members to impose their theoretical views on the agricultural members of the party.' In the second place, it is worthy of notice that the official leaders of the Unionist party have been extremely cautious in their endorsement of the details of the policy that they are being pressed to adopt. It is true that Sir Gilbert Parker extracted a commendatory letter from Mr. Balfour, which is printed in the introduction to his book, *The Land, the People, and the State*, but the

[illegible] of which [illegible] It is true also, I believe, that Mr. Bonar [illegible] Mr. Austen Chamberlain have included in their platform speeches references to the need for land reform on a basis of owner[illegible] From Lord Lansdowne, on the other hand, we have had [not] so much a declaration of what the official Unionist policy is, [as] what it is not, when he replied to me in the House of Lords that in his opinion it would be a great misfortune to the country to substitute for the present system of land tenure some vast system of land purchase under which every occupant of a farm might be converted into a small landlord.

But, after all, in spite of the traditional cold water which the official leaders of the Tory party always think it their duty to pour upon the projects of their more enthusiastic followers, I suppose it may be accepted that the Unionist party do propose, if and when they are responsible for the government of the country, to initiate a scheme of State-aid occupying ownership. Certainly the average voter is justified in his belief that the Unionist party believes in occupying ownership, while the Liberal party, which in this instance at least is the more truly conservative, believes that tenancy is the system best suited to the needs of agriculture in this country. In every rural constituency the emissaries of the Rural League and the rank and file of Tory speakers are hard at work promising the electors that, if they will return them to power, the same facilities as the State has given to Irish farmers will be extended to their English brethren, and that they are to be enabled to become their own landlords by annual payments which will be little, if at all, larger than their present rents. Farmers' clubs and Chambers of Agriculture all over the country are encouraged to pass resolutions in favour of Mr. Jesse Collings' Bill, and the small holders are told that, instead of being the tenants of a harsh and exacting landlord in the shape of the County Council, they are all to be converted into freeholders, enjoying the 'magic of property' under their own vine and their own fig-tree. Now all this is an extremely plausible and attractive picture, and it is worth while to consider whether there is any possibility of its realisation, and whether the basis of ownership on which it is to be created is really a sound foundation for agriculture in this country, or a desirable end, either from the point of view of the State or from that of the individual farmer or small holder.

The Irish Analogy

In the first place, it is necessary to say a few words about the alleged Irish analogy. It may be an effective rhetorical point for the platform to ask why the State should not assist English

farmers to purchase their holdings on the same terms as are given to Irish farmers, but such a question ignores entirely the fundamental differences in the conditions of the two countries. In Ireland, owing to the fact that it was the practice for the tenants to do all the improvements, permanent as well as temporary, on their farms, a system had grown up, partly by custom and partly as a result of legislative enactments, under which the tenant acquired an interest in his holding far in excess of what was due to him for his improvements. Under the system of Free Sale, he obtained a saleable property in the right to the occupancy of his farm, which often amounted to as much as 5*l.* an acre, apart from ordinary tenant-right, as it is understood in England. The result was that incoming tenants were hopelessly burdened, landlords were reduced to mere rent-chargers with no responsibilities or obligations, and a perfect tangle of dual ownership grew up, which became so intolerable that the only solution was to buy out one of the parties. Accordingly the State came to the rescue, and by the gift of a sum of 12,000,000*l.* and a loan which will probably amount to 180,000,000*l.* the knot was cut, and the tenants are becoming the absolute owners of their holdings by payments extending over a period of sixty-eight and a-half years.

The position in this country is exactly the opposite. Almost all the permanent improvements on agricultural land are made by the landlords. The system of tenancy has not broken down, the worst evils of dual ownership have been avoided, and there has been practically no demand for Free Sale. It is surely an extreme instance of the irony of fate that a policy, which has been largely the outcome of legislation consistently denounced by the Tory party for twenty years, should now be proposed to be applied to a country where the exceptional circumstances which were the only possible justification for its adoption in Ireland are conspicuous by their absence. If further evidence were needed of the false analogy of the Irish case, I would refer Mr. Collings and his friends to Lord Lansdowne, who is himself an Irish landlord intimately acquainted with the whole history of the question. Speaking in the House of Lords on the 7th of March last, he said: 'I quite agree that the Irish analogy is not one which can be pressed when you are talking of the system of land tenure in this country. As we all know, we have had in Ireland to pass through something like an agrarian revolution. We had to find a way out. Our legislation was, as I conceive, not very well devised in its earlier days; we had to find a way out, and we found one by resorting to State-aid land purchase. In Ireland, however, the agricultural system had broken down, while in this country it has not only not broken down, but it has been wonderfully successful, and it has been one which has tided landlord and

over an extremely anxious and difficult time. I for one would infinitely regret to see that system disappear entirely.

In the face of the radical difference in the conditions of the two countries, it is surely nothing short of dishonest to delude English farmers into thinking that any Government is the least likely to propose to apply the Irish Land Purchase Acts to England. And yet we find Mr. J. L. Green, the Secretary of Mr. Jesse Collings' Rural League, asserting before Lord Faversham's Committee that 'whatever is good enough for the Government of the day to do for Ireland, the farmers of this country ought to have the same privileges.' Is it any wonder that as a result of this unscrupulous propaganda the Central Chamber of Agriculture, the Scottish Chamber of Agriculture, the Farmers' Club, and no fewer than 168 other Chambers of Agriculture and Farmers' Associations have passed resolutions in favour of Mr. Jesse Collings' Bill? I do not blame them, but it is difficult to speak with sufficient restraint of those who are deluding them with vain hopes. It is high time that English farmers were told definitely by the responsible leaders of the Unionist party that they have no intention of adopting Mr. Collings' Bill, if they wish to absolve themselves from complicity in the charge of obtaining votes under false pretences.

Financial Difficulties

But even if the position in this country was at all analogous to that in Ireland, financial considerations alone would present an impassable obstacle to any proposals for land purchase in England on similar lines to those adopted in Ireland. We have recently been told by Lord St. Aldwyn that there never was a piece of more unsound finance than the Irish Land Act of 1903. When that Act was discussed, we were told that the problem to be dealt with would represent a capital of something like 100,000,000*l*. This has proved to be a serious underestimate, and it is now agreed that not much less than 180,000,000*l*. will be required, and, further, it has been necessary to raise the annual instalment for principal and interest from 3¼ per cent. to 3½ per cent., while the bonus, which was to have amounted to 12,000,000*l*., will probably reach 20,000,000*l*. The obligations under the Irish Act are already as much as, if not more than, the State can finance, and if a similar policy were initiated for this country, the amount involved would be increased sixfold. It is obvious that if the purchase instalments are not to exceed considerably the rents at present paid, the State would have to provide a bonus of at least 120,000,000*l*. for English landlords, for there is no reason to believe that the Tory party will induce the landlords to accept terms less favourable than those granted to their Irish confrères;

and the total amount of the loan for land purchase [illegible] less than 1,000,000,000*l*. It is the merest midsummer [illegible] to dream that any responsible Government could adopt a [illegible] which would mean not only a State grant of 120,000,000*l*. [illegible] particular class, but also would hopelessly disorganise the money market for generations.

Mr. Jesse Collings' Bill

It may be said that Mr. Jesse Collings' Bill only provides for the issue of 10,000,000*l*. for the purchase of their holdings by sitting tenants, but it must be remembered that in this matter it is the first step that counts. If the Government once embarked upon a policy of State-aided land purchase, it would be impossible to draw the line at 10,000,000*l*. and to refuse to the great majority of sitting tenants the facilities which had been afforded to a favoured few. Moreover, the advocates of the Bill do not pretend that it can be so limited. What they want is to get the principle accepted, and they display a touching innocence when the question of ways and means comes to be considered. Mr. Green told Lord Haversham's Committee that the Bill leaves it to the Government of the day to find the money, and under cross-examination he first suggested that the money should come from the same source as the Chancellor of the Exchequer gets money for old-age pensions from—namely, taxation—and then withdrew that answer in favour of a suggestion that a guaranteed land stock bearing interest at 3 or 3¼ per cent. might be issued. The whole of Mr. Green's evidence before the Committee is extremely instructive as an illustration of the 'sloppy' finance on which the Bill is founded.

Lord Dunmore's Bill

In addition to Mr. Jesse Collings' Bill, another proposal has been put forward, for which I understand Sir Gilbert Parker is largely responsible. I refer to Lord Dunmore's Small Ownership and National Land Bank Bill, which was introduced into the House of Lords last year. This Bill proposes to set up a National Land Bank with a nominal capital of 5,000,000*l*., and with power to issue debentures to the extent of 25,000,000*l*. bearing interest at 3½ per cent. guaranteed by the Government. The Bank is to lend 80 per cent. of the value of the land to be purchased, charging 4 per cent. interest, to include sinking fund, and the County Councils are to be compelled to advance the remaining 20 per cent. on the security of a second mortgage. This Bill was pulverised by Lord Belper, speaking on behalf of the County Councils' Association, and by Lord Faber, on behalf of the bankers, and though it received the barren compliment of a second reading, nothing more has been heard of it.

CASH DEPOSITS

Before leaving this subject, there is one further point to which reference should be made, and that is the question of a cash deposit. It appears to be an essential part of the Unionist policy of land reform that the whole of the purchase money shall be advanced, and that no deposit should be required from the purchaser. It is true that this only follows the Irish precedent, but here again it is necessary to point out that the example of Ireland is irrelevant. What the State advances in Ireland is the value of the landlord's interest, which is very far from being the full value of the land. The value of the tenant's interest in Ireland is very much greater than is ever the case in England. It is probably never less than one-fourth of the value of the land, and in many cases it is as much as one-half, so that, although the purchasing tenant is not required to make any cash payment, the value of his interest in the land affords a good margin of security for the advance from the State of the whole of the value of the landlord's interest. In England the position is quite different, and it is very doubtful if any Government would feel justified in advancing the whole of the purchase price of a holding to the sitting tenant. The question has been considered by many Committees, including Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's Select Committee on Small Holdings in 1889, Lord Onslow's Departmental Committee on Small Holdings in 1906, and Lord Haversham's Departmental Committee this year, and they have all agreed with practical unanimity that it is essential in the interests of the State to require some cash payment from a purchaser. If this is fully realised by the farmers and small holders, I am confident that we shall hear little more of the burning desire for ownership which we are told exists at present.

The truth is that the practical financial difficulties in the way of any large scheme of State-aided purchase, which shall be at the same time acceptable to the purchasing tenants and safe for the State, are insuperable. Farmers, quite rightly, will not look at any scheme which would lock up part of their working capital, or which would involve the payment of purchase instalments appreciably larger than their present rents; landowners, quite naturally, are not prepared to accept less than the market value of their property, and would probably object to being paid in bonds rather than in cash; and the State, quite obviously, ought not to be asked to provide out of the pockets of the taxpayers the money necessary to make up the difference between what the farmers will pay and what the landowners will accept.

Is Occupying Ownership Desirable?

It may, however, be worth while to consider whether, supposing that some financial genius is successful in preparing a sound scheme of State-aided purchase, it would be to the advantage of the State as a whole, to the industry of agriculture, or to the individual farmer or small holder that it should be adopted. On this question there is much to be learnt from the experience of the past. At one time the number of occupying owners in this country was very considerable, but the great majority have disappeared owing to one of two causes, both of which are still operative. In a country like ours, where so much of the land has a value in excess of what it is worth as the raw material of agriculture, and where there is a demand for land on the part of men who are prepared to pay for the social and political amenities which its possession confers, the small freeholder was in the past, and will in the future be, tempted to sell by prices which will give him an income in excess of what he could obtain from the cultivation of the land. A large number of the old yeomen have been bought out in this way. A still larger number went under in the bad times of agricultural depression. The Royal Commission on Agriculture of 1893 reported that 'occupying owners, whether yeomen or small freeholders, are weighted with a burden of debt which places them, in such times as have been recently experienced, in a worse position than the tenant farmer,' and the evidence in support of this opinion is overwhelming.

To give only a few instances, the late Mr. S. B. L. Druce, the well-known Secretary of the Farmers' Club, expressed the opinion that the tenant farmer is in a better position as a farmer than the occupying owner. Mr. John Treadwell said 'the occupying owner is worse off than any other class of farmer.' Mr. Clare Sewell Read said 'yeomen have been hit hardest of all: they have had to bear both the losses of the landlord and the losses of the tenant'; and Mr. Wilson Fox reported that 'the general conditions of the small freeholders in the East of Lincolnshire is that they are working like slaves to earn interest for moneylenders.'

The Object of the State

From the point of view of the State, it is no exaggeration to say that occupying ownership is the worst possible system. It is one that contains within itself the seeds of decay, and nothing is more certain than that as soon as it is established, the occupying owner will tend to disappear and the old process of consolidation of estates will begin again. It cannot be sound policy for the State to risk its credit for the promotion of a system which will be only temporary, and will require to be done all over again in

[illegible] of a generation or so. So far as small holdings are [illegible], the important thing for the State is to proceed on [illegible] which will ensure not only their creation, but their preservation, and for this purpose a system of tenancy under a public authority [illegible] far more effectual than any system of ownership. As Mr. Wilkins has pointed out, 'if small holdings are offered to the agricultural community on the basis of ownership, machinery must continually be available to replace those which rapidly disappear at the other end of the process. It will not have been done once for all. As fast as one estate is cut up, large farm-houses divided, fences erected, we must expect to see, as we are seeing now, hedgerows levelled and two houses thrown into one.' On the other hand, a system of tenancy under a public authority guarantees that the land, so long as it is wanted for small holdings, will always be occupied by genuine small holders. The picture that is drawn by the advocates of ownership of the peasant proprietor handing on his property to his descendants to the third and fourth generation is a very idyllic one, but, unfortunately, [illegible] does not correspond with the facts. I am quite certain that there are far more cases of long-continued occupation of a holding by the same family among tenants than among occupying owners. I am told that in one large parish of 12,000 acres in the Eastern counties there are only two cases in which a small freehold has remained in the possession of the same family during the last forty years, and it is a complete delusion to suppose that, if you set up a system of small ownership with the help of the State, the descendants of the original purchaser will necessarily continue to carry on the cultivation of the land after his death.

Disastrous to Agriculture

Further, is there any reason to believe that it would be to the advantage of the agricultural industry as a whole to promote a system of occupying ownership? It is notorious that on most small freeholds little or nothing is spent on repairs, and the houses and buildings are inferior and dilapidated; while there [illegible] no reason to think that the land will produce more under a system of occupying ownership than under a system of landlord and tenant. The Richmond Commission of 1879-1882 reported [illegible] follows:

> Changes have indeed been suggested with a view to encourage the establishment of a peasant proprietary. While we deem it highly expedient to facilitate and cheapen the transfer of land, we are of opinion that no special facilities should be given to stimulate the artificial growth of a system which appears to be ill adapted to the habits of the people or to the condition of agriculture in this country.

The Welsh Land Commission, of which I was a member, were of opinion that 'the agricultural industry is likely to be carried on more profitably upon a well-regulated system of tenancy than by yeomen proprietors,' and they added that 'the multiplication of small agricultural owners is not an advantage in the general interests, and in the long run it tends to lower the standard of comfort and to oppose obstacles to progress in every direction.' Mr. James Macdonald, the Secretary of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, in his excellent pamphlet on *Systems of Land Tenure*, says 'it is indeed the firm conviction of the writer that the extensive conversion of the tenant farmer system into occupying ownership would end in disaster to British agriculture.' Mr. Anker Simmons, a land agent of large experience, in a paper read before the Farmers' Club, said that in his opinion 'it will be a bad day for English agriculture and those who are engaged in it if the old system of landlord and tenant is abolished in favour of a return to that of occupying ownership.' Such quotations might be multiplied indefinitely, and in view of the fact that under our traditional system of landlord and tenant we have succeeded in obtaining a larger return of agricultural produce per acre than is the case in any other country, and that our live stock is acknowledged to be the best in the world, he is a bold man who can maintain that better results would be obtained under a system of occupying ownership.

Useless to Farmers

From the point of view of the individual farmer or small holder, the objections to ownership are manifold. It is important to remember that it is the use of the land that the farmer wants, not its ownership, and it is undeniable that capital employed in the cultivation of land returns a much higher rate of interest than capital employed in its ownership. Mr. James Macdonald states that the return a landlord obtains from the ownership of agricultural land rarely exceeds 3 per cent.; but no farmer would be satisfied unless he obtained a return from his capital of 8 or even 10 per cent., and it is economically unsound to devote any part of the capital which should be utilised in the working of the farm to acquiring the freehold. It may be said that Mr. Collings' Bill would not require the farmer to lock up any of his capital in this way, but I have already given reasons for thinking that no Government would be justified in dispensing altogether with any cash payment. Further, occupying ownership is an actual impediment in the way of a man who aspires to rise. Under a system of tenancy the utmost mobility is obtained, and a man can move from one holding to another with

... position, occupation and expense. Under the ... system he must find a purchaser for his holding ... to accept the market price of the day, and he may be able ... move only by sacrificing a considerable part of the capital he ... sunk in his holding. Mr. Anker Simmons in the paper to ... which I have already referred said that he could not call to mind a single case of a man who purchased his farm ever adding ... it, and I have no doubt that his experience would be confirmed by most large land agents. On the other hand, numerous instances can be given of men who began as tenants of a few ... acres, who have gradually increased their occupations till they ... are now farming hundreds and even thousands of acres. For the small holder in particular tenancy offers far greater advantages than ownership. One of the principal objects in providing small holdings is to supply an agricultural ladder, so that a man who begins by making a success of a small allotment may gradually rise, until he becomes the tenant of a large farm. What is wanted is an elastic system which will suit the needs of each man at different periods, so that he can increase his occupation, if necessary, when his family is growing up, and reduce it again when they are in a position to take separate holdings for themselves.

Mortgaging and Subdivision

The facilities which a system of ownership offers for mortgaging and excessive subdivision are obvious, and even if restrictions are imposed to prevent this during the period while the small holders are paying the instalments on their purchase money, they cannot be retained when the loan has been paid ... In the words of Lord MacDonnell, 'the process is this: first there is a period of prosperity with a rise in the standard of comfort; then follows indebtedness, slight at first, but ever growing with the facilities which are readily afforded by the usurer. Next comes mortgages, and then comes subdivision and sale to meet the mortgagees' claim. Finally comes the crash, and the grandson of the peasant proprietor becomes the tenant of his former patrimony, while the usurer becomes the rack-renting landlord, a landlord of a far worse type than any which Ireland has presented in the past.' If the secrets locked up in the lawyers' offices of the provincial towns could be revealed, we should find that in numberless instances the lawyers themselves were the only people who have benefited from the system of occupying ownership.

Another serious objection to ownership arises in the case of the death of the owner, which in the great majority of cases

involves either the sale of the land, in which case it may disappear as a small holding, or its subdivision among his family, with the result that a number of uneconomic holdings are created, none of which are large enough to support the holder.

The Magic of Property

The advocates of ownership are very fond of quoting Arthur Young's famous saying that the 'magic of property will turn a desert into a garden and sand into gold,' though they forget another saying of his that 'it is unprofitable to farm a small property as owner instead of renting a large one from another person.' But apart from the fact that the 'misery of mortgage' may, and often does, entirely destroy 'the magic of property,' it must be pointed out that the choice is not between tenancy and absolute ownership, but between tenancy and a strictly limited and restricted form of ownership. None of the occupying owners created by any system of State-aided purchase can expect to be in the position or to have the privileges of ordinary landowners during their own lifetime. All they can hope is that at the end of a period extending over some sixty to eighty years, their sons, or more probably their grandsons, will enter into the full fruits of ownership. Under the Irish Land Act the tenant proprietor cannot subdivide his holding or sublet or devise it to more than one person, and he cannot raise a mortgage on it for more than ten times the purchase annuity. Under the purchase provisions of the English Small Holdings Act, subdivision and subletting are prohibited, the holding may not be used for any other than agricultural purposes, not more than one house may be erected on it, and that only with the consent of the County Council; and, in certain circumstances, the Council may order the holding to be sold to them or to another person. Can it be seriously maintained that such restricted ownership offers any greater incentive to industry and enterprise than security of tenure at a fair rent under a public body?

Occupying Ownership Abroad

Sir Gilbert Parker and his friends seek, however, to justify their policy by an appeal to the experience of foreign countries, and it may, therefore, be desirable to point out that a candid and impartial examination of the conditions abroad affords little encouragement to us to reproduce those conditions here. In France we are told, on the authority of M. Leconteux, Professor of Rural Economy at the Institute, that of the 8,000,000 proprietors in that country, 3,000,000 are on the pauper roll, while of the remainder 600,000 were so poor that they were only able

[illegible] contribution to the State. [illegible] getting rid of one order of landlords and their rents, they have subjected themselves to another, though invisible order, the mortgagees, and to their heavier and more rigid rents.'

M. Lafargue in his *Relèvement de l'Agriculture* says that 'the condition of agriculture brought about by our subdivision of land and the distance from each other of the morsels belonging to one owner, condemn a man to work such as animals and machines ought to execute, and not only reduce him to the level of a beast, but curse the soil with sterility.' Mr. Rowland Prothero writes that the French proprietor is 'worse housed and worse fed than the English labourer. His cottage is generally a single room with a mud floor, in which he and his family and his live stock live, eat, sleep and die. From morning till night his toil is excessive and prolonged; female labour is the rule; children are continuously employed, while his little property is often mortgaged. A. Young talks of the magic of property; but there is such a thing as the demon of property. The French peasant, in his desire to add to the little property, hoards and then mortgages his property to buy more, and is often thus prevented from cultivating what he has to the best advantage. Speak to a French peasant proprietor, and I have spoken to many of them, and he will at once tell you of the hardness of his lot, of the pinching and scraping which is necessary to keep the little land together, and of the constant anxiety of his life.'

In Italy, under a system of peasant proprietors, we are told by the *Times* that 'the growth of debt, want of credit, scarcity of labour—brought about by emigration—the ruin and gradual disappearance of peasant proprietors, all causes which act and react upon each other, have conduced to a state of things which grows increasingly worse each year'; and Baron Sonnino says 'agriculture is perishing, the country is being depopulated, losing the most healthy and vigorous of its labourers, and the portion of the rural population which does not seek exile plunges deeper in misery every day.' Even in Denmark, which is supposed to be the paradise of the small holder, we are told by Mr. E. A. Pratt that 'though nominally the peasant proprietors who constitute so important a section of the Danish people are freeholders, practically they are saddled with a mortgage debt estimated at 60,000,000*l*., and representing 55 per cent. of the value of their farms, with buildings, stock and implements'; and the Scottish Agricultural Commission reported that the occupying owners of Denmark were, as a rule, little better off than a good ploughman on a Scotch farm.

CONCLUSION.

The truth is that the advocates of ownership are more concerned with the political than the economic aspect of the question. They are in favour of using State credit to establish a body of occupying owners who will form a 'bulwark against Socialism' and a useful addition to the ranks of Tory voters. They are also influenced by the fact that their Tariff Reform policy offers little, if any, benefit to the agricultural interest. They have, therefore, cast about for a land policy which is to be the country cousin of Tariff Reform, and which they hope will be the sugar coating to induce the agricultural voter to swallow the bitter pill of Protection.

The only persons who would benefit from the establishment of a system of occupying ownership by means of State credit would be the present race of landlords, owing to the fact that sitting tenants endowed with the loan of public money on easy terms would naturally give a larger price for their holdings than any other purchaser; and I am certain that there must be many members of the Unionist party who regard with great misgivings the adoption of a policy which is not wanted, which is alien to the traditional system of this country, which is opposed by practically every non-political student of the question, and which would open the door to a huge amount of land jobbing with public money.

What the farmer really needs is security of tenure. That is the policy of the Liberal party, and every attempt to carry it out is met by the persistent opposition of the Tories. They fought compensation for disturbance in the Land Tenure Bill of 1906 with the same vigour and with the same lack of success that they have opposed every step in the direction of increased security for farmers. Now the time has come for a further advance. The Government propose to give farmers whose holdings are sold the right to claim an extended notice, enabling them to remain in their farms for two years at least from the date of the notice to quit, which will go far to mitigate the hardship incurred in those cases where a farmer has to leave his farm within a few months of the sale of the estate. Personally, I look forward to the day when every tenant farmer shall be entitled to claim that any dispute with his landlord as to the rent paid for his holding shall be settled by arbitration; and when every agreement for the letting of a farm shall contain a clause allowing the tenant to vote as he likes, to pray where he likes, and, subject to reasonable covenants, to farm as he likes, and providing that no notice to quit should be given on account of difference of political or religious opinions.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

PAULINE DE BEAUMONT

ome Frenchwomen are typical of an age, an art, a movement. La Reine Margot sums up the splendid, generous, non-moral, spacious-minded Renaissance. The Grande Mademoiselle, that great Rubens figure, with her helmet and her floating scarlet draperies, her clouds and spears and cupids, thrones it above her generation. Madame de Staël on the one hand, and Madame Roland on the other, embody the French Revolution—its ceaseless talkativeness, its eloquence, its violent self-absorption, its remorseless logic; Madame Récamier, with her genius for listening and her unerring mental sympathies, was the soul of the Salon; and there are other women, the most attractive—subtler beings, half forgotten—who are found off the high-road loved by literary tourists and history-trippers, and strewn with their papers (or ought we to say documents?)—figures that linger in the by-paths of history and are known but to a few. These few love them. Charles Lamb says that the name of Michael Drayton has a finer relish to his ear than that of Shakespeare. And this personal touch it is that we feel in our relations with those beings of the past whom we have made our own. Such a figure—more so almost than perhaps any other—is that of Pauline de Beaumont, the woman who loved Chateaubriand and was, for a space, loved of him; the friend of Joubert, the critic and *confidante* of André Chénier and of Madame de Staël; the centre of the knot of distinguished men and women who gathered round her between 1799 and 1802 in her little salon of the Rue Neuve du Luxembourg, where, for the last two years, Chateaubriand reigned supreme. She had lived through the French Revolution, and lived through it against her will, for that awful earthquake had taken every near relation she had. It ruined her health, it destroyed her faith, it darkened her soul, it may be said to have shortened her life.

She only lived for thirty-five years. And she had about her a fitful melancholy, the kind of elusive grace, of one who was destined to spread her wings early—whose foot hardly learned to tread the earth. Her friends called her 'the Swallow,' and there was indeed something light and intangible about her, something that, living in the cold, did not forget the sun, longed for it, made for it, never reached it. Hers was an intimate charm, unsuited

to the big world—the charm also of a character of contrasts delicately interwoven: passion and calm, ardour and [illegible], tenderness and bitterness, playful serenity and heart-searching tragedy. There is something arresting in a young woman whose favourite books were Plato's *Phaedo*, Voltaire's *Letters*, *Tristram Shandy*, and the *History of Port Royal*. 'I like,' she said, 'the mind to be a Jansenist, and the heart just a little bit of a Molinist.' At one moment she seems quite simple; turn over the page and she baffles you. A friend, a poet, once gave her a seal engraved with an oak. 'A nothing agitates me, but nothing shakes me,' were the words that he put upon it, and she kept them as her motto.

Pauline de Montmorin was born in 1768, the same year in which, a few months later, René de Chateaubriand also saw the light. Pauline's father came of the old family of the St. Hérems, one of whom, the Governor of Auvergne, had refused to carry out Charles the Ninth's orders to massacre the Huguenots at the time of St. Bartholomew's Eve.

M. de Montmorin, Pauline's father, was no unworthy descendant of the Governor. He was a man of some importance in his own day—rather as the ally of brilliant men than as a light on his own account. He was the great friend of Lafayette, the colleague of Necker and Mirabeau, a strong Royalist, who saw clearly the foibles of royalties. He succeeded Vergennes as Minister for Foreign Affairs in the palmy days of Louis the Sixteenth, and held for a time one of the chief aristocratic salons of Paris, aristocratic in the sense of a day (say 1787) when aristocrats were themselves evoking the abstract ideas, which later, put in practice, were to kill them; when they could not get on without men of letters; when they worshipped philosophy—or perhaps philosophers—a day of half-dead faith and a science only half born, when there was no touchstone for truth, when superstitions were taken for religion, and Mesmer became a high priest; when, indeed, the world seemed but just to have turned twenty, and to regard every subject as open to discussion. They believed all things, or, rather, all things that they did not disbelieve—which comes to much the same thing, for they disbelieved so ardently that their disbeliefs amounted to convictions. They believed in creeds, in common sense, in the existence of poverty. They believed in Fraternity, in Equality, in themselves, in Sensibility and Reason, and a Return to Nature and the Perfectibility of Matter. They almost believed in their own permanence upon the earth. One day Condorcet, surrounded by a group of Encyclopaedists and ladies, among them Pauline de Beaumont, worked himself up till in a flow of eloquence he had all but proved that science would conquer death and ensure eternal life here to men. 'Of what use

[illegible] no," asked a lady, "unless there were eternal [illegible]?" Her comment was more of an epigram than she knew. Big conceptions and light-heartedness held divided sway over the years before the Revolution. Yet they were not the peasant-grinding, brocaded villains of tradition, these nobles. Many of them were high-minded men with lofty aims and limited imaginations, blind to the evils of absenteeism from their estates and guilty of little more than the fault which has so often ruined their nation—enslavement to the charms of Paris, the sacrifice to Paris of France.

It was among men of this higher stamp that Pauline de Beaumont moved when she came home from her convent school. Moderate Monarchists, philosophical politicians, idealists of all sorts frequented the Montmorin Salon. There was a good sprinkling of pamphleteers and economists, chief among them the fiery little free-trading Abbé Morellet, with his brand-new theories about the corn laws. There was more than a sprinkling of the highest rank, for Madame de Montmorin was lady-in-waiting to Mesdames the aunts of the King. And there were poets—Alfieri, the silent, and André Chénier, the dreamer of freedom; and celebrated ladies—Charles Edward's widow, Madame d'Albany, and the ubiquitous Madame de Staël, and a dozen others. With these and their coruscations we are not concerned, except as they circled round the frail form in their midst. In later years Joubert compared Pauline to a little figure from Pompeii, so light that she seemed to float above the earth. She had no beauty, but a subtle intelligence gave a strange piquancy to her face.

Madame de Beaumont's countenance [wrote Chateaubriand in later days] was rather plain than pretty. It was worn and pale; her eyes, shaped like almonds, would perhaps have sent forth too much brilliance, had not an extraordinary gentleness half veiled her glances, making them shine languidly.

It is not surprising to hear that the owner of looks such as these was fastidious. To very few among her father's guests did she give her intimacy: only to one woman, the tempestuous Madame de Staël, whom all women adored—unless they hated her. To no more than two among the men: to her cousin, guide, philosopher and lifelong friend François de Pange, a philosophical thinker, a kind of Arthur Hallam of his day; and to the doomed poet, André Chénier, already, for us, overshadowed by the guillotine, so near and so unsuspected; the poet who made her at once the *confidante* of his love affairs and the critic of his poems to the lady. She cared with a kind of passion for his lyrics. In after times she would repeat them page after page by heart to Joubert. But her admiration did not blind her. She possessed, indeed, from the [illegible] the critical gift—the gift of vision; of the true enthusiasm

which sees farthest and sees most sincerely. Beau[illegible] reading out his play, *La Mère Coupable*, in a certain [illegible] she appeared between de Pange and Chénier, singled out [illegible] comments from those of the rest of the audience. Her judgment, he said, was more delicate than his own, though he did not think her taste as good.

Meanwhile, in 1787, Pauline had married, or rather her parents had married her, to the Comte de Beaumont, a young man of eighteen known for his bad morals. How such a choice was possible to affectionate and well-principled parents remains one of those problems that we can only solve by relegating them to 'the standards of the times.' The experiment was not a success. In a few days Pauline found out her mistake, and in a few weeks she left her husband and returned to her father's roof. What happened exactly we do not know, but when de Beaumont tried to claim her, Montmorin threatened him with a *lettre de cachet*—that remedy for little family frictions which, alone of the abuses of the old *régime*, we cannot help rather regretting—and the threat proved effectual. In 1800, Pauline divorced him, and he married again, and only died in 1851. She became her father's secretary, and her existence flowed on evenly. The family life of the Montmorins was happy, broken by one tragic grief, the death by drowning of Auguste, Pauline's sailor brother. His last act had been to send to her, his pride, some rare stuff for a ball dress; it came too late, and she put it by—as she said, for her shroud. This was her first sorrow. She had worse before her.

The fatal year 1789, so big with high hopes and unknown perils, dawned like other years. It was an important one for Montmorin. From first to last he strove for the monarchy and tried to save the King. He and Mirabeau worked together; when Mirabeau died Montmorin threw in his lot with Lally Tollendal and Malouet and the group of men circling round them. He signed the passports for the flight to Varennes—he was arrested—tried—mysteriously acquitted. But he would not take precautions. His house continued to be a meeting-place for Royalists, and the moment came when he received a secret warning that he was to be taken, that his home was not safe for his family. Pauline, her mother, her young brother, Calixte, her married sister, the Vicomtesse de Luzerne, fled hastily to Rouen; Montmorin hid himself in Paris. He was suspected of plotting with Austria—he had quarrelled with Camille Desmoulins—his fate was sealed. Tender agonised notes from Pauline found him, notes in disguised language through which one still seems to hear the throbs of fear and misery. Then came the worst, and he was re-arrested. It was the devotion of his landlady, who would feed him upon dainties and provide him with chickens every day, that

[illegible] about [illegible]. He was imprisoned, he was massacred by the [illegible] of September. His family, meanwhile, had taken refuge, first on their country estate of Theil in Burgundy, then at a friend's house near by, at Passy-sur-Yonne. Here they remained concealed for more than a year, and it was here that they, too, were seized. When the cart drove up to carry them to Paris and the officials came to Pauline, she looked so white that they feared she might be ill and burdensome, and they refused to take her. But she begged so hard to go with her family that at last they gave in and let her stay with the rest. Not for long—her pallor grew alarming, and they would not be troubled. They put her out upon the snowy road, not far from Passy, and rolled on relentlessly. It was thus, from the frozen wayside, that she saw the last of those she loved.

Somehow, by what means she never knew, she dragged herself painfully along till she reached a peasant's hut in the next village to Passy-sur-Yonne. Its inhabitants, the Paquereaus, a kindly honest man and wife, took her in. Here, in the squalid hut, she lived for months, in a kind of apathy, too ill to do more than drag herself from bed to fire and back again, selling the few jewels she had with her to buy food, keeping sane with the help of the two or three books which, characteristically, she had contrived to save in the hurry of her flight. Here it was that she learned the fate of her dear ones: the death of her sister from fever on the eve of execution, the end of the rest, her brother Calixte wearing the blue ribbon of his lady-love as he waited for the all-devouring guillotine. It took nearly every member of that happy circle of the Montmorins, excepting François de Pange and Madame de Staël. Small wonder that Pauline prayed to die. 'Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery and life unto the bitter of soul?' These were the words that all that winter, indeed to her life's end, she constantly repeated to herself, finding relief in the age-worn cry of Job, who had borne like sorrows so long ago.

But Pauline de Beaumont was young, and she did not know that life still held for her her best moments, her keenest experience.

It was at the door of the Paquereaus' cottage that Joseph Joubert found her one day in the summer of that fatal year, 1794. He brought all her future with him—the two feelings which were to dominate the next ten years: her friendship with him—the calming influence, the repose of her spirit; and later, by his means, her introduction to Chateaubriand, the disturber—the joy, the woe, the centre of her existence.

Joubert, who lived at Villeneuve-sur-Yonne, a short way from Passy, had heard of the lady at the Paquereaus'. He

came to pay his respects and proffer assistance. He [illegible] wife begged her to come and stay with them. She went, [illegible] was again warmed into life.

It might be well, before going farther, to get some little notion of Joubert. Some of my readers probably know him, through his *Pensées*—more, perhaps, through the pen of Matthew Arnold, to whose serene, Hellenic spirit that of Joubert bore certain close affinities. But Joubert was narrower, deeper, more perfect—his irony had a less accomplished, a more childlike gaiety than that of Arnold. 'The mind of Plato with the heart of La Fontaine,' was Chateaubriand's description of Joubert. And his appearance expressed him. A lady once said: 'A soul accidentally met a body and did its best with it: that made Joubert.' He was exquisite rather than forcible, an invalid, a fastidious lover of beauty without and within, a dweller in books, a religious thinker, unconventional but orthodox, practical more than mystical, loving Pascal and Plato, but hating Kant and Voltaire as he hated the devil. He asked much of life and he asked little: nothing of its intolerable pleasures, few things of its externals, many things of the soul. For he demanded harmony rather than strength, distinction than effect. He distrusted action; he made being into an art—this soul, half ancient, half modern, this devout Athenian, whose gentleness was so witty, who knew no excesses but those of the heart. I believe that it belongs to French soil to produce this sober, sensitive kind of plant. Sobriety is not tameness, but in England Joubert would have been tame. Even Cowper, with his delicate charm, a little like that of Joubert, is tame now and then—at tea-time. But in France there is a kind of natural decorum which carries dignity. Joubert lived surrounded by women. He married his wife chiefly because she was so good to her mother. He took care of his health, was, indeed, a valetudinarian who 'changed his diet every day, now had himself jolted at a quick trot on rough roads, now dragged at the slowest pace on smooth ones. He lay in bed in a rose-coloured spencer. In England these things would seem absurd; in Joubert, far from being so, they conveyed the quintessence of suavity and distinction. To me, indeed, the thought of that rose-coloured garment transmits the fine flavour of conversation, the very exquisiteness of intellectual déshabillé, of a delicate and discriminating amenity.

> He had [said Chateaubriand] an extraordinary hold upon the mind and the heart, and when once he had captured you, his image was there like a fact, like an obsession which you could not chase away. He laid claim, above all, to calm, and nobody was so agitated as he. . . . His friends were for ever coming and disturbing the precautions he had taken to be well, for he could not help being moved by their sadness or their joy; he was an egotist who only busied himself about others.

L like Pauline de Beaumont, he was a born critic, a born ...ectator of life, of men, of books. He passed into them; he ... a perfect friend, whether of ideas or human beings, put ...by few things in them, except by offences against his taste, ...glibness, or violence, or any irritation. But, as all his judg...nts stand recorded in his journal of thoughts and maxims—his ...ssées—we can perhaps give no better portrait of him than by ...ting a few which seem most characteristic:

We ought to know how to enter into other people's ideas, and how to ...away from them—just as we should know how to get away from our ...ideas and how to come home to them.

When certain folk enter into our ideas, they enter a stuffy little shed.

In talk, passion, the vehement, should always be the lady-in-waiting of ...sovereign Intellect, which is ever serene.

'Wear velvet inside you, and try to give pleasure at every hour of your ...

Energy is not strength. Some authors have more muscle than they ...talent.'

No delicacy, no literature.'

When we write with facility, we always believe that we have more ...t than is there. Good writing means natural facility and self-taught ...culty.'

...should like to make the sense of the exquisite pass into common ..., or else to make the sense of the exquisite common.

'To think, to feel one's soul, this is true life. All the rest, eating, ...king, what not, although I give them their full due, are no more than ...accessories of living.

At the time that Joubert discovered Pauline he had rather ... into humdrum, and his imagination needed colour and ...ulus. She supplied both; she became the romance of his ... And his practical wife loved her hardly less than he did. ...friendship ripened rapidly. He lent her his books—it was ...like him that he marked his favourite passages by little ...and flowers on the margin. Other works, those of Condillac ...Kant and Voltaire, he forbade her. ('God keep me from ever ...ssing a complete Voltaire,' he said.) He tried to soothe ...heal and strengthen her mind, to lead it back gently to faith, ...aw forth the powers he so believed in—to divert her from ...and charm her again into life. They read together, they ...he same enchantment over Yorick and Tristram Shandy and ...bruyère. He studied Plato with her, he made her love ...illon and Malebranche, and they both delighted in Voltaire's ...ws, which were not included in the general condemnation.

God would give me life [he says], and would grant my eyes the good ... hap upon the bargains that I wish for, I should not need more than ...eeks to get together all the books that I think worthy of a place, not ...r library, but in your innermost alcove. If I am successful in finding ... I have nothing left to do ...

The influence was by no means from one side [illegible]; she also drew forth the best from him, she enhanced his [illegible] enjoyment. 'M. de Pange,' he said, 'wants one to walk; [illegible] I like to fly, or, at any rate, to flutter. Directly I think of you my little gnat's-wings leave me no peace.' His devotion was not blind: he could rally her for her despondency and her restless impatience.

I am very glad [he wrote, for if they did not meet daily he wrote to her], I am very glad to inform you that I cannot admire you comfortably, or respect you as I wish, until I see in you the finest courage of all, the courage to be happy.

In the depths of your being [he says elsewhere] you keep a treasure of rich thoughts and true judgments; but you would rather fling them on the ground and let them roll away than use them profitably. When you think, you amuse yourself too much with thought, and so you often lose its best delights.

But it was lassitude, rather than want of concentration, that weakened Pauline's powers. She needed a motive and a refuge—she needed a faith; and she had the fastidious aesthetic sense which, no less than the ascetic instinct, impels men to austerity. 'Do you know,' she says, 'that if Port Royal still existed, I should run the risk of rushing off there?' Past and future, old and new, alike attracted her. Plato seemed to her of yesterday, the *Phaedo* became her stand-by.

If I were better versed in the ancients [she writes] I could determine with more precision what it is that is so modern in the *Phaedo*; when nothing guides me in my decision I attribute . . . what I like to Plato.

She became more and more dependent upon Joubert. 'If I had someone to endow,' she exclaimed later, 'I would give him your mind, your character, your wife and your whole household.' They paid each other occasional long visits. Her room has been swept three times, it is at last worthy to receive her and her *migraine*; she must come and watch the vintage; his little boy no longer believes *him* about foxes and pole-cats, he will only believe her; she must certainly reassure him. Such were his wiles to keep her away from Paris, the wilderness of desolation. But in 1795, after Robespierre's death, she felt herself obliged to go there to try to reclaim some of her property. All was worse than she thought. She went to her old home and found nothing left but the cypress-tree she had planted when she was fourteen: that alone remained alive among the ruins. Meanwhile, the De Panges got back their estate at Passy-sur-Yonne, near Joubert, and she made her home with them; first with both, then, later, when De Pange had died from the effects of his imprisonment in the Terror, with his widow; later still she

[illegible] though it was [illegible]
restored to her.

She took up her life with Joubert. It was like him
[illegible] should live in a place which, as he said, had escaped all
horrors of the Revolution. Pauline regained peace, excepting
[illegible] it was destroyed by the reappearance of Madame de Staël
[illegible] inroads of the 'Whirlwind,' as they called her. Joubert,
[illegible] *Corinne* was published, admired her, so he said, more than
[illegible] woman in print except Madame de Sévigné, but he highly
approved of the friendship. 'Enthusiasm, not explosion,'
[illegible] what he wanted, and Corinne was explosion. Pauline her-
[illegible] refused to have her in the green room. She said that the
'Whirlwind' would devastate its quiet; she preferred to meet
[illegible] at Sens, where, of course, the lady did not turn up. She
[illegible] all the peculiarities of genius: she never kept appointments;
[illegible] least she kept them—in a different place at a different time;
[illegible] was never tired, she never knew when other people were.
[illegible] was gloriously full of life and light and fire, also of love-
[illegible]airs and wounded sensibilities. She came, she talked, she
[illegible]quered. Sometimes she brought her rather fatigued lover,
[illegible]njamin Constant, in her wake, sometimes she did not.
[illegible]uline could not bear him, and he even caused an estrangement
[illegible]tween them, which was a relief to Joubert. But it was not
[illegible] long; Corinne really cared for Pauline: 'All my roots are
[illegible]und up in her,' she said. She returned, and the front of her
[illegible]ending was the manner in which she carried Pauline off to
[illegible]ris. Joubert thought that it demoralised his friend—as it did.
[illegible] have resumed my solitude in a temper,' she wrote to him,
[illegible]en she came back from one such journey, 'I occupy myself
[illegible]h disgust, I walk without pleasure, I dream without charm,
[illegible] I cannot find one comforting idea. I know this state cannot
[illegible] long, but youth passes . . . Of course you will accuse me
[illegible] reading Young's *Night Thoughts* at the least. Not a bit of
I am reading *Tristram Shandy*. Behold the fruits.'

Perhaps it was his dread of the Whirlwind's power which made
[illegible]bert renounce all his cherished habits and with his family
[illegible]rate for part of every year to Paris. He took a house in the
[illegible]e St. Honoré, near that already taken by Pauline in the Rue
[illegible]ve du Luxembourg. From 1799 onwards, there gathered round
[illegible] here, in the shabbily-furnished, dimly lighted little apart-
[illegible], the rarest minds of the day. There were other and more
[illegible]liant salons to outshine it; Madame Joseph Bonaparte and
[illegible]dame Tallien were reigning, and so was Madame Récamier; the
[illegible]ncess de Poix, and Madame d'Houdetot represented the old
[illegible] of letters. But the little salon of Madame de Beaumont,
[illegible]brated, only haunted by a handful of the [illegible]

who met there every night, meant youth, liberty, [illegible] new spirit, including the past, reconciling it with the future. I quote these last words from Sainte-Beuve. For myself, I own that this little band of people, so secluded and distinguished and disinterested and warm, has a peculiar charm. I feel as if I knew them—as if I had a right to know them. Some of them had a touch of genius; all were serious, as befitted men who were recreating society out of death and ruin. And nearly all were witty. 'Simple they were too,' says Chateaubriand, 'not from poverty but from choice.' Their very names bring a touch of intimacy. There was Fontanes, the crusty conservative, the fierce classic, the critic and the poet; and Matthieu Molé, the Cato of twenty; and the brilliant ultramontane, Bonald; and the handsome dilettante, Guéneau de Mussy; and the rich old banker, Julien, who fussed over Pauline's comforts; and Pasquier, later Chancellor, the Pasquier of the memoirs. And then there was Joseph Chênedollé. It may be said that in most social circles there is a familiar figure, dowdily dressed, a person devoted to the interests of the others, who is loved by everybody and by whom nobody is excited. Such was Chênedollé, the kindly laborious poet, the unflagging hero-worshipper. He gave a lifelong love—unreturned—to Chateaubriand's sister, Lucile. Pale, sensitive, exotic, unhinged by the prisons of the Terror, finally doomed to a madhouse, she strays in her ghostly beauty in and out of Pauline's salon. And there were other ladies: Madame de Vintimille, to whom Joubert always gave tube roses on her birthday; and Madame Pastoret; and Madame de Staël; and Madame Krüdner, the *précieuse* among the mystics; and the Duchesse de Duras, the fashionable novelist. They all had nicknames. Pauline, we know, was the Swallow; Fontanes, the Wild Boar of Erymanthus; Chênedollé, the Raven of Vire; Mussy, the Little Raven; while the gracious gossip, Madame de Vintimille, was Madame Bad Heart; and Madame de Staël was Leviathan. They met every day, these friends—indeed, Chênedollé was not satisfied, in later days, unless he was saw Chateaubriand twice a day. The worst of them was that they could not exist without each other; they found the country unbearable. "Deplorable Zion, where is thy glory?'—so Pauline, quoting, Racine, apostrophised Paris when they were absent.

The footlights were lighted—the audience was there—all waited for the hero. He appeared in 1800, and his name was François René de Chateaubriand.

Some men are born histrionic. René, from his babyhood till his death, played a drama. The hero was himself—the villain was himself—the stage was his heart, or his soul. The hero and the villain acted their parts brilliantly, sincerely, and they were con-

neatly rolled into one. As for the heroines, they were numberless. The first act of this wonderful play should be read in the fascinating first volume of the *Mémoires d'Outre-tombe*, which tells of his dreamy, sensational childhood and youth by the sea-shore of St. Malo. When the Revolution broke out he was just twenty-one, beautiful to look at, an Apollo of the Weltschmerz period: almost too beautiful—the brow a thought too noble, the eye and the mouth rather too eloquent.

He did not wait to be arrested. He resolved to depart. He was full of large aims and aspirations, and so he started for the New World, in order to discover the North-West Passage. When he landed he made a few rapid inquiries as to his way there, but finding the answers unsatisfactory, he changed the object of his quest and went off to find *la Muse* in South America. Here he saw Red Indians, and chasms, and precipices, and solitude. I deliberately say he *saw* solitude, because he made it into a solid fact; and though Rousseau had discovered it before him, it was Chateaubriand who first arranged a marriage between Solitude and Religion. In 1791, choke-full of ideas, he returned to his sisters at St. Malo. Unfortunately they were bent upon his marriage with a friend of theirs. One day he saw a young lady in a pink pelisse walking by the sea, her fair hair blown by the wind. The hair and the pelisse raised a storm of emotion; he married her out of hand. He never had cause to regret it. She had many causes, in pelisses of many colours. No sooner had he married her than he left her to join the Army of the Rhine. Thence he travelled to Jersey, and from there, rather later, to England, where he stayed till the Revolution was over. In London, in a Soho garret, he starved and scribbled, picking up a living as he could—by teaching and writing, chiefly by working as a journalist for a French editor, Lepelletier. It was Lepelletier who introduced him to Fontanes, then also in England. It was Fontanes, the Wild Boar of Erymanthus, who sighted his genius; who, thrilled by him, went home unable to talk of anybody else; who finally introduced him to the expectant world of Pauline de Beaumont's salon. It adopted him at once; he became its idol, its 'Big Raven,' its 'Young Savage'; Joubert adored him, the rest hung upon his lips. With each, magnet that he was, he formed a personal relation. As for Pauline de Beaumont, as soon as she saw him she loved him with a passion that gave her back her youth. And he needed her so much that he loved her also. He needed her glow, her admiration, her judgment, her power of criticism; just as she needed his fire, his energy, his flashing, colorous egoism to fill the void that she felt—the longings that Joubert could only assuage. The swallow flew by instinct to the South.

Savigny had long since proved too tame for him; after sev months of quiet the cottage was given up, but René remembered 'I should never have written it,' he said of his book, 'withou the peace that she gave me.'

Pauline's happiness was at an end; she was jealous of th success that took him from her; of the fashionable ladies wh spoiled him; of one, and with reason, Madame de Custine She grew ill again and restless, and she was not made happier b the news that he had been appointed Secretary to the Frenc Legation at Rome, where Napoleon's uncle, Cardinal Fesch, wa ambassador. She had the generosity to encourage him to accep the honour, but it meant separation, it broke her heart.

Chateaubriand consoled himself by the thought that sh would follow him. He invited her to come to him; he invited hi wife; he also invited Madame de Custine. Madame de Beaumon accepted.

And yet, with all this, Chateaubriand was not a hypocrite It is no easy matter to estimate the character of a sincere actor Chateaubriand, like Byron, was of that baffling race. Both thes men made a melodrama of life, always playing the leading part unable to exist apart from an audience (an audience of one sometimes sufficed), neither of them in the least caring for the stage when they were off it, both with a childish love of dressin up their bodies and souls. We all remember Byron's gorgeous costumes; as for René, he liked to start on the most unadven-turous trip in a post-chaise, in the toilet of a brigand, with pistol-cases hidden beneath the carriage cushions. Like many histri onic geniuses, they were really rather cold characters—emotional not passionate, with an infinite capacity for being bored.

This may be absurd, but it has its compensations. A melo-drama needs effects, especially effects of virtue; and of heroism sacrifice, and generosity both men were pre-eminently capable. Chateaubriand could abnegate a fortune rather than hold office under the Duc d'Enghien's assassin; Byron could die, uncom-plaining, in the cause of a foreign nation. Both were doubtless affected by their own view of themselves. Byron posed as the bad man, and thought himself worse than he was; Chateaubrian posed as the good man, and thought himself better than he was. Yet the fact remains that René, if not the truer, was at least the better man of the two. Although he was always *Le Gran Ennuyé*, he was never a cynic or a scoffer. It may be that he loved his illusions too well to be a cynic, and needed too much support—even personal attention—from the Deity to do withou belief. But, apart from this, he had the sense of reverence, th poet's imagination. And while Byron regarded women as

Oriental slaves, Chateaubriand respected their minds and treated them as equal companions.

The heartbreak he caused was the greater. Pauline had not the nature that could live upon illusions. She saw with deadly clearness that he was tiring of her, and yet she could not renounce her love. In the summer of 1802, he started for Rome. He wrote her letters of fervent devotion. She was not deceived by them, but she tried to be; she derived her only sustenance from them. Her cough and her prostration grew worse; she resolved to try the baths of Monte-Dore in Auvergne which had benefited her before. In her heart she meant to travel thence to Rome, but of this she breathed no word to Joubert, or to anybody else. She knew as well as he that the journey would probably kill her; she also knew that she could not live without a motive for life. The letters that she wrote to Joubert from Monte-Dore are heartrending.

> Nobody [runs one of them] has a better right than I to complain of Nature. She has refused everything to me, and has given me the sense of all I lack. There is no moment at which I do not feel the weight of the complete mediocrity to which I am condemned. . . . I am like a fallen angel who cannot forget what he has lost and has not the force to regain it. . . . I cough less, but I think it is that I may die without noise. . . . To withdraw in silence, to let myself be forgotten—this is my duty. May I have courage to accomplish it.

This is the cry of an illness too deep for Joubert to cure. And there were minor ills. The food, the dirt, the joltings, the discomforts of the inns were deplorable, the Auvergnat bores insufferable, the tedium unfathomable. She spent hours on her back, counting the beams of her bedroom ceiling. The mountains exasperate her—so does 'the whole world' when it hears her cough and asks if *Madame est malade?* Solitude was the only thing bearable, for in solitude alone she could find again, she said, her friends of the Rue Neuve du Luxembourg. 'Go on counting the beams of your ceiling,' says Joubert, 'it is your only means of getting well.' Not long after, he received the thunderbolt—the news that she had started for Rome; he was distraught, he could not believe it, he wrote imploring letters to her *en route* in the hope of turning her back. But the swallow flew South.

Chateaubriand, more alive than ever, met the ghost of Pauline at Florence. He was flushed with success—the spoilt child of Cardinals, of the Pope himself. When Pius the Seventh gave him audience, he found *Le Génie du Christianisme* on the Papal table. The antiquities of Rome, too, amazed, enchanted him. They suited his temperament. We always think of René with the Coliseum at his back. Pauline and he drove to Rome; he had

garden with espaliers of orange-trees, a courtyard with a fig-tree in it. At first René had his usual effect. He electrified her into a semblance of life; he was shocked, frightened by her looks, and anxiety revived his devotion. Her last weeks were blissfully happy. Every day they drove out in the glowing gold Campagna of autumn. But the improvement quickly wore off. 'The lamp,' she said, 'has burnt out its oil.' Their last long expedition was to Terni. René tried to persuade her to come with him and see the waterfall, but she sank down exhausted. 'We must let the floods fall,' she said quietly. The words rang her death-knell.

This was in late October. A few days later in the Coliseum: 'Come, I am cold,' she said, and she returned home to bed, never to rise from it again. The doctor told Chateaubriand the end was near. When he went into her room there were tears in his eyes. She smiled and held out her hand. 'You are a child,' she said; 'were you not expecting it?' Weeping, he told her it would be soon, and begged her to see a priest. There was silence, then in a firm voice, 'I did not think,' she replied, 'that it would be quite so soon. Well, then, I must really bid you good-bye.' She saw the priest; she told him that deep down she had always kept a sense of religion—that the Revolution had made her doubt God's justice—that she was ready to confess her error and commend herself to the Eternal Mercy—that she hoped her suffering here would shorten her expiation. The priest came out in tears; he had left her at peace. Later she received Extreme Unction, and then Chateaubriand remained alone with her. She made him sit on the edge of her bed; with her failing voice she gave him her last counsels, her last sympathy; she begged him to live near Joubert. Presently she asked him to open the window; a ray of sunlight came in and gave her pleasure. She fell to recalling Savigny—and then she cried. That afternoon she sank. As he watched her, her head fell. 'I put my hand on her heart,' he said, 'it beat no more.'

Thus he wrote in the simplicity of his first emotion just after her death. It was on the 4th of November 1803. She was buried in that white ball-dress sent her long ago which she had always destined for her shroud. She had carried it with her to Rome as if she meant that she should die there. Thirty-five years later in his Memoirs René worked the scene up, told how she wished to leave him her money, how he refused. But even then it seemed as if her spirit haunted him and forced him to be sincere. 'A deplorable conviction came and overwhelmed me,' he wrote: 'I saw that only when Madame de Beaumont was drawing her last breath did she realise the true attachment I had for her.' His grief was very real, if it was scenic. He saw that due honour was done her. He gave her a marble monument

[illegible] French Church at Rome, with a long inscription and her favourite verse from Job upon it, and a record that François René de Chateaubriand had raised it to her memory. (In the Memoirs he records that it cost him nine thousand francs and that he sold all that he possessed to erect it.) She had left her books to him, her bookcase and writing-desk to Joubert, her money to her mother's old maid, and René executed her will. He took her old servants to live with him. And when he went to Paris his first action was to visit the cypress-tree she had planted in her girlhood in the Rue Plumet. But his sorrow receded, it became oratorical. Twenty-three years later, in 1827, when he was Ambassador at Rome, he went alone to kneel at her grave. 'I visited,' he wrote, 'the monument of her who was the soul of a vanished society.'

The *tableau vivant* is perfect, but it was the Chancellor Pasquier who kept the tomb in repair. René had found several consolations: Madame de Custine—and others. Pauline had been only one of many.

With Joubert it was different.

> I have not written to you, it is from grief [he said to her in one of his last letters] . . . my soul keeps its habits; but it has lost the delight of them. You ask me to love you always. Alas, can I do otherwise? . . . Farewell, cause of so much pain, you who have been to me the source of so much good.

The love and the pain remained. Till his death he kept October, the month of her last illness, sacred to her, retiring from the world to mourn and to meditate. He maintained his close ties with all their little circle—not one of them who did not mourn with him—but his spring was gone; his mind, as well as his heart, had suffered irreparable loss.

> Madame de Beaumont [he said years afterwards] had pre-eminently one quality which is not a talent . . . and yet places the soul on the level of the most brilliant gifts: I mean an admirable intelligence. She understood everything. . . . You will meet many women of mind, but few, like her, who enjoy their mind without any desire to show it off.

We may be sure that when he died in 1824 his last human thought was of her. And, in the end, it was he who made the best, the most enduring chapter of her story. She would not have done without Chateaubriand. She could not have done without Joubert.

EDITH SICHEL.

OXFORD AND THE ARMY

EARLY in the spring of 1872 the slumberous calm that envelope
the University of Oxford was rudely broken by startling anc
terrible rumours. It was noised abroad in academic circles tha
in accordance with the Military Forces Localisation Bill Oxforc
had been selected as the scene of a new military depot. The
rumours grew into certainty when myrmidons of the War Office
suave, well-groomed persons of soldierly bearing, were espied in
the neighbourhood, full of inquiries for land, building sites, water
supply, and kindred subjects. The Common-rooms buzzed wit
dismay. So fearful a plot against the welfare of the Universit
had not been known since that distressful time, nearly thirty year
before, when the railway had been brought into Oxford, regard
less of the frantic protests of almost every Don in the place. True
the University had unexpectedly survived that horrid innovation
But barracks! In Oxford, or even within reach of it! Counci
and Congregation, Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, Heads o
Houses, Professors, Tutors—scarce a man among them but grev
cold at the thought. Their personal experience of 'the military
no doubt was slight; but full well they knew the evil reputatior
of the brutal and licentious soldiery; the profligate and abandonec
lives their officers habitually lead; the appalling effects upon the
morality and discipline of the University that must inevitabl
ensue unless this baneful project were promptly nipped in the bud

What the undergraduate of the day thought of all the fus
history does not relate. The plentiful crop of ephemeral literatur
in which his callow wit now finds weekly utterance had not ther
begun to blaze forth upon its limited world. What his enlightenec
pastors and masters thought, and did, remains on record, full
set forth in a pamphlet entitled *The Military Centre at Oxford*,
and published as a last scream of despair when the mischief wa
all but accomplished. The burning question was brought befor
Congregation on the 23rd of April 1872:

> In a very full House it was resolved, *without a dissentient voice*, to resist as far as possible the threatened experiment, and a Delegacy of the Vice-Chancellor and five other members of Convocation was appointed, in order to give utterance to the opinion of Convocation by communicating with the War Office on the subject.

A fortnight later the Delegacy waited on the Secretary for War, and were solemnly introduced by the Burgesses of the University. Here is their own account of the interview:

The delegates severally stated the objections which they, as representing the convictions of Convocation, entertained to the proposal, and enumerated the risks which were likely to ensue to the University in case a body of soldiers was permanently settled in the neighbourhood. They were told that the depot would ordinarily be small, and that it would be presided over by officers of experience and character. To this they answered that a small evil was still an evil, and might under peculiar circumstances be a great evil; that the risk was needless, and that they had not permitted themselves to criticise the character or conduct of the officers or soldiers who might be sent, but the inconvenience of a collision between military life and academic discipline.

The delegates could not be charged with any lack of candour in expressing what they thought of the soldiers. It would be interesting to know what the soldiers thought of them. Soon after the interview the War Office sent down a couple of distinguished officers to Oxford, to attempt to explain to the authorities there that the establishment of a depot in the neighbourhood need not necessarily sap the morals of the blameless undergraduates or wreck the peace of the University. But their arguments fell on deaf ears. The Dons knew better, and remained wholly unconvinced. Then came the Long Vacation, and for the usual four months the University for all practical purposes ceased to exist. Immediately Michaelmas term began the Dons returned to the charge, with another futile blast.

On October 28, 1872, a memorial, signed by twenty-four University Professors and eighty-nine College tutors and lecturers, being *nearly* the whole of such resident members of the University as were engaged in its education and discipline [it is refreshing to find that there were at least a few sane men among them], was forwarded to the Secretary for War, deprecating, on grounds identical with those alleged by the delegates, the adoption of the project.

The War Office abandoned all further efforts at conciliation. It was clearly hopeless to argue with prejudices so deep-rooted, with misconceptions so blind and so puerile. They pursued thenceforth a steady course, punctuated by periodical splutterings of academic fury. In vain the Dons protested that 'the University has been probably imperilled, and certainly slighted, for no other apparent reason than that of furthering two electioneering intrigues.' In vain they put up members of Parliament to repeat these futilities in the House. Their shrieks that 'the level of local morality would be seriously lowered' either passed unheeded or met with the scorn they deserved. Slowly but surely the [illegible] not, it is true, on the ground origi[illegible]

selected for the purpose between Oxford and Summertown, then open fields, now covered with continuous streets of villas—so far the local opposition had been successful—but 'in a dreary and desolate locality,' as the inspecting officer had justly termed it, at Bullingdon, incidentally destroying one of the finest cricket-grounds in England, which gave its name to the most famous of Oxford clubs. In due course the buildings were completed, and the handful of officers and few scores of men that form the normal establishment of an infantry territorial depot took possession. Their presence, of course, affected University life not at all, and even those of the Dons who had screamed the loudest were soon bound to admit that their dismal forebodings had been devoid of any kind of foundation.

All this sounds childish enough, and it would be unjust, as well as untrue, to suggest that it represents the existing attitude of the University towards the Army. The occasional soldier who may penetrate the seclusion of a Common-room finds himself in a community whose language, ideas, and modes of life are as the poles apart from anything he has ever experienced before; a community to his eyes strangely ignorant of the outside world and utterly unconscious of its ignorance, deeply stirred at times by trifles of merely academic interest while cold to questions of national importance, but at any rate not actively hostile to his profession. They incline to regard him as a probably wholly uneducated individual of violent propensities, belonging to a calling with which they have no sort of concern. Indifference, in fact, rather than antipathy, is now the prevailing note in the relations of the greater part of the University authorities toward all things military. Some few, indeed, among them do devote a generous amount of their none too numerous leisure-hours to the military activities of the place, which, moreover, have enjoyed the inestimable advantage of a whole-hearted support from the present and late holders of the highest academic office. But these are the rare exceptions, and there are still only too many colleges where the official attitude towards anything of the kind is at best one of half-reluctant tolerance.

No such charge can be laid against the undergraduate. Of late an astonishing enthusiasm for soldiering has seized upon him. The numbers of the University contingent of the Officers Training Corps have increased by leaps and bounds, until now it comprises more than a third of the entire University. During the last two years the development has been more remarkable than ever, and figures have been attained undreamt of even in the war-fever days of twelve years ago. No less than 964 members of the corps were returned as 'efficient' in October last, and in January the corps embarked on the New Year with a strength of 1140

of all ranks. A like increase has taken place in the number of candidates for commissions in the Regular Army, who are under charge of a body known as the Delegacy for Military Instruction. Previously to 1910 the candidates dealt with by the delegates never totalled and rarely approached 100. Last year they rose to 182, of whom thirty-one received nominations to commissions in the Regular Forces.

How long this state of things will last remains to be seen. The popularity of the Training Corps, exceptionally fortunate of late in its staff, may not maintain its high level, though it is never likely to sink again into the obscurity that in former days, except at rare intervals, hampered the efforts of the old University Volunteer Corps. A few years ago it required no little moral courage to cross a college quadrangle clad in the uniform of the corps. Almost was it the mark of the beast. Now 'all the best people' belong to the Training Corps, and what that means to the success of a University institution it is needless to explain. Probably the introduction three years ago of a new regulation requiring all Army candidates to be efficient members of the corps helped to turn the tide of undergraduate fashion in its favour. And if the Army candidate has helped to further the interests of the corps, it is no less certain that the popularity of the corps, by turning undergraduate thoughts into military channels, has tended to react with great advantage upon the numbers of candidates for commissions in the Army.

For a great number of years a small number of commissions in the Regular Army had been offered to University candidates, and occasionally, in times of emergency, whole stacks of such commissions had been showered upon bewildered Vice-Chancellors for instant distribution among their charges. But it was only some seven years ago, when the dearth of candidates from other sources began to make itself seriously felt, that the War Office gave any great attention to the Universities as possible recruiting grounds for the commissioned ranks, and cast about for means of tapping them. One of the first difficulties they had to encounter was the entire ignorance of one another's methods that has always raised a barrier between the War Office and the Universities. To the Don the manners and customs and the requirements of military life are a sealed book, while the soldier is in general equally in the dark with regard to University habits and procedure.[1] The War Office therefore had recourse to a newly devised body, called the Advisory Board on Military Education, which they invited representatives of the various Universities

[1] The writer was four years an undergraduate, one a Sandhurst cadet, fifteen a soldier, and for the last ten has been a Don—a somewhat rare ex-

to join, in order to receive evidence from experts on military education and from prominent University officials, and to draw up, in consultation with the Headquarter Staff, new regulations for entrance to the Regular Army through the Universities. The Board heard a mass of evidence, took an infinity of pains, and the new regulations of 1904 were the result. Some very drastic and altogether admirable changes were introduced. Under the former system the only academic qualification required was that the candidate should have passed Moderations, or its equivalent at other Universities, and have been one year in residence. The witnesses who gave evidence on behalf of the Universities almost unanimously complained—and very justly complained—that to describe this as a university education was a sheer absurdity. The new regulations, therefore, insisted upon three years' residence and a degree, or at least the passing of all examinations for a degree. The few commissions previously offered to the Universities were awarded to candidates—when there was any competition for them—who gained the highest marks in a competitive and purely literary examination. Not the least of the merits of the revised system was that it frankly threw overboard the principle of selection by competitive examination, and ordained that the appointment of the candidates, after they had fulfilled the necessary conditions, should be by nomination pure and simple. Each University was required to furnish its own Nomination Board, to which the Army Council add two representatives of the General Staff, with powers of veto. The Nomination Boards are also charged with the duty of superintending the military education of the Army candidates of their University.

The institution of these boards has undoubtedly done much to bring about a better understanding between the military and the academic authorities. Besides forming permanent committees responsible for the military education and training of Army candidates, they enable the War Office for the first time to deal with an authoritative body which can voice the ideas of the University on military matters, when it has any, or formulate them when, as is more often the case, it has none. The Regimental Staff of the Officers Training Corps are *ex-officio* members of the Board, as well as the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, while the elected members are usually chosen for their actual military experience or for the strong interest they have displayed in military affairs.

Seven years have now elapsed since the new regulations came into operation, and it may be instructive briefly to review the results. The number of candidates who have been nominated under them totals 282. Beginning in 1905 with no more than nine, the figures rose from fourteen in 1906 to thirty-five in 1907,

forty in 1908 and 1909, seventy-one in 1910, and seventy-three in 1911; and there seems every reason to believe, from the number of candidates registered at the principal Universities, that the great increase in the last two years is likely not merely to be maintained, but to rise to a considerably higher figure. Of the 282 nominated, 131 have been furnished by Oxford, 110 by Cambridge, thirty-four by Dublin, and seven by other Universities. This increase is all the more remarkable from the fact that it has coincided with a striking decline in the number of candidates supplied by the older and more regular sources. Competition for the cadetships at Sandhurst threatens to become almost a thing of the past, while for the last five years candidates for the Regular commissions offered to officers of the Special Reserve —formerly the most valuable sources of supply, after the military colleges—have grown steadily and ominously fewer. The decline began to be serious in 1907, when only 105 candidates could qualify for the 112 vacancies available, and culminated in 1910, when 140 commissions were offered, and no more than forty-six candidates could be accepted.

What the reason of this lamentable shrinkage in the supply of officers may be forms no part of the object of the present article to explain. The question has been thoroughly ventilated of late in the columns of the daily, weekly, and monthly Press; and the likeliest explanation seems to be neither the increased attention to military duties entailed by the higher efficiency now demanded in all professions alike, nor the insufficiency of the officer's pay to cover his expenses. Money-making can never have entered into the motives that induced anybody to join the Army. Nor is the Secretary of State for War very convincing when he asserts, as he did in Parliament not long ago, speaking of the scarcity of officers, that 'The question at the root is . . . the burden of the cost of education of candidates for the position of officers in the British Army.' Mr. Haldane's theory is surely disproved by the fact, which the official figures establish beyond dispute, that, while the two older sources of supply are gradually drying up, the Universities, which unquestionably form the most costly avenue to a commission, are every year furnishing a growing number of candidates. The opening up of a variety of new careers, in addition to the Army, the Navy, the Church, and the Bar, which in old days were considered the only professions for a gentleman, may to some extent have affected the case. But the main reason is to be found in the reduction in the size of families now almost universal among the classes that have always been the mainstay of the commissioned ranks of the Army—the country squire, the clergy, Army officers themselves, and other professional men in like circumstances.

Whatever the cause of the trouble may be, the remedy now to be adopted of lowering the age for admission to the military colleges, in accordance with Mr. Haldane's theories on the prohibitive cost of education, is surely a step in the wrong direction. The conditions of modern warfare demand an increasing level of education and intelligence from officers, in addition to the resourcefulness and force of character which have always been the first essentials, and which no examination can ever gauge; and there can be little doubt that a boy's last year at his public school, when he becomes an influential and responsible member of his miniature world, furnishes him with an experience of the utmost value in any subsequent career, and in none more valuable than the Army. It is just possible that the saving of a year's school-fees might attract a few more competitors for the military colleges, which must always form the most important channels to a commission. But the relief could hardly be anything but temporary, and any gain in numbers would be dearly bought by the consequent curtailment of the years spent in general education.

If there be any truth in the belief so widely held that the present dearth of officers is due rather to a shrinkage in the rising generation of the classes that have hitherto been the backbone of the Army, it would seem a wiser policy to seek to attract a larger proportion than before of the dwindling numbers of these classes, wherever they are to be found; at an age, moreover, less likely to suffer from the effects of the tropical climates to which so many young officers are sent as soon as they are gazetted to their regiments, than would be the case with cadets who enter Sandhurst at the age of seventeen.

Now nowhere is there a more abundant supply to be found of the very finest material than at the Universities. Every year the cream of the public schools rises continually to Oxford and Cambridge, and it is no exaggeration to say that scores of the best type of public schoolboy matriculate with but the vaguest idea of the form their future careers are to take. Till within recent years the tendency of University education has been to direct their unformed views of life into any direction but that of the Army. The whole atmosphere of the place was not merely unmilitary, but almost positively antagonistic to anything of the kind. Politics, the Church, the Bar, the Civil Service, educational appointments, and many other professions—all these the University curriculum provided for; but from the Army the authorities stood rigorously aloof. Latterly it has begun to dawn upon some few of them that the military services of the Crown also have some claim upon the chief seats of national education. Oxford led the way by instituting 'schools' which enable a degree

to be taken in military studies, an admirable example which Cambridge was not slow to follow. So great is the favour these schools have found in the eyes of the War Office that within the last few weeks they have been officially accepted as substitutes for the War Office examination of University candidates. The powers that be therefore in Oxford have some claim upon the gratitude of the Army. But it is the astonishing growth of military spirit in the modern undergraduate, coupled no doubt with the increasing difficulty of obtaining an adequate supply of candidates elsewhere, that has compelled attention to the value of the Universities as recruiting grounds. The War Office, however indifferent they may have been in the past to the possibilities of this source, have recently shown a quick appreciation of the rising tide of warlike enthusiasm, and have spared no effort to keep it at high-water mark. During the last few months a succession of new regulations has been sanctioned, all designed to make smooth the path from the University to the Army.

Paramount in importance are the new provisions regarding antedate of commissions. Hitherto the one great bar to entering the Army through a University has been the question of seniority. The age handicap was bad enough when the maximum age was twenty-two, and the University candidate could qualify for Sandhurst, where he had to be trained for a year, by merely passing Moderations. That, however, is ancient history. It became far worse when the regulations of 1904, still in force, demanded a degree and at least three years' residence at the University, and as a necessary corollary raised the age-limit to twenty-five. That means that the average University candidate, on joining his regiment at the age of twenty-two or twenty-three, is always liable to find himself junior to boys who might have been his school fags, while his chances of ever obtaining a command are insignificant. It is true the regulations offer a year's antedate to any candidate who graduates with first-class honours. But the value of such an offer is sufficiently shown by the fact that no single candidate from either of the two great Universities, who form all but an insignificant proportion of the whole number of candidates, has ever benefited by it. Six candidates from one of the minor Universities certainly have been granted the extra year's antedate for a first-class. But standards no doubt differ, and for Oxford and Cambridge the rule has been a dead-letter. More to the point is a rule which, though it professes to be no more than a temporary expedient and has never been announced in any official regulations, has nevertheless been carried out for six years. This provides that a University candidate, on being posted to his regiment, is given such an antedate as will give him precedence over any brother officer who has

joined the same corps from Sandhurst—not from Woolwich—during the previous twelve months. In point of fact the majority of candidates do benefit thereby to a limited extent. The drawback is that if a man joins a regiment in which there has been a long block, and no vacancies have arisen to be filled by a Sandhurst cadet during the last year, he gets no antedate whatever. So that it is a matter of pure chance what antedate, if any, is given at all; and it happens often enough that a candidate high on the nomination list of his University starts his service junior by anything up to twelve months to one at the bottom. When the new regulations come into operation, at the nomination of next Christmas, all University candidates alike are promised a definite antedate of eighteen months from the day on which they are gazetted; while an additional six months, counting moreover, unlike the first eighteen, towards pension, may be awarded to those who graduate with first- or second-class honours.

The regulations of 1912 introduce another change that removes a grievance which has long rankled among Oxford candidates, due to the proportion in which the total number of University commissions offered every six months is distributed. This was a point which the War Office left for the decision of the University members of the Advisory Board, whom they might naturally suppose to be best qualified to deal with it. Now 'the Universities,' in common parlance, means Oxford and Cambridge. The general public is only dimly aware that there are a number of other institutions which lay claim to that title. But the War Office, in their scrupulous zeal for strict impartiality, invited representatives to the Advisory Board from all manner of Universities, many of which were never likely to be of the least value as recruiting grounds, with the result that any one of these had as much voice in framing the regulations as the representatives of the two great Universities—and one or two, it is said, a good deal more. Consequently, for purposes of nominations, the 1904 regulations arranged the Universities into six groups, consisting of:

(a) The University of Oxford.
(b) The University of Cambridge.
(c) Trinity College, Dublin.
(d) The University of London.
(e) The Universities of Scotland.
(f) Sundry others.

The same number of commissions—viz. five—in Cavalry, Infantry, or Guards, with a subsequent addition of one in the Indian Army and one in the Royal Artillery, has been offered regularly every six months to each one of these six groups alike. The last three in seven years have between them furnished no

more than seven candidates. Trinity College, Dublin, have never taken up all the vacancies placed at their disposal, but nevertheless have been able to accept an average of five commissions a year, and therefore have a strong claim to consideration. The numbers of candidates from Oxford and Cambridge now invariably exceed—and frequently very largely exceed—the number of commissions to which they are entitled. Happily there is a further provision—that, if any of the groups are unable to award their commissions, the 'unallocated surplus' shall be available for distribution among the candidates of other groups. In effect, therefore, there are forty-two commissions offered every six months to the Universities; and the insignificant number claimed by the other four groups leave a margin that has hitherto proved amply sufficient for the needs of Oxford and Cambridge, though it seems highly probable that these two alone will shortly require more commissions than up to the present have been available for the whole six groups.

But while the two principal Universities have always been granted commissions for every candidate they were able to nominate in one branch of the Service or another, they have not had anything like their fair share of the Indian commissions, for which the competition is always keen. The unallocated surplus is distributed on a definite system of rotation which pays no regard whatever to the numbers of candidates nominated by the several Universities. For instance, last summer Oxford nominated twenty-one candidates, Cambridge eighteen, Dublin two, and Edinburgh one. The two spare Indian commissions not taken up by the remaining groups fell to the turn of Cambridge and Dublin. So three Indian commissions went to two groups who had only furnished three candidates, and the same number to two groups who furnished thirty-nine. The chances on this occasion against an Oxford man getting the Indian Army were twenty to one; against the Cambridge man nine to one; while the Dublin and Edinburgh men got it for the asking. The case was very similar at the summer nomination of the previous year, when Oxford with twenty-one candidates again only got one Indian commission, Cambridge two with seventeen candidates, Dublin two with four, and Edinburgh one with the first and only candidate they had ever yet produced. And yet these allotments were entirely in accordance with the system laid down for the distribution of such commissions.

Instances of such flagrant anomalies repeated in successive years proved beyond dispute the need for a revision of the old system. Oxford renewed the protests on this subject raised the year before, and the 1912 regulations classify the Universities more in accordance with their value for this particular purpose—

and perhaps for any other. The six old groups [illegible] are replaced by three new ones—viz. (a) Oxford, (b) Cambridge, (c) the rest. Moreover, assurances have been given, though not embodied in the new regulations, that in future the several Indian commissions are to be distributed 'among the three groups in proportion to the total number of candidates nominated.'

There is one rule, still remaining in the 1912 regulations, which seems to do less than justice to the University candidate. Officers of any other Auxiliary Forces attached for instruction to Regular Units draw the full pay of their rank during the whole period of their attachment, as well as messing allowance and travelling expenses. University candidates, on the contrary, who receive temporary commissions in the Territorial Force before undertaking the course of instruction with a Regular Unit, which is one of the necessary conditions of obtaining a nomination, receive no pay or allowances whatever, and bear the whole cost of living in a mess during six weeks of one of their vacations out of their own pockets, or rather, those of parents whose resources may very well already be strained by the ordinary expenses of a University career. To some extent this anomaly may be justified by the fact that all other Auxiliary officers undertake responsibilities on accepting commissions which are not incurred by the University candidate, on whom the country can make no claim. Instances occur, too, of University candidates abandoning their intentions of taking commissions in the Regular Army after completing all their attachment. But both of these objections would be met by granting pay and allowances for the periods of attachment on condition of subsequently joining the Army, and only issuing them when the candidate had received his commission and was about to purchase his outfit.

That particular branch of the War Office which deals with the Universities and their Army candidates has laid them under so great obligations during the last few months that it seems a pity so small a matter as this should not be adjusted. The regulations of 1912 are as great an advance upon those of 1904 as the latter were on anything that had gone before. The barriers between the War Office and the Universities are vanishing fast. There is probably no public department which is the target for more irresponsible and ill-informed criticism than the War Office. The extremely able and experienced officers who compose its staff, hampered and tied as they are by financial and political considerations of which the outside public has no conception, pestered by all sorts of claims which take no account of the results their satisfaction would entail, endure with an unruffled reticence the constant clamour of foolish chatter that ever assails the Office they serve when it declines to entertain any

[illegible] that misguided enthusiasm, or the passing fashion of the day may suggest. Even the well-weighed proposals of responsible outside critics need long and careful consideration before they can receive the seal of official sanction. There may be conflicting interests to reconcile, long-standing rights to safeguard, or, most difficult of all, a reluctant Treasury to beguile. And so at best the wheels grind slowly, whilst the parrot cry of 'red tape' that echoes round the walls of the War Office only bespeaks the blank ignorance of those who raise it, all unaware that the thing they blaspheme stands simply for order, for method and system, and for justice between man and man.

A. K. Slessor.

Christ Church, Oxford.

THE CRYSTAL PALACE

A REMINISCENCE AND A SUGGESTION

'A Palace made of Crystal!' The words beat upon my childish ears with all the charm and insistence of a fairy tale. They loomed large and fantastic upon the world of 1851—that world which to those who can remember it appears now so small, so circumscribed, so stable and so safe. The name alone, which in these days appears so commonplace, because people have forgotten its real signification, set all imaginations going; and the rare travellers who went from my native country to visit England came back with quite unbelievable stories of its vastness, its beauty, its splendour.

It must be borne in mind that nothing of the kind had ever been conceived; that public taste was not jaded by every sort of extraordinary thing springing up like mushrooms overnight, in almost all European countries, and that exhibitions had never been heard of. It was, in fact, the distinct beginning of a new epoch and of new ideas in the history of England. When first I saw the Palace in the distance, soaring apparently in mid-air, unreal and elusive against a frosty December sunset, its age was only seven years. The impression was so strong that it remains as fresh in my mind to-day as it was then. We were nearing murky London, a far foggier and darker London than it is now, and also a much less beautiful one. As my eyes roved over the miles of small houses I thought of the poet Heine's description when he says that, looking down upon the myriads of chimney-pots, they put him in mind of so many teeth drawn and set with their roots upwards; he also adds that in England the moon always wears a yellow flannel jacket, which proves that he only knew a London moon.

The great event which brought me and my companions over to England was the marriage of Queen Victoria's eldest daughter, the young and gifted Princess Royal, with the future Emperor Frederick the Third. The ladies and gentlemen with whom I had travelled were to form the Princess's court at Berlin, and the Queen, with her usual kind thoughtfulness, had desired that all the sights of London should be shown to us. The very first thing

we went to see, as the most important and remarkable, was the Crystal Palace, for it was unique in the world, and filled us with wonder and admiration. I can recall now the Princess Royal after her marriage often alluding to its opening as one of the most glorious events in the Queen's reign. She said her Royal mother felt such a pride in it, as a proof of the genius and high intelligence of her beloved husband, who conceived it and under whose directions it was built.

The idea of a great Exhibition Palace was an absolutely new one, and in those days a colossal enterprise. The path on which so many other exhibitions were to follow had to be dug and paved, minds had to be trained and accustomed to the thought, and bitter opposition was aroused; yet in spite of it all the great work sprang up in the course of less than six months from its beginning and, what is more, not one of the exhibitions, great or small, which in the last sixty years have followed in its wake have ever rivalled it or even approached it in intrinsic beauty. This is high praise for a monument built at a time when taste and imagination were at a low ebb and the conception of art clung almost only to pictures and statuary. It was only twenty years later that the influence of Morris and the pre-Raphaelite school began to be felt in things pertaining to daily life—an influence which spread far beyond the boundaries of the British Empire, and has strongly coloured art in every European country.

At a moment when so much has been said about the destruction of one of the foremost landmarks of the most glorious reign Great Britain has ever known, it may not be amiss to give a short account of its history. Whether the Prince Consort really originated the idea of a great International Exhibition or whether it was suggested to him by somebody else is not quite certain; but there is no doubt that he seized the idea with great warmth and enthusiasm, and matured it in his own mind before speaking of it to anybody else. It was during the summer of 1849 that the Prince first began to discuss the matter with Sir Robert Peel and others. 'Now is the time,' he said, 'to prepare for an Exhibition—a great Exhibition worthy of the greatness of this country, not merely national in its scope and benefits, but comprehensive of the whole world; and I offer myself to the public as their leader, if they are willing to assist the undertaking.'

The place selected for the Exhibition Palace was Hyde Park, but this met with violent opposition. In June 1850 the Prince writes: 'The Exhibition is now furiously attacked by *The Times*, and the House of Commons is going to drive us out of the Park. There is immense excitement on the subject. If we are driven out of the Park the work is done for. Never was anything so foolish!' Then a little later in another letter: 'Further to

distress us, the whole public—led on by The Times—has at once made a set against me and the Exhibition, on the ground of interference with Hyde Park. We are to back out of London with our nuisance to the Isle of Dogs, &c.! If we are beaten we shall have to give the whole thing up.'

However, the Prince was not beaten on the question of site. The House of Commons defeated the opposition with a large majority. The financial question was overcome by creating a guarantee fund, the Prince being a liberal subscriber, so anxiety was set at rest on that point. Nobody could anticipate at that time that the success of the Exhibition would make a dead letter of these guarantees, for it left in the hands of the commissioners a balance of nearly a quarter of a million!

The architect chosen to construct the Palace was Mr. Joseph Paxton, the seventh son of a poor schoolmaster, who had worked up his way from the humble position of a gardener on the Duke of Devonshire's estates at Chatsworth, where he had constructed a conservatory 300 feet long by 145 wide, which gave him the idea of the Crystal Palace.

As soon as the designs for the Exhibition were made public there arose a storm of protest that might have frightened a less determined man than Mr. Paxton. It was said that a huge building of glass and iron could never be made stable. There would be a stupendous disaster. The first gale would blow it into a shapeless wreck. Even if the 'glass case' managed to resist the gales, the heat engendered by the sun when it poured its rays upon the glass would be so terrific that no human being would be able to withstand it; consequently if they escaped an avalanche of glass they would be 'roasted to death inside the case.' I quote these amusing details from a volume compiled some time ago when the Crystal Palace was to be sold by auction.

But there were still more extraordinary developments. The project was looked upon with distrust by most of the great Continental Powers. They thought that contact with English institutions might open dangerous lines of opinion in the minds of their subjects, who were sure to be attracted in considerable numbers to England by the Exhibition. The Prussian Government so alarmed the King with apprehensions of dangers from Republican assassins that at first he would not allow the Prince and Princess of Prussia (afterwards Emperor William and Empress Augusta) to accept the Queen's invitation to be present at the opening ceremony. All these difficulties increased the Prince Consort's work enormously, and he writes: 'Just at present I am more dead than alive from overwork. The opponents of the Exhibition work with might and main to throw all the old women into a panic and to drive myself crazy. The

ensues, then give out, are to commence a thorough revolution, to murder Victoria and myself, and to proclaim the Red Republic in England. The plague is certain to come from the confluence of such vast multitudes and to swallow up those whom the increased price of everything has not already swept away. For all this I am to be responsible and against all this I am to make efficient provision.'

This letter is dated the 15th of April 1851, and on the 1st of May the Exhibition was opened in circumstances of unparalleled pomp. It is amusing to record that even at the last moment the prophets of evil begged and prayed that guns announcing the Queen's arrival in the Park should not be fired, because the concussion would shiver the glass roof of the Palace, and thousands of great ladies, who were to be in their seats by ten o'clock, would be cut into mincemeat. Many nervous people were deterred from attending the opening ceremony.

The Prince Consort's biographer writes:

The shock of surprised delight which everyone felt upon first entering the great transept of Paxton's building was a sensation as novel as it was deep. Its vastness was measured by the huge elms, two of the giants of the Park which rose far into the air with all their wealth of foliage, free and unconfined as if there were no thing between them and the open sky. The plash of fountains, the luxuriance of tropical foliage, the play of colours from the choicest flowers, carried on into the vistas of the nave by the rich hues of carpets and stuffs from the costliest looms, were enough to fill eye and mind with a pleasure never to be forgotten, even without the vague sense of what lay beyond in the accumulated results of human ingenuity and cultivated art.

Thackeray was so moved by the sight that he wrote the following lines:

But yesterday a naked sod
The dandies sneered from Rotten Row,
And cantered o'er it to and fro,
And see 'tis done!
As tho' t'were by a wizard's rod
A blazing arch of lucid glass
Leaps like a fountain from the grass
To meet the sun.
A quiet green, but few days since
With cattle browsing in the shade
And here are lines of bright arcade,
An order raised.
A Palace as for fairy Prince
A rare Pavilion such as man
Saw never since mankind began,
And built and glazed!

But the happiest, the proudest, the most thankful heart on that day was the Queen's. The loving wife, the great Queen,

the pious woman speaks in the simple lines she wrote in her diary that evening:

> May 1.—the great event has taken place—a complete and beautiful triumph—a glorious and touching sight, one which I shall ever be proud of for my beloved Albert and my country. . . . Yes! it is a day which makes my heart swell with pride and glory and thankfulness! . . . The sight as we came to the middle where the steps and chair (which I did not sit on) were placed, with the beautiful crystal fountain just in front of it, was magical—so vast, so glorious, so touching. One felt—as so many did whom I have since spoken to—filled with devotion—more so than by any service I have ever heard. The tremendous cheers, the joy expressed in every face, the immensity of the building, the mixture of palms, flowers, trees, statues, fountains, the organ (with 200 instruments and 600 voices which sounded like nothing), and my beloved husband the author of this 'Peace Festival,' which united the industry of all the nations of the earth—all this was moving indeed, and it was, and is, a day to live for ever. God bless my dearest Albert! God bless my dearest country, which has shown itself so great to-day! One felt so grateful to the great God, who seemed to pervade all and bless all!

To a generation like that of the present day, steeped in constant amusement and excitement, these words may seem exaggerated or even incomprehensible, but to those who can look back a long way they are most touching and pathetic, because the new era inaugurated by this great Exhibition with such glorious hopes has landed us in such troubled waters.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the waters were very clear and still. The scum which always rises to the top in all Revolutions, and which had been mightily stirred up on the Continent in '48 and '49, had again sunk to the bottom, but unfortunately much of it had settled down in England. England felt herself strong and peaceful enough to harbour all the disturbing spirits which were expelled from their native soil. But the Italian proverb says 'Poco favilla gran fiamma seconda,'[1] and who knows whether this generous act of hospitality, at first only offered to political offenders but now extended to every class of agitators, has not been one of the chief causes of our present troubles?

When the Exhibition closed, a splendid success, the problem arose what to do with the Palace. Some wished it to be turned into a winter garden for the delectation of Londoners, and the surplus money, nearly a quarter of a million, to be applied to this purpose. But the Prince Consort interposed. He did not think a pleasure palace necessary for the London public, as the chief object for which it had been built was the promotion of human industry and not of popular recreation. The minds of the early and mid-Victorian Englishmen must have been of a different temper from those of our days, for the Prince carried

[1] 'A small spark lights a great flame.'

his decision. Not for amusement but for instruction and national advance were the palatial halls to be preserved. To-day no institute, no village hall could live unless the best part of it were devoted to amusement. Cards and billiard tables are a *sine quâ non*, for they only, alas! attract the young.

The Prince had to deal with many difficulties, but he had to deal, if I may so express myself, with Roman souls, whilst the Byzantine soul of the present day has other needs.

The Crystal Palace was constructed at a time when taste was supposed to be bad (though lately there has been rather a reaction on this point), but work was still good; the workman had a conscience and much pride in what he produced, and this gives things of that time a certain attraction. In the building of the Crystal Palace beauty was united to good work, and thus it stands to-day as a memorial of the initial stage of England's Imperial era; for though many may only date this from the day when Lord Beaconsfield's genius evolved the idea of crowning Queen Victoria Empress of India, he no doubt read, with subtle intuition, the thought in the public mind, and we may assume that the great Exhibition of 1851 was a powerful factor in its birth.

The Government, after considering the question a long time, declined to take over the Crystal Palace for the benefit of the nation. It is the drawback of a severely constitutional country, and especially of Party Government, that such opportunities are constantly allowed to slip. A Republic like France would have seized upon it at once, and most countries with autocratic rulers would have most certainly bought it. The purchase of the Palace was left to private enterprise, and under the guidance of intelligent and energetic men the colossal structure was transferred by an army of 7000 men to its present position.

It would have been difficult to find a finer site, for from it the eye roves over half a dozen counties, and the lungs breathe a most invigorating and diamantine air—a treasure which the jaded Londoner has not yet sufficiently appreciated. If the modern Englishman had one half of the hygienic instinct of the ancient Greek, the Crystal Palace would long ago have been converted into a Palace of Health, second to none in the world. But unfortunately in health as in many other things we shut the door only after the mare has been stolen; we talk of cures when it is prevention we ought to think of.

> Better to hunt in fields for Health unbought
> Than fee the doctor for a nauseous draught.
> The wise for cure on exercise depend,
> God never made his work for men to mend!

Never did poet write truer lines.

The appalling statistics about the degeneration of the race ought to alarm the public, but it looks on with indifference. I transcribe the following from General Baden-Powell's *Scoutbook* of 1911, p. 177:

> Recent reports on the deterioration of our race ought to act as a warning to be taken in time before it goes too far.
>
> One cause which contributed to the downfall of the Roman Empire was the fact that the soldiers fell away from the standard of their forefathers in bodily strength.
>
> Our standard of height in the army was 5 feet 6 inches in 1845; it was four inches less in 1895. In 1900 forty-four men in every thousand recruits weighed under 7 st. 12 lb.; in 1905 this deficiency had increased to seventy-six per thousand.
>
> In 1908 our recruits were 2 inches below the standard height of men of their age—viz. eighteen to nineteen—and six pounds under the average weight. Three thousand men were sent home from the South African War on account of bad teeth.

Then General Baden-Powell goes on to give statistics about school-children which are even more sad and discouraging, for they are younger than the soldiers, and the report shows how rapidly deterioration is growing. The astounding part of it all is that most of the diseases the present generation suffers from would be quite easily preventable by a wise legislation and educating the public mind to grasping the necessity of being healthy. A low motive would perhaps with the unevolved be the best incentive, and if they understood that health means money, they might be converted to a better way of living. If the people will not do it for themselves it is the duty of the Government to teach them. How can a nation be great when it is not healthy? How can it keep up a high moral standard? How can it be happy? 'The voice of joy and health is in the dwellings of the righteous,' says the Psalmist, but we do not hear the voice of joy or health in England, and the terrible thing is that only few, a very few, seem to miss it. The perfect balance of the soul and body is the *sine quâ non* of success. The poet's three words, 'Health, peace, and competence' are what is wanted for the people, but how can the two last be secured without the first and most important? What is the good of all the reforms made from time to time if the nation is not taught to understand them?

Some months ago an excellent and most beneficial campaign was made for wholesome bread. Whether it ever penetrated much below the upper classes is very doubtful, but even they are beginning to be slack about it now and accept again the bad bread the baker sends them. The great masses cling to their gallons of poisonous stewed tea, their bad beer, their uncooked, wasteful, unnutritious food, their tinned stuff, and their patent medicines. A nation that lives thus must degenerate. A

[illegible] by the Government, [illegible] is no difficulty about it, if given into the hands of those who really understand it. The whole system of diet in prisons, workhouses, asylums, schools, as well as in the Army and Navy, needs to be reformed, and one could double the health, while halving the expense, for it would be chiefly done out of savings, and why should not prisons and schools, &c., be made a means of educating the inmates and children as to how they could feed easily and economically afterwards?

Why should not the Crystal Palace be made into a great School of Health for all manner of people, for all ages from infancy to childhood, for girls and boys, for young mothers on to middle and old age? It would be a school with practical demonstration in everything pertaining to health. Demonstrations in cooking, gymnastics, and dancing; sun and air baths, and every kind of water cure. There would be air huts for those who wish to learn the simple life and nature cures; no place could be more perfect for this ideal way of recovering health than the Crystal Palace, as on rainy days it would provide a shelter and amusement and exercise. Hygienic clothing would be taught and hygienic living in its best sense. The theme and scope are so large that they would fill volumes, and yet so simple that the rules once learnt become a second nature to those who have thoroughly grasped them.

Health taught in such a way, in such a place, would be the strong wings which would raise England again to its glorious place in the Council of Nations. No well-balanced and self-reliant people would have shown the pusillanimous and constant preoccupation about war and invasions which has been so rife these latter years. Then what a boon would such a place be so near London, so vast, and with such air! All the over-tired, the exhausted, the nervous, the bored, the over-amused, could in one week, under proper tuition, learn what health really means, and discover the philosophy of life.

Nor would this be all. This scheme of public health would only embrace the buildings surrounding the Crystal Palace. The central monument, and those buildings erected in connexion with the Festival of Empire, could be made use of as a vast Empire Club, where Colonials would feel themselves at home, where they could have exhibits of their produce, where in a few days or hours they could learn to know all about the Mother Country, and then the ties which shall and must unite England to her children will be welded faster than ever.

The wisdom of the older country will temper the impetuosity of the younger ones, the go and dash of their children will infuse new vigour into the parent. Bound firmly to her Colonies and

supported by their common sense and energy, England would no longer be lured by the mirages of the Demagogue and Jacobin; she would spurn the foreign agitator, whose only aim is to undermine her strength, because she has stood for so long as the prototype of law, order, and high moral sense in the van of the nations.

Only a patriotic, large-hearted, united Empire can ensure the continuance of Great Britain's power. It is only by meeting that Englishmen and Colonials will learn to know and appreciate each other.

Let the Palace of Crystal, an emblem of strength and purity, be the trysting ground where parent and children shall unite in love and loyalty to build an Empire, just, strong, and beneficent for the happiness of the nation and an example to the world.

WALBURGA PAGET.

SCHOLARSHIPS, OR MILLSTONES?

Chill penury repressed their noble rage,
And froze the genial current of the soul.

There has recently been preached a new doctrine as to the duty of ex-scholars and even of the beneficiaries who have obtained their education by the help of willing individuals to whom fortune had been kind. It is now urged that we should regard such educational help as of the nature of a definite money debt, to be measured precisely by the amount received, and refunded in its entirety either to the educational endowment or to the private benefactor, as the case may be; though some, with greater apparent leniency, would allow that it should be passed on in its integrity to an equally worthy recipient in a later scholastic generation. This debt is to have priority of all else according to the stricter views—nay, interest should be paid on it in coin of the realm. This new demand received authoritative countenance at the last meetiing of the British Association at Portsmouth. Sir William Ramsay in his inaugural address said:

> The remedy lies in our own hands. Let me suggest that we exact from all gainers of University scholarships an undertaking that, if and when circumstances permit, they will repay the sum which they have received as a scholarship, bursary, or fellowship. It would then be possible for an insurance company to advance a sum representing the capital value—viz. £7,464,931, of the scholarships, reserving, say, twenty per cent. for non-payment, the result of mishap or death. In this way a sum of over six million pounds, of which the interest is now expended on scholarships, would be available for University purposes. This is about one-fourth of the sum of twenty-four millions stated by Sir Norman Lockyer at the Southport meeting as necessary to place our University education on a satisfactory basis. A large part of the income of this sum should be spent in increasing the emoluments of the chairs; for, unless the income of a professor is made in some degree commensurate with the earnings of a professional man who has succeeded in his profession, it is idle to suppose that the best brains will be attracted to the teaching profession. And it follows that unless the teachers occupy the first rank, the pupils will not be stimulated as they ought to be.

I propose to examine this view, and hope to show that not only does it lack justification in the intentions of the pious founder of the past and the liberal patron of the present, but that, based

on a narrow view of money as a thing apart, the general enforcement of the 'obligation' by law, public opinion, or sense of honour, would do much to annul the benefit derived from educational foundations and benefactions.

We should indeed stray far from the wishes of the pious founder in this commercialisation of his generosity. What he wished, in pre-Reformation days at least, was the assurance in each generation of a supply of educated men: either directly to pray for his soul or for the souls of all erring mortals; or what came indirectly to the same thing, the provision of a stream of well-educated adolescents to supply the needs of the priesthood. In France, up to the time of the Revolution, I find that the new-fledged graduate in arts, if he wished to enter Holy Orders, had a direct claim on the bishop for such ecclesiastical employ as would give him a title to ordination; and, in the practical absence of most of our learned professions of the present day, we may well suppose that this future for most of the scholars was present to the founders. They were followed in post-Reformation days by others inspired by a more disinterested love of education, or by an enlightened patriotism that saw in the provision for education a factor making for national advance and national prosperity. Many of the founders of this later epoch were themselves former scholars who, having profited by endowments already in existence, sought to increase their number for the satisfaction of their highest feelings, and not as a money debt to be cleared off and forgotten. Certainly the idea of starting a 'snowball' was never present to the mind of the pious founder.

If we pass from perpetual foundations to private benefactions for individuals of promise the aspect is equally clear. Two communities in this country have distinguished themselves by the readiness of their wealthier members to help lads of intellectual promise to the means of making their talents bear fruit: the Wesleyans and the Jews. Here the beneficence may assume one of two forms. In the one the single benefactor takes up the whole financial care of the lad's future, makes his acquaintance if necessary, and takes up a godfatherly attitude; and this is requited by a filial attitude on the part of the protégé, who, to my knowledge, is prone indiscreetly rather to magnify his gratitude in the market-place to the abashment of the modest patron than to ignore or suppress it. It is an open secret that the house of Rothschild actively seeks for opportunities of what we may call 'sponsorial benefaction.' The second mode is what we may call 'syndicated liberality.' A limited number of men combine to afford the student the means of study *and of suitable living*, usually at the suggestion and through the agency of the teacher or minister. In this case the names are [illegible]

kept secret from the beneficiary. I know of one instance where after a distinguished university career he only obtained them on his [illegible] request, so that he might have the opportunity of thanking personally those to whom he owed his successful start in life. It often happens, indeed, that the members of the syndicate ignore each other's names, and, asking no accounts of their almoner, do not even know the *relative* magnitude of their own contributions. Now I have had opportunities of familiarising myself with the attitude of educational benefactors of both types, and have found them substantially in agreement. Their aim is to give tools to him that can handle them, to open the course to the racehorse for the benefit of the breed, and for the future satisfaction of those that have effected this praiseworthy end. As a teacher wrote once, in his appeal for funds to enable a man of exceptional promise to leave for a time his bread-winning occupation and train himself for scientific research—an appeal fully justified by the subsequent career of the man:

> This is no question of charity, for my man is supporting himself already; it is one of your future satisfaction in having helped him to do the highest work of which he is capable, and for which very few are competent.

In France permanent endowments such as our scholarships are, I believe, practically unknown. But bursaries, usually large enough for complete maintenance, are given to deserving students without competition by the Ministry of Education or by the communes, as need arises. Their number is not fixed, and many communes have never given any, since the conditions have not arisen in them. Thus the specific debt view of the scholarship is of new and local origin. I believe that it came to us from Germany and America; and though it is not necessarily the worse for that, it is not necessarily the better. At the present day the majority of our scholars enter what we may regard as the less remunerative 'learned' and 'scientific' professions, where the rate of pay is low compared to commercial pursuits, promotion is slow, and prizes rare. If their studies lie in the direction of 'litteræ humaniores,' they become clergymen or ministers, or schoolmasters: if they follow science they take posts as demonstrators in our universities, lecturers in technical schools: many again take up law or medicine. But it is only in rare cases that the intellectual promise of childhood finds its realisation in the capacity for money-making on maturity. It is difficult to estimate what total amount is received in aid by the recipient of an assisted education; but if I put it at 300*l.* I think that I shall be far below the average: however, I will leave it at

as soon as possible. Let us take ten years; and we have our ex-scholar's salary subject to a deduction of 80l. per annum for this time. Besides bare living and clothing expenses, in any of these professions there are 'special extras' which must be incurred if his work is to be really efficient. The purchase of books—for with the best of libraries handy, one does best work with one's own books—is one serious cause of outlay; or it may be instruments for his own research, or, if a doctor, for the more efficient treatment of his patients. Another, most important to a man engaged in education, is social intercourse with his pupils: going out on walks with them, asking them in to tea, or it may be supper, are not merely social pleasures to the young teacher: they are part of his function, and render more efficient the training he gives in official hours. Subscriptions to the clubs of the teaching institution are a matter of course. Vacation travel, to give a wider outlook, is advisable in all cases: nay, if the teacher's line be geology, it is an absolute necessity to keep his teaching and his progress in touch with Nature.

Moreover, apart from local subscriptions, he must subscribe to at least one society dealing with his scientific branch, or with his profession, such as, for instance, the Linnean or Geological Society, or the Assistant Schoolmasters' Association. If he be a doctor or a minister, a certain amount of private assistance to deserving cases, whether by way of forgoing hard-earned fees or of bestowing direct material assistance, will be a professional luxury that he will find it hard to resist constantly. If our man is very lucky he may begin with something like 150l. a year, but he may, on the contrary, have, if an optimist, to find himself 'passing rich on' 90l. 'a year.' If he has younger brothers or sisters of promise he will be expected to do his best for their education: if his parents have deprived themselves of his reasonable help when an adolescent, or scraped to give a necessary supplement to the funds available from the scholarship, he will want as a good son to sweeten their lot. Yet there is this weight of debt as a first charge. A little later, we may hope, his position is materially improved. But the young doctor, the curate, the assistant master, the lecturer or demonstrator has no claim to sick pay, no insurance against unemployment or arbitrary dismissal: nay, the failure to commend himself to one chief will be a bar not only to promotion, but even to re-employment elsewhere. He ought certainly at this stage to make some sort of provision for the future, by insurance and by savings: but the scholarship debt stands in the way.

A little later he is in his thirtieth year, a time at which surely every man ought to think of marriage. But he has nothing put by to start housekeeping; and even if he has made his payments

in full for the first five years, he is still [illegible] short of financial freedom. It is quite possible that for some time past womanly sympathy and affection have sweetened his work, that womanly encouragement has kept his intellectual aspirations alive, and prevented his work from degenerating into the routine handing-on of the lessons learnt long ago in his student days. Still, his engagement must drag along till he and his love join lots in middle life; and his children only learn to know him when sobered, saddened, and aged by a decade or two of unceasing money pre-occupations. As Sterne said, 'They order this matter better in France,' where a given position in the professional world is held the equivalent of a good fat dowry; but for this there needs a complete change of public opinion in these countries. Nor is it to be expected that the qualities of the high-minded student should conduce to his success as an heiress-hunter. Indeed, even in France many professors have married portionless brides. Much has been written of race suicide in these last few years. Here we are directly discouraging the intellectual cream of the population from marriage during those years in which they are most likely to beget healthy offspring and to inspire them with the generous enthusiasms which assuredly will be destroyed, as we have seen, by the long years of privation of a happy home life. His children will be less well-born, less well-bred in every way and sense. Can the State afford this loss? What will the Eugenics Society say to the idea?

And the man's professional work: what of that? His intellectual play and productivity will have suffered; his sympathy with the young men and women who are his care and his associates will have been blunted in his narrowed life overshadowed by debt.

We have now traced our ex-scholar, embarrassed with the pious benefactions of his youth and adolescence, into early middle life; and the spectacle has not been a pleasant or a joyous one. But to grasp the full benefits of returnable scholarships we must consider his start in life, when fresh from college. Every bank has realised how disadvantageous to its service are the pecuniary straits of its employees; and in this matter Government has wisely taken a lesson from commerce. Does not the same hold good in professional careers? As a member of a governing body I profess that in the interests of the college I would ever give the preference for an appointment to a freeman over a bondsman. Already for less responsible posts, such as porters, we seek for army and navy pensioners, who are able to supplement the meagre wages available by the deferred pay that they have earned in the services. As we have seen, the pay of all young professionals is so low that a small reduction makes it inadequate to their position. If the pay, then, is normally to become subject to

a serious deduction in the case of ex-scholars, [illegible] certainly cease to be given to men of lower [illegible] who will, however, be free for higher development in the [illegible] of their calling. We may anticipate a new terror in the interview of the 'selected candidates'; for we shall find the inquisitive member of the board putting questions after this pattern: 'I note that you held scholarships continuously during your school and college career: what was the total amount you have so received? Do you intend to refund it or any part of it? What arrangements do you propose to make to pay off this debt? Will you do so from your salary here, or have you private means? Do you think that with so small an income you can reasonably develop your talents in our college?' From this to the routine phrase in advertisements of vacancies, 'No ex-scholars need apply,' is but a small step. On the other hand, is it likely that rectors who need curates, established doctors who seek assistants, and especially teaching bodies, will raise the standard rates of pay to meet this new call on their young men? I fear not. And in the case of education, the only likely source from which the teaching fund could be augmented is *that very scholarship fund whose increase the refundable scholarship is intended to effect!* Instead of the surplus going to raise the salaries of eminent professors to the level of those of business men, it would now serve to enable the younger ones to return their scholarship earnings without detriment; and we should practically be at the same point from which we started.

What is the purpose of scholarships? We glanced at it earlier; but I think that the best short statement is that they serve to enrich the life of a country by providing training for those who are best fitted to receive it; they enrich not only the intellectual but the material life of the country by bringing into the learned and scientific professions those who will do best work in them. Every man worthy of the name feels bound to justify his position in the world to himself and to others. The man of money contributes willingly of his means to charities, public and private, and to various social objects, far more than the State takes from him for public purposes by taxation; and, what is more, he does it cheerfully and without grumbling: this fact was the justification of Auberon Herbert's plea for voluntary taxation. The ex-scholar justifies his existence by his worldly success, for the world profits by fine work well done. Why should we risk marring this work for the sake of recovering that money which has been forthcoming in the past, and will be forthcoming in the future, from the enlightened man of means? I have known most intimately not only scholars but private beneficiaries, and their general feeling is that on them lies the strongest obligation

[illegible]

[illegible] help of every kind to those who start from their own [illegible] of place, so that these in turn may rival or surpass [illegible] in the service of man. If once we make the [illegible] debt of definite amount the accepted obligation, if its integral repayment become a standard duty, we have an end to this [illegible] and generous conception. Shall we not demoralise and [illegible] the beneficiary who is never in a position to discharge this debt, by telling him that he should regard himself as a sort of bankrupt? He may be a great and inspiring trainer of men; he may add to the value of life by his researches like Faraday, like Leonard Hill of our own day; instead of giving of his best freely and generously to the world, as these did, he must sell his goods to the highest bidder or incur the reproach of willing, acquiescent insolvency. The evil will be proportionate to the moral value of the man whom it affects. The self-indulgent will always claim that the appointed time '*when circumstances permit*' is not yet reached. The man who has repaid the money integrally will be tempted to think that the servitude to the endowment he has undergone for the repayment not only clears his pecuniary and moral debt, but leaves him with a big credit balance against humanity, and gives him the right to a good selfish time of his own. On the other hand, under present conditions and ideals, we find on all sides those who not only fulfil to the utmost, by their trained work and personality, their labours and their influence, what I have suggested the ideals of the ex-scholar should be; but who, further, having or having gained great riches, devote much of them to various purposes of the Alma Mater, without ever a thought that it absolves them from the filial debt, which they still proclaim with affectionate pride.

MARCUS HARTOG.

AN OLD BOY'S IMPRESSION OF THE FOURTH OF JUNE AT ETON

I SUPPOSE that when a savage dresses himself up with paint and feathers on some state occasion he is only obeying the same ineradicable instinct of human nature which prompts the custom of the Freemason to don aprons and ribbons, the parson to assume bright robes, and the judge to retain the historic costume of a cardinal of the Middle Ages, to whose office he in a measure succeeds. We are accustomed to see women dressed in bright colours, but fashion, as well as climate, has enjoined a comparatively dull hue for male attire; nevertheless, there are times when the quiet and retiring man rushes with a wild joy into the bravery of fancy dress. Gorgeous theatrical mounting of plays and the recent rage for pageants are instances of this instinct for make-believe by means of costume, and we are still children to whom the fascination of finery is enduring.

There used to be few fancy-dress balls for which some Old Etonian would not ransack cupboard and drawer and produce a dusty old Fourth of June hat, prink the flowers, and furbish up the gold lace border, send the gay shirt and white ducks to the wash, and probably let out the waistband of the latter with a sigh; then he would squeeze his shoulders into the jacket, and step forth a decorative Jack Tar for the delectation of the ladies. His brass or gold sleeve-links were engraved with the crossed oars, the 'E.A.' denoting Eton Aquatics, and the Royal Crown which tradition tells that George the Fourth gave members of the Boats exclusive permission to wear, and it is probable that the turnout was not the least effective at the dance. You cannot glorify a soldier—the glitter of his full-dress uniform is part of his stock-in-trade, and as important as the man-millinery of a High Church curate; but that of an A.B. sailor of old time takes kindly to a little artistic decoration. There are few dresses more becoming to a good-looking, well-built young man than the Fourth of June uniform of the *Defiance*. There is something about this sailor's costume which conveys the suggestion of perennial youth; perhaps it is in the short jacket and white linen, or perhaps the association may be traced to the nursery.

Montem, that carnival of costume and highway robbery, in which 'salt' was demanded from the casual wayfarer—tradition runs that the King was stopped on Windsor Bridge and 'salt' peremptorily, but respectfully, requested, and that he good-humouredly responded to the tune of five pounds—Montem, I say, has long since become historical. Election Saturday, a similar institution to the 'Fourth,' was abolished in 1871; let us then cling to the one festival in which Eton may dress herself up and go a-maying. Even the sober dignity of Sixth Form is not exempt from the tyranny of the tailor, for they have to don knee breeches, wherein to spout their speeches to the Provost, Headmaster, and the assembled multitude in Upper School. As a preparation for this ordeal in my time the services of Frank Tarver as coach were usually reverted to; he was the mentor in matters dramatic, and indeed it would not have been a bad thing if the whole school had partaken of his teaching in rhetoric and elocution. How many Etonians have been pitch-forked into the world, to fill important positions in which the art of speechmaking is essential, without a notion of how to stand and face an audience, how to manage the voice, or how to emphasise a phrase with an appropriate gesture? Even the art of reading aloud is neglected, and I have heard the noblest passages of Scripture so murdered by parsons at the lectern that it was well-nigh impossible to follow with an open Bible, and this from the lack of a few simple lessons in elocution. There are few men who have never had occasion to make a speech in public; and, seeing that oratory is seldom a matter of instinct or heredity, at least in England, why should not a simple training in elocution be a necessary part of public school teaching?

Outside 'Pop,' our only training was the House Debate, and that consisted of speeches delivered in jerky sentences across the table of the Boys' Library of a Saturday night; this helped us in a measure to think on our feet, but gave us no facility in addressing a large audience. Our very juvenile debates ran somewhat on the following lines. We preserved all the outward decorum of a deliberative assembly, in which our chairman was always addressed as 'Mr. President.' He would first call on Mr. Brown to open the debate on, say, the character of Napoleon. Brown would then rise with modest dignity, drawing from his pocket some notes hastily compiled from Erckmann-Chatrian and other historic works, and deliver his opinion interspersed with copious pauses filled in with 'Let me see,' 'What was I going to say?' Then Smith would interpolate 'Up Guards and at 'em! Spit it out old man; don't be shy,' which would draw down the retort of 'Shut up, you

am; how can I speak if you interrupt?' Then the P[illegible] would rap on the table with a paper-knife. 'Order, gentlemen! Mr. Smith, you will have your turn presently.' He could always keep order by threatening to call on you to speak. Smith, who had not intended to speak at all, would then seize on a piece of 'broadrule' paper and scribble down some notes for the coming ordeal, while Brown dilated on the curses of conscription till he wound up with, 'I don't think I can add any more.' 'Hear, hear!' from the rest of the House. Then Mr. Jones, the clever one, hot from Carlyle, would rise and expatiate on the 'unutterable chaos' produced in Europe by Napoleonic ambition, and plaintively allude to childless mothers and the sacrifice of human life; even the average stature of the Gallic race had been permanently reduced by these bloody wars. This would produce a protest. 'Was the hon. member in order in using such language?' Jones was never at a loss. 'I was simply using the term in its epexegetical sense.' Only a few, and they but dimly, had any notion of what 'epexegetical' meant, but we were always impressed with the mental agility of Jones. Generally Napoleon would be pretty roughly handled till Robinson rose, who always differed from everyone. He had no patience with people who ran down the Army—he was going into the Army himself—all countries had become great by warlike means. Look at Rome. Napoleon was a great man because he had nearly conquered the world, he had rebuilt Paris, codified the law, &c.; in short, he was quite a decent sort of chap.

Then Smith, who thought he had been forgotten during the speeches of Jones and Robinson, would be called upon by the President, in spite of 'Beastly shame! All right, I'll not forget this,' muttered in an undertone. He would rise and spread out his broadrule paper. 'Let me see, do I agree with Mr. Jones? Oh yes, I do. He said,' &c., &c. His intention was to disagree with most of the speeches because he thought it more clever to disagree; but, after sitting on the fence and hanging on to his speech like grim death, he usually ended by agreeing with everyone with glorious inconsistency because he had forgotten to put down the objections he intended to make. Smith fully prepared was a strange performance, but Smith unprepared was like Blondin without his pole.

Such was the only training in elocution which we had in the 'seventies. When, therefore, we assembled in Upper School to see the great impassive swells in the Sixth Form, clad in dress coats and knee breeches, declaiming fragments of the classics before an array of dignitaries with the fervent gesticulations and vivacity of old stagers, we recognised with astonish-

[illegible] and, with but an occasional halt, gave us a [illegible] the humour of a Dogberry or a Sneer we were amazed, and [illegible] accordingly.

Tarver was greatly proud of his elocution, and was always open to be 'drawn' in that direction during our French lesson. If it were possible to pronounce the words on purpose more vilely than usual, we did it, and he would interfere with nerves on edge as at a scraped slate pencil. 'Stop, stop!' he would cry; 'that is not the way to pronounce it. Now listen.' And then he would recite it *ore rotundo*, upon which we would applaud, and say how fine it was, and ask him to go on. He, nothing loth, would continue, carried away by the swing of the language, till much of the school time was consumed. Though our Eton French was not very extensive under his tuition, he certainly showed us how musical the language could sound—under certain circumstances!

But to return to the Fourth of June. The cricket in Upper Club in the afternoon was rather a full-dress affair, carried on in the presence of a band and strolling spectators, the topic of conversation being not so much the issue of a one day's match as the form displayed by the Eton team, and the chances of certain wearers of 'twenty-two' caps to get their 'flannels' and play at Lord's. Next to the Eton and Harrow match, it is the largest open-air meeting where Etonians gather together, where greybeards, who haven't seen each other for years, meet and talk over old times and discuss their contemporaries. Sometimes it is an unprophesied success in life. 'Did you think he had it in him? I thought he was a bit of a "scug." I remember licking him once because he hadn't washed his neck.' Sometimes the talk turns on one of fortune's derelicts. 'I wonder what happened to Brown?' 'Oh, don't you know? A bit too fond of the sex. There was a row about it in India, and he had to come home; then he tried being a "bookie" for some time, but wasn't sharp enough to keep his end up. The last I heard of him he was driving a cab in London—wanted to drive Jones for nothing, for old sakes, but Jones made him take a sovereign all the same.' Such comments on life may be overheard in a casual conversation between old schoolfellows.

Here you may see the diplomat, the warrior, the Jew financier, the noble, and the divine being bear-led by their sons in the bravery of buttonhole and white waistcoat round the familiar haunts of Poet's Walk; and the mature angler will magnify by many pounds the pike he caught in Fellows' Pond, and the effect it produced on his digestion. And then, for those who

are historically minded, a stroll round that upper gallery of the Cloisters where engraved, drawn, and even caricatured, the great ones of Eton hang enshrined. Here you may wander in cool silence, and muse on the worthies of past time.

Here Sir Henry Wotton, the greatest of the Provosts, an incomparable letter writer, poet, ambassador to Venice, friend of the best spirits of his time, whose warning to the Church remains enshrined in his epitaph, 'Disputandi pruritus ecclesiarum scabies,' gazes at you with critical but not unkindly eyes in the musty old engraving.

Next to him, his predecessor, Sir Henry Savile, the 'extraordinarily handsome man, no lady had a finer complexion,' whose creamy pallor may be verified by a look at the oil portrait of him in the Provost's lodge, the scholar, the translator of the Bible, student of St. Chrysostom, a bookworm in every line. His eye has not the bright inquiring look of Wotton, the diplomatist, but the quiet lustre of contemplation. One can fancy him saying 'Give me the plodding student. If I would look for wits, I should go to Newgate.'

Then Dr. Arne, seated at the spinet, with the corners of his mouth drawn down as if he smelt a bad smell, the effect perhaps of church music upon an emotional nature, yet with a dash of pride as he looks down his nose at the obedient fingers.

Shelley too, with the dreamy eyes of a girl, wistfully gazing out of the portrait, and translating common objects into poetical phantasy, his dishevelled hair and negligent collar typical of his wayward nature. Mr. Nugent Bankes has described the scorn of the average Etonian for the budding satirist; small wonder was it that the young poet, who doubtless loafed most profitably, became the butt of his companions, and a safe 'draw' on account of his ungovernable rages. His is not the face of an athlete, but that of a boy of imagination, whose character is well described by John Moultrie:

> Pensive he was, and grave beyond his years,
> And happiest seemed when, in some shady nook
> (His wild sad eyes suffused with silent tears),
> O'er some mysterious and forbidden book
> He pored until his frame with strong emotion shook.

Not far off hangs a contrast in character—the neat portrait of Mackworth Praed, with silky hair, flowing in studied negligence, the poet of the ballroom, whose well-dressed verses delighted a former age and may be regarded in a measure as the prototype of the *Bab Ballads*.

Dr. Keate, a flogger of many delinquents, and Dr. Goodall are portrayed in silhouette: the one a short sturdy figure, a combination of Napoleon and a washerwoman, with cocked hat

[illegible] square, and apron flowing to the ground; the other, a courtly gentleman arrayed point device, even to the bunch of seals depending from his fob, and hugging his cane under his elbow as he hurries along with short steps; no florescent detail here, but the bare character in outline of two great Headmasters.

Many Church dignitaries are here, but none more typically Etonian than the handsome, alert young Bishop Selwyn, looking equally ready to 'row a match' with you or show you the way of salvation. His figure is full of energy, and is radiant with the gospel of cheerful effort as he leans lightly on the Bible. Gladstone, with clasped hands, tensely confronts an opponent; and Lord Salisbury, bowed with the weight of European affairs, gazes into the future with a sad prophetic eye.

Thomas Gray, holding a piece of paper in an exquisitely feminine hand—is it a matchless ode, or one of his charming letters from abroad to Mr. West or his mother?—with large contemplative eyes and a sad, pensive look, which makes one wonder whether all poets in those days had large eyes or whether artists gave them such because they wrote poetry.

Henry Fielding, the great Etonian novelist, law-giver too, and philanthropist, is drawn by Hogarth with no flattering hand. His bewigged profile looks like a benevolent, and at the same time satirical, nutcracker, indicating truly the character that said sharp things, but did kindly acts.

Lord Robert Manners, the hero of George Crabbe's *Village*, the bright, young, handsome naval captain, killed in battle in 1782, and typical of so many other Etonians; one excuses Crabbe's somewhat fulsome praise of him from a semi-domestic position if he really was as beautiful as Sir Joshua makes him.

It is well to pause and take stock of these leaders of men, and to speculate on how much or how little each of them owed his success to his old school, and whether or not some little stimulus given, or lesson learnt, roused the energies towards climbing the peaks of life.

Your duty towards the past, however, is not exhausted till you have strolled into College Hall and viewed the portraits of those distinguished *alumni* who have secured a place in that select gallery; and, finally, at the foot of the stairs you find that battered monument of our ancestors which will outlast, let us hope, all water companies and such makeshifts of artificial purification—the College Pump. Its brown iron handle is smooth from the grasp of countless generations, and the edges of its stone trough worn by the lustrations of 'Tugs' innumerable, long since gone to their rest. A few strokes, and out gushes such water pure from Nature's filter, and so cold that, like that of a mountain spring, it seems to taste of the rock.

You may say with Apemantus, 'Here's that which is too weak to be a sinner, honest water, which ne'er left man i' the mire.' Perhaps it is the rain of your father's time which has percolated by slow degrees through the hard sponge of the earth till it has trickled into the depths below, for no one knows how long such vintage has been laid down in bottle; but its crust it has dropped long ago, and it has a tang of age about it.

But you did not quench your thirst at this spring, for there was tea to be had, either at Layton's up Windsor, or at 'my tutor's' in a boy's room. If the latter, it was a 'sock' tea, furnished with delicacies from Barnes Brown, cakes from Atkins's, and, most important of all, strawberries from Mother Lipscombe. Sometimes the latter were bought in the street in pottles, ingenious cornucopias invented in the interests of the seller, whereby a few showy specimens at the top covered the poorness of the fruit beneath. Out of these, with the addition of cream, a tolerable strawberry mess could be obtained, but not so luxurious as that garnished with the ice cream of Messrs. Layton.

Soon the street begins to look bright with gay ribbons, white ducks, and gold lace, spotted by many a jolly young waterman, some of them looking a trifle shy and uncomfortable in their finery; but this wears off so soon as they take their seats in the boat, and are supported by their comrades. The little coxswains, dressed like glorified middies and resplendent admirals, hold in their hands, like shy *débutantes*, the huge bouquets which it is the tradition for the captain of their boat to give them. There are many ways of trying to look unconcerned in a novel and striking dress in the public street, and few manage to do it successfully. Even the old hands find that long ribbons hanging down over the right ear will press themselves on the attention and sometimes tickle, and the eye instinctively wanders downward past the gaudy shirt to see if the trousers hang right over the buckled shoes, and the hand strays furtively up to feel if the tie is straight. But once at the Brocas and all thought of dress vanishes, for they settle down in their places like experienced oarsmen. It was not till about 1877 that the custom was adopted of sending the Eight as a separate crew in the procession of boats, but it has since been rightly discarded, because the final representative crew which is to row at Henley is not, and never can be, fixed so early in the rowing season. It is curious that an eight-oar should be the permanent type for boat racing, for we never hear of a six-oar or a twelve-oar being built. Probably experiments have been tried in that direction, and the old type of craft proved the best, but I cannot help thinking that a race at Henley between ten

[illegible]

[illegible] if they would prove [illegible] years.

The head boat of Eton, the *Monarch*, being a ten-oar, always had a solid air of dignity about it. It was the House of Lords among the boats, and contained scholars and men who did not go in for the strenuous career of racing; and sometimes the Captain of the School, or the Captain of the Eleven, was asked to take an oar in it *honoris causâ*, consequently the form displayed was not always the best. But in spite of an occasional attempt to catch crabs, there was always a leisurely stateliness about the old boat, and the fact that the Captain of the Boats always rowed stroke gave it a prestige above all the others. The boat itself was constantly had in requisition by parties of old Etonians and masters calling themselves 'Ancient Mariners,' and also by boys, for expeditions up the river when they had a 'bill' off 'absence.' Next in the fleet came the *Victory*, the neatest crew of all, in their light blue stripes; then the *Prince of Wales*, usually called 'Third Upper,' these three being the Upper Boats. Then the Lower Boats, led by the *Britannia*, in their order, steered by the coxswains in their dark blue jackets, looking like pouter pigeons with their bouquets pinned to their chests. You may see now the same uniforms and the same colours worn as were in vogue in the 'seventies, except that I am told each boat does not retain its particular cap and blazer, but the ordinary colours are lumped together according to Upper or Lower Boat choices, &c. This, no doubt, is for economy's sake, for under the old system, when you obtained a 'draught,' or move into a higher boat, a new uniform had to be purchased; but it is to be hoped no further changes will be made. Two important changes were made during that decade; a new boat, called the *Alexandra*, after the then Princess of Wales, was added to the list, with colours of black and white; and one which we regretted at the time, viz. the change of the colours of the *Dreadnought* from the red check on a white ground to pink rings on a white ground. The old colours were distinctive, original, and not unbecoming, whereas the new had a way of looking faded and old at once, and for a time we called them in derision the 'Neapolitan ice colours.' I was wearing an old *Dreadnought* cap one day at Henley Regatta, when I was spotted by the sharp eye of the nigger minstrel 'Squash.' 'Make way there, you toff with the chessboard cap,' he shouted over a mass of boats, 'my move, I think.'

In those days the boats rowed up to Surley for their 'supper on Boveney Meads,' accompanied by a string of spectators, who walked along the bank. Tables were laid in a field opposite

Surley Hall, and hedged about with hurdles to keep off the [illegible] of inferior souls, who did not belong to the boating fraternity. Lower boys gaped through the bars to see the lions feed, craving scraps from the great ones like dogs at a rich man's table, and their importunacy was sometimes rewarded by glasses of champagne.

> Carving with elbow nudges,
> Lobsters we throw behind;
> Vinegar nobody grudges,
> Lower boys drink it blind,

was a very fine description of our saturnalia, and it was a common thing to ply a small boy with liquor to see how much he could stand. The lower boy, not having a seasoned head, frequently found his feet too few for him on his way back to his tutor's, and got into trouble in consequence.

This crowd of youngsters clamouring for food and drink outside the hurdles was not an edifying spectacle, and the authorities have since wisely changed the venue of the feast to a more private place. As for the old salts, they took care to eat plenty as well as drink, so that if there was a little difficulty in getting into the boat with that neatness and skill which you would expect of a good waterman, the row down stream nearly always brought surrounding objects into their proper places. After all, to stand up in an eight-oar with saluting oars is a great test of sobriety, perhaps better than 'British Constitution' pronounced at the police station, and the former test we always had awaiting us. It was well if the boat was musical, for a chorus was sure to arise on the journey down stream, or passing through Boveney Lock. Then, as it grew darker and darker, the cox's voice yelling his orders, and 'Look ahead, sir,' would become more insistent and louder, till it became merged in the clash of the Windsor bells and the cheers from the bank as you slowly approached Brocas Eyot. A few strokes, and the captain gave the word of command, and you raised your oar in the air, climbed up it like a monkey, and stood while you floated by the row of fireworks on the eyot spitting and sometimes sputtering at you. This habit of the men who let off the fireworks excited the censure of the young lions of the *Eton College Chronicle* in 1876, in language worthy of a leading article of *The Times*. 'We cannot conclude without expressing a hope that on the next Fourth of June Mr. Brock and his assistants will refrain from discharging fireworks *at* the boats, as such a proceeding neither adds to the impressiveness of the scene, nor conduces materially to the comfort of the crews.'

Then, after passing this ordeal by fire, you sat down, turned the boat rapidly below bridge, so as not to be drawn into the

[illegible] below 'Cobbler's Needle,' the spit of land which divides the main river from the lock cut, and landed at the [illegible] perhaps with the aid of 'Sambo.'

I have thus particularised what used to take place in the 'seventies, because the boats no longer row up to Surley, and the fireworks are displayed below Windsor Bridge, opposite Fellows' Eyot. I do not wish to cavil at the change, for there were elements of old-fashioned greed in the public supper at Boveney which smacked too much of the early Georgian period, and the temptation to the lower boy to become intoxicated has been removed; moreover, there is greater space in the new site in which the spectators can view the fireworks.

Once we had landed at the Brocas, and the visitors from London had crossed the bridge, *en route* for the station, and were out of our way, we used to link arms and walk back, six or eight abreast, occupying the middle of the street, and singing choruses, and he who attempted to bar our progress was like to have a bad time of it, for was not Barnes Pool perilously near? For to us this linked march of jolly companions was the outward visible sign of the confraternity of wet bobs, and we displayed ourselves to the world at large once a year as a united band. Then, as the 'lock up' bells began to sound from the various houses, and the population of the street to melt away, we separated, each to his own house, to sleep that excellent sleep which nature gives to those who have done themselves well. There may have been elements of orgy still hanging about our festival which the pious and sad-eyed critic may deplore, but life would indeed be dull without a tincture of the carnival spirit, the love of good cheer and gay dress; and it will be a bad day for Eton if she ever ceases to celebrate the birthday of George the Fourth in the old accustomed way.

GILBERT COLERIDGE.

AT THE SALON AND THE ROYAL ACADEMY

It may be remembered that when my friends Sir John and Lady Bilderby[1] made the tour of the Salon picture galleries last year, under the wing of M. de L'Atelier, they had not time (or shall we say space?) to examine the sculpture. I am sure they did so afterwards; but to say truth, it is rather too common with English visitors to an exhibition to devote nearly all their time to the pictures, and only spare a hurried glance at the sculpture before leaving. This is hardly fair to the sculptors (who, however, in England, are pretty well used to neglect and indifference); but it is also unfair to themselves, as starving their own æsthetic education, in neglecting a form of art which deals much more largely with abstract symbolism than modern painting usually does. For though the great end of all art is symbolism and not realism, painting is founded on realism to begin with; and so many spectators (and some painters) get no further than the half-way house, and are content with outward shows of life, their appreciation of which may be reduced to the shorthand form, 'it is like,' or 'it is not like':

> That's the very man!
> Look at the boy who stoops to pat the dog:

and so on. It is an innocent recreation, which makes no great strain on the intellect (though, be it remembered, the producing of it means considerable ability and severe training on the part of the painter); and so painting is naturally the more popular art. For sculpture, in spite of the fact that it deals with actual form in the round instead of the projection of form on a plane surface, cannot pretend to the realistic representation of life which appeals to everyday experience. It is a severely limited art, dealing with severely designed form, executed in a monumental material; dealing more especially with the nude human figure, in which alone precision of line is of such importance and difficulty as to justify the monumental material; many things may be worth painting which it is not worth while to carve in marble. Sculpture may

[1] 'Conversations at the Salon and the Royal Academy,' by H. Heathcote Statham, *Nineteenth Century and After*, June 1911.

[illegible] —that is achievement, [illegible] a [illegible] aim is the symbolising of an idea through [illegible] form—an aim which is not readily appreciated by the popular mind, on this side of the Channel at all events. In France it may be, for at the Salon there is more of symbolic sculpture than is to be found elsewhere, and that would hardly be the case did not such work find encouragement and sympathy.

Let us then, this time, begin our brief survey with the sculpture, which in fact is the strongest element at the Salon. The vast sculpture hall contains, as usual, nearly a thousand works in sculpture (960, to be precise) prepared for one year's exhibition —an extraordinary testimony to the artistic energy and vitality of the French nation. French sculpture is perhaps not all that it was ten or fifteen years ago, but in the present exhibition you cannot move many steps in any direction without coming on something worth attention. The large works which occupy the axis of the hall are not the best this year. M. Bacqué has a colossal monument to Michelangelo representing him on horseback, in a broad-brimmed hat, on the top of a rock-like eminence, from the sides of which grow blocked-out *ébauches* of some of his own works —*Day and Night*, and others. This is rather like making Michelangelo supply his own monument. M. Laporte-Blairsy's monumental fountain to the memory of Clémence Isaure, 'créatrice des jeux floraux (XV^e siècle),' to be erected in a public place in Toulouse, is a work showing a good deal of piquant and original fancy in the details, but wants architectural coherence as a whole. Another great monument for the same city—*Aux Gloires de Toulouse*, by M. Ducuing, is on a triangular plan, with a lofty stele rising in the centre, at the base of which are three colossal seated figures, representing 'Sculpture and Painting,' 'Architecture' (a portrait figure of Bachelier), and 'A Troubadour'; the stele crowned by a figure of the same Clémence Isaure to whom the fountain is dedicated. The architectural portion of the monument is very well designed; the defect of the thing, as a whole, is that the figures at the base seem too accidentally placed and not sufficiently connected with the architectural centre. Across the top end of the hall extends M. Bouchard's immense group of six great oxen yoked in pairs and drawing a very rustic-looking plough, which appeared here in plaster some years ago under the same title, *Le Défrichement*, and is now translated into bronze. This is a work of great power in its way, a kind of sculptural glorification of French agricultural labour; but where is such a thing to be placed? It seems too large to deal with; nothing is said of its destination.

The honours of the Salon are more with some of the smaller [illegible] this year; notably, perhaps, with M. Alfred Boucher for

two works of very different kind, each equally perfect in its way. One is a female figure, said to be a portrait, wearing a helmet and clad entirely in such close-fitting tights as to seem practically nude, buckling on a sword-belt, with the title *S'il le faut*. Nothing could exceed the mastery with which this fine figure is modelled, though the whole thing is somewhat of a puzzle. His other work is a beautiful seated and clothed figure, hands clasped round her knees, with the title *La Rêverie*; as an example of the poetry of sculpture this is no doubt the finest thing in the collection. The figure is clothed not in what is usually called 'drapery,' but in a rather short skirt, not too realistically treated. But it loses nothing of its poetic character by this; and it may be observed that in a general way a seated figure is, in a sculptural sense, better clothed than nude—at all events in the lower portion; it wants the clothing to give breadth of surface. M. Gustave Michel, one of the most able and thoughtful of French sculptors of the day, exhibits a model on a small scale of a monument to Beethoven which ought to work out into something fine on a larger scale. It is a composition in a generally pyramidal form, the lower part occupied by symbolical figures, not representing individually any of Beethoven's compositions—the sculptor carefully avoided that as 'discutable'—but symbolising the passions, the griefs, the struggles, which lay at the basis of his works; the work culminating in a group, above the composer's figure (which appears at half-length in the upper portion of the composition), representing the joy of life. I should like to hear that the sculptor had a commission to carry this out on a large scale; it is a monument with an idea in it, and there is a tumultuous character in its lines which suits its great subject.

M. Jean-Boucher (with a hyphen, please, to distinguish him from Alfred Boucher) has taken for his principal work a great historic subject, *Réunion de la Bretagne à la France*, which is symbolised by a collection of figures in a semicircular alcove under a semi-dome—figures 'in their coats, their hosen, their hats, and their other garments,' which are rather too realistic for the purposes of sculpture; he is just saved by the 'great laps and folds of sculptor's work' in the sumptuous mantle of 'La Bretagne.' This is probably a State commission; the artist, who has produced some of the most poetic works in sculpture of the present day (notably *Antique et Moderne*), would hardly have chosen it of his own accord. The State is somewhat anxious to make use of sculpture to impress its own ideas upon the public. Family life is to be encouraged, so the State purchases M. Bigonet's group *Premier Pas*, a peasant mother encouraging her infant to walk: Millet in the round, one may say. With a similar aim, it purchases M. Hugues's group, *Le Poème de la Terre*: *l'enfant, le soldat,*

vieillard récompensé de son labeur. Here is the whole theory of virtuous republican life in a nutshell; the mother and infant on one side of the base of a pyramidal composition; on the other side the young soldier, rifle and all, prepared to defend his country; at the apex of the pyramid the old man, to whom some nude agrarian nymphs offer up the fruits of the earth, the recompense of his toil. M. Hugues is a fine sculptor, who has done some notable works—no one who saw it will ever forget *La Muse de la Source*; but he has made a mistake here in mixing up realistic with nude allegorical figures in the same group. But the most portentous sign of the times in sculpture is the huge relief composition, on a curved plan, a commission from the State to M. Daillion, entitled *Aux Morts! Aux Exilés! (2 Décembre 1851)*. On the face of the work are the figures of those killed or exiled in connexion with the Coup d'état, a nude Victor Hugo standing out conspicuous on the right; on the top is the mailed figure of France, with a broken sword, trying to keep off the beak of the Imperial Eagle. So the memory of Badinguet has come to this! 'The evil that men do lives after them'; but one might add the context: 'The good is oft interred with their bones.' It seems rather ungrateful; France made much of him at one time, and would still consecrate his memory, if her own cry of 'à Berlin' had led to a satisfactory result. A finer piece of political symbolism is to be seen in M. Marx's *Le Joug de la Victoire*, also a State commission; a figure of Victory, with one knee on a shield beneath which two men are crouched, bent double like the souls in the tenth book of the *Purgatorio* who bore heavy stones on their backs:

> E qual più pazienza avea negli atti
> Piangendo parea dicer: Più non posso.

That is a moral we may all take to heart; and it is expressed in fine sculptural form.

Leaving these moralities and turning to works that are purely artistic in their intent, one may note that M. Mercié's chief contribution is an heroic-size bronze figure of *Columbia* for some monument in America; he has done better things, but the head and the action are fine, as they could hardly fail to be in his hands. *Inspiration* and *Harmonie*, by M. Convers, are two fine half-recumbent figures forming part of a decoration for the courtyard of the National Conservatoire of Music: they take opposite sides of the base of a decorative column. 'Inspiration,' gazing straight before her, is a noble figure answering to the title; 'Harmonie' he has endeavoured to symbolise by making her half turn her head to listen to some birds, which, as a musician once complained, 'sing so horribly out of tune,' and certainly 'the music of nature' is an idea rather *passé* now; it might have done

for Herbert Spencer, but we know that music no more consists
of natural sounds than Gothic vaulting out of the arching of
trees. M. Hippolyte Lefebvre, usually the patron of realistic
sculpture, exhibits a spirited *fronton* for the theatre of Lille, sym-
bolising Apollo; it will look better when it has the boundary lines
of the pediment to control it. M. Charpentier's *Fleurs qu'il
aimait* is a very graceful relief figure of a nude girl reaching up to
kiss a cluster of roses. M. Villeneuve exhibits a half-size model
of a monument to Rabelais for the town of Montpellier, a semi-
architectural erection, with heads of Pantagruel and Gargantua
worked into it, and a gowned figure in front representing the
Faculté de Médecine studying Rabelais' translation of the
Aphorisms of Hippocrates; and M. Corneille Theunissen exhibits
the base of a monumental stele to Jules Breton, with one of
Breton's own peasant figures seated by it. M. Desca's full-length
figure of Berlioz is too quiet and contemplative for Berlioz, who
was nothing if not a fighter; this hardly gives one an idea of the
composer who stamped his feet at the Conservatoire orchestra—
'Faster! faster! This is a Saltarello!' to the scandal of the re-
spectable Habeneck. As to the number of single figures that are
simply charming, any one of which would arrest attention at the
Academy, it would be impossible to name half of them. One little
incident may be quoted as characteristic; Mlle. Bois exhibits a
pretty nude child figure, *Petite Baigneuse*, supposed to be stand-
ing before the sea, but she is not content to leave it at that; a new
significance is given to it by the couplet engraved beneath it:

> Et devant l'océan l'enfant tremble et frémit,
> Et devant l'Infini l'humanité recule.

One example among many of the wish of French sculptors to
attach some poetic meaning to what might otherwise be regarded
as a mere piece of modelling.

It is not worth while to pass the wicket to look at the sculpture
in the New Salon: 'that way madness lies'; it is a sort of sculp-
tural Golgotha, where one may see legs, arms, and heads as
separate exhibits. Let us go up the stairs to No. 1 Gallery, and see
what the painters have to show us. There are two large decorative
paintings in this room; one is M. J. P. Laurens's *Première
Séance solennelle des Jeux floraux (3 Mai 1324)*, a subject which
seems rather prominent this year; we have already seen the
great fountain downstairs in commemoration of the event (which,
by the way, is there noted as 'XV century'). M. Laurens's
picture shows rows of spectators seated beneath a mass of trees
outside the city walls, listening to some declamation from a
personage on a platform in the foreground; it is painted with a
dry *facture* which suggests the idea that it is intended for tapestry,

[illegible] not quite decorative enough in composition for that position. The other work referred to is M. Gorguet's huge ceiling for a Salle des Mariages, of which neither the title ('Prairial') nor the sentiment is very intelligible, but which is totally unsuited for a ceiling, in that it is a vertical or pyramidal composition, as if designed for an upright position; a ceiling painting should always be an all-round composition, not one with a base and an apex. Some French painters understand this very well, and have given fine examples of it; this one, *quâ* ceiling painting, is a mistake. The only two other things of much interest in the large room are M. Didier-Pouget's two landscapes; rather too scenic, but with his usual extraordinary power of effect in the foregrounds. The English public are very fond of realism in landscape; one would like to see one of Didier-Pouget's landscapes at the Academy—it would create a sensation, at all events, in that respect.

There is a much larger proportion of comparatively uninteresting work among the pictures than among the sculpture; still, one can hunt up plenty of fine things out of the acreage of canvas. M. Paul Chabas repeats a motive he has used once or twice before, a young girl standing in shallow water, the centre incident in a large canvas; in this one, *Matinée de septembre*, he has aimed at a bright effect in the whole; the girl with her blonde head must nevertheless show darker than the background, so the lake and the mountains are all kept in a shimmering silver light. With the various nudes of which 'après le bain' is the common denominator we need not trouble ourselves; but there are nude paintings which rise above the level of 'ces machines-là,' either by sheer splendour of execution, as in M. Guay's *Nu*, or by their decorative effect, as in M. Moulin's long low picture *Plein air: femme nue*, where the figure lies at length on a purple mantle, with a background of foliage and the gleam of an evening sky through the leaves. M. Aimé Morot is rather below himself in his small picture *Ephémère printemps*, where a nude lady with her back to the spectator studies her figure in the looking glass: a piece of trickery unworthy of so fine a painter. M. Saintpierre brings the nude into the region of allegory with his figure of *Fortune* tiptoe on her wheel among the clouds, showering coinage from a cornucopia, while a lappet of wind-blown drapery covers her eyes; there is a fine energy and 'go' about it. Mlle. Rondenay brings us to the other extreme, the anti-poetical, of nude painting, in her *Baigneuses*, somewhat similar to that which was bought by the Government last year; she is no doubt a very powerful *plein-air* painter of the figure, but she tends to get coarse, not only in execution but in another sense; in London the picture would hardly be thought decent, and it is certainly not beautiful. Quite above all these is M. Lavergne's *Le Paradis perdu*; Adam and

Eve, life-size and painted in a very broad style of execution, seated in the foreground of a melancholy twilight landscape. The remarkable quality in this is the fine sense of unity of composition in the lines of the figures and the landscape, all of which fall together as one whole : it is in the true sense a picture, not a mere representation.

Among what may be called the subject pictures of the year, M. Debat-Ponsan, who last year symbolised France as a white horse throwing over Napoléon, is again dealing with horses, but this time they are two material cavalry horses held by an orderly dragoon in the foreground while the officer uses his field-glass; *Ceux qui veillent* is the title. M. Debat-Ponsan is always either patriotic or moral in his pictures, but it is always good painting. M. Tattegrain, too, is a versatile incident painter who seems able to handle every kind of subject with effect; this time it is a powerfully painted rocky coast scene, which gets its title *Sauveteurs d'épaves* (in other words, 'wreckers') from the two unkempt wolfish figures who nearly tumble over each other down the foreground path in their hurry to hook in flotsam and jetsam on the beach. He has done more interesting pictures, but these two figures are unpleasantly real. Mme. Demont-Breton, who disappointed us last year, is more like herself again with the figure of the old peasant woman, *L'Aïeule*, looking lovingly on her sleeping grandson; but I like her better at the seaside than inland. M. Henri Martin has what may be called a decorative painting in his *pointilliste* style, *Dévideuses*, two girls sitting on opposite ends of a rail, with a landscape behind them : a rather trivial subject to come from M. Martin. M. Roganeau has come rather near making a great picture in his large evening landscape *Le Soir à la Rivière*, with figures of women filling their waterpots out of the stream (a most unhygienic proceeding) and moving away with them; the figures are not quite interesting enough, but there is a large, calm serenity about the whole which is impressive. M. Joseph Bail, in *La Lectrice*, has forsaken that characterless type in his figures which Lady Bilderby approved of, and paints a young and old lady of strongly differentiated type; the accessories are painted with his usual power of execution, but the work is more frankly *genre* than has been usual with him.

Among pictures which have some special point of interest is M. Martens's experiment, in *Rayon de Soleil*, in producing an interior effect of light and colour, with a seated nude figure, in an *ultra-pointilliste* method of execution; one would not like to see all pictures painted that way, but this one is very clever and effective. M. Montchablon has painted a ghastly picture of the rowing-deck of a galley, *La Chiourme*, that terrible tragedy of human beings reduced to machi[illegible]

history of Rome and of Renaissance Italy. This, one may say, is one of the pictures painted to point a moral, or to make us realise something that once happened; which is not the real business of art, of course, nor of novel-writing, nor of drama. Nevertheless moral lessons have been powerfully driven home both in novel and drama, and one does not see why painting may not be occasionally pressed into the same service. Though the French are so essentially artists, there are always some moral pictures in the Salon, some very good ones; M. Geoffroy's, for instance, *A l'hospice des enfants assistés: l'abandon d'un enfant*: a tragedy in humble life powerfully told; and another rather amusing example is M. Steck's *Le soir au bord du Legué*, a decorative picture for the Salle des Mariages at Saint-Brieuc. Here we have the happy result of marriage: the family group of the artisan, the artisan's wife, and their child, all enjoying a holiday on the heights above the river. Thus does a paternal Republic encourage its citizens with the spectacle of the joys of family life. Among other points in the Salon are M. Georges Leroux's painting of an evening dinner under the loggia of the Villa Medici, with the heavy masses of trees dark against the twilight sky (the figures are rather commonplace); the odd idea of Mlle. Bonnier of a triptych of *vêtements feminins: matin; après-midi; soir*—garments *et praeterea nihil* (a lady to whom I mentioned this seemed exceedingly interested in the idea); and M. Mercié's portrait of a pretty little child under the title *La Puce*, with a flea delicately painted on the frill of her dress—a rather unpleasing joke for a great artist to indulge in.

There are a great many fine portraits, among which M. Humbert's *Portrait de Mdlle. N. . . . .* is perhaps the finest example of perfectly balanced style in painting in the whole Salon; some of the best French portrait-painters over-accentuate the costume in their portraits of ladies, so that it becomes a picture of the lady's dress rather than of herself; M. Humbert never makes this mistake, he knows exactly where to stop. M. Lauth has an expressive portrait of Mme. Marcelle Tinayre, the novelist; and M. Umbricht a charming one of his own daughter, in which he avoids the hardness of texture which some eminent French painters—M. Comerre, for instance—fall into in their over-finished productions. Important landscapes are not very numerous, but there are some very fine examples of that breadth of style which the best French landscape painters cultivate. French landscape would be thought by many English people coarse in style in comparison with much of ours; but the French do not paint pretty landscapes (except M. Biva, who in that way at least stands alone); they want the power and sweep of sun-

shine and shadow, as M. [illegible] gives it in his *[illegible] de Carqueiranne* and his *Sunset after Rain at Venice*. A more perfect example of style and composition in landscape could hardly be found than *La Dune et le chêne vert* by M. [illegible], a worthy pupil of Harpignies; M. Couturaud (another pupil of Harpignies) has an exceptionally good winter landscape; MM. Quignon and Palézieux are both fine in their different styles. Among sea pictures there is a kind of pathos in M. Broquet's *La Trêve*, a wrecked coaster in shoal water, gently rocked by the sunlit morning sea where the storm had wrecked her overnight. And if you want to see storm on canvas, look at M. Lefort-Magniez' *Surpris par la Marée*, with its waste of white water and rack of ragged driving clouds; no exaggerated scenic effect here; it is Nature in one of her wildest aspects, painted with a power and truth that could hardly be surpassed.

There is not very much of interest in the New Salon; there is much that is preposterous. There is a good deal of beauty in M. Osbert's immense allegorical picture, *Le retour du jour*, in the staircase hall; more than in M. Aman-Jean's decorative picture, *Les Eléments*, for the new Sorbonne, which is attractive neither in colour nor composition. M. Aman-Jean has a great following at present; he has certainly made his own style, and, generally speaking, colour is his strong point; but there is a kind of worsted-work texture in his painting which does very well for draperies, but gives a very unhappy appearance to the faces in his figures. M. Dagnan-Bouveret's *Marguerite au Sabat* is not very successful. M. Caro-Delville, in *Les présents de la Terre*, one of three decorative paintings for a house at Buenos Aires, has painted a very fine nude figure; few painters of the day can surpass him there. M. Béraud, in *Chemin de Croix*, once more introduces the figure of Christ in the midst of a crowd of modern figures. It was worth doing once; and his first picture of the kind, a good many years ago—Christ seated among the members of a fashionable club, with a Parisian lady of the *demi-monde* playing the part of Mary Magdalen at His feet—was a powerful work with a telling point in it; but the frequent repetition of the idea is futile and in questionable taste. A picture which is amusing without any such intention is M. Courtois' *Persée délivrant Andromède*, where Perseus is obviously a bank manager who has forgotten to dress that morning; and one that is amusing of *malice prepense* is M. Guillaume's *L'Avis de la famille*, where a whole family, down to the little boy, bestow their opinions on the unfortunate painter of a picture of which we see the back: a bit of satire which many a painter will appreciate only too well.

There is little space left to speak of the Academy exhibition; but the size of the Burlington House exhibition, at all events, compared with the vast art-whirlpool of the Salon, is about in the same proportion; and those who may take the trouble to read this article will probably see the Academy for themselves, while many of them will not see the Salon, and may be interested to know something of what is in it. Sculpture at the Royal Academy is by no means so important an element in the exhibition, proportionately, as it is at the Salon; for, as M. de L'Atelier did not scruple to say on his visit last year, our institution seemed to him to be an Academy of painting, with a little sculpture and architecture thrown in. Nevertheless, for some ten or fifteen years past the sculpture has generally been the strongest part of the Academy show. The manner in which English sculpture has advanced during the last twenty years or so, in spite of the poor encouragement which the art receives either from the Government or the public of this country, is enough to shew how much sculptural talent there is among us, if only it could find scope and encouragement for its development. True, we have had sad losses; Harry Bates, a true genius, was cut off at an early age; and Onslow Ford has gone; and of another sculptor of genius, Mr. Gilbert, we hear no more now. But there are still sculptors among us; and the annual exhibition of the work of the Academy students, where sculpture nearly always makes the best appearance, indicates that there are others to come forward when they can get a chance. This year the sculpture is less satisfactory than usual, but in a sense which is not exactly the fault of the sculptors. There are too many portrait figures in costume, which are not the kind of thing that sculpture is really meant for; but these are commissions, and cannot be refused. Where the costume is of a broad and simple kind something sculpturesque can be made of it, as Mr. Drury shows in his statue of *Elizabeth Fry*, and Sir George Frampton in his group entitled *Protection*, part of a memorial to Dr. Barnardo. It is the portrait statues of men in modern costume that are the difficulty, and there are too many of them this year. Even Mr. MacKennal's Gainsborough statue, where there is at least a better costume to the sculptor's hand than the modern coat and trousers, is not a satisfactory employment of sculpture; and in France Gainsborough would probably have been commemorated by a portrait bust on a stele, with a figure symbolical of his art grouped with it, whereby the whole difficulty of the costume is got rid of. But if the superiority of this method is suggested to English sculptors, they will reply (as one of them did in fact in my hearing) that they would be only too happy to adopt it, but that the English public will not have it; they will have the whole figure, realistic costume and all.

Clearly, therefore, if English sculpture is to have the best opportunities, the public must first be taught to take more interest in sculpture, and to understand better what it means; and that is a long business.

Among the works which are really sculpturesque in style and subject, and aim at conveying a meaning beyond mere modelling, is Mr. Garbe's group of *The Magdalenes*, one standing, draped looking down on her nude sister at her feet. What the artist exactly intended by this is not quite obvious, but there is a pathos about it which is to be felt nevertheless. Mr. Lucchesi's bronze group, *The Two Voices*, is also a work expressing an idea; and Mr. Gilbert Bayes' *Fountain of the Valkyrs*, with the Valkyrs on horses careering round it in a rather Donatello-like relief, is an exceedingly clever and effective piece of decorative work on a small scale; probably intended as a model to be carried out on a larger scale. If Mr. Bayes were in France he would probably get a State commission to carry this out for some public place; but, alas! what chance is there of that in a country where money spent on art is officially considered to be a sinful waste of public funds? In the Lecture Room we find in Mr. Colton's *The River unto the Sea* a small but fine marble group of poetic significance; and Mr. Babb's life-size *Love and the Vestal* next to it is also a work expressing an idea, and very spirited in conception and execution; but it would require to be placed in a niche or on the front of a building, as there is nothing in the back view but the broad surface of the Vestal's cloak. Sculpture that is to stand in the open must be capable of being looked at all round. Mr. Reynolds-Stephens exhibits his talent for decorative work, in which figure and pedestal have an almost equal share in the design, in his bronze statuette portrait of a lady seated on an admirably designed pedestal in marble and various metals; the effect is a little disturbed by the very large and conspicuous pattern on the dress of the figure, which seems rather out of scale with the other details. This form of decorative work in various materials has not been much illustrated in English sculpture (though Onslow Ford did something with it), and after the great success which he made with his *Philip and Elizabeth*, Mr. Reynolds-Stephens is wise in developing this as his own special province. Mr. Trent's sketch model for a memorial to the late King, to be erected at Brighton, looks very well as a whole; this, besides some other works on a small scale, is exhibited in one of the picture galleries. But the Academy ought to do much more for sculpture than merely dotting about some small works in the picture galleries; sculpture wants another room, and ought to have one. If the large gallery were devoted to sculpture it would be no more than is

just to the art, and that would do something to correct the popular idea that 'art' means 'pictures.'

A first general look through the picture galleries left the impression that one had been seeing a considerable number of highly finished paintings; many of them charming, no one of them great. But the proportion of pictures which are crude, commonplace, and uninteresting is certainly smaller at the Academy than at the Salon; of course the actual number of pictures is much less. On the other hand, one can find nothing so powerful as the best work at the Salon, more especially in two classes of work—nude figures and landscape. Nude figures, in fact, seem almost entirely at a discount; English popular prejudice, perhaps, for one thing, is against them; and, when they are there, they are generally rather feeble productions, Mr. Tuke's male figures excepted. A great deal of English landscape-painting is beautiful in its way, Mr. Davis's pictures, for instance; but they look weak beside the Salon landscapes; and in some cases, too, there seems so little attempt at composition in English landscape; a remark which does not refer to Mr. Davis's pictures, still less to those of Sir Alfred East, whose landscapes have always a unity of conception, a look of building up, about them; indeed, in *A Tranquil River* he has perhaps too much sacrificed local colour to unity of effect; *Under the Wold* is his strongest work this year. Mr. Arnesby Brown's *A Norfolk Landscape* is a vigorous work, especially in the treatment of the cattle in the foreground, but the distance is surely a little confused in effect. Mr. Gwelo Goodman strikes rather a new note in *The Walls of England*; the effect may be somewhat loaded and heavy, but it is the work of a painter who means something in his landscape, and is not merely painting a scene. Of course, in sea-painting, as long as we have Mr. Hemy with us, we may face the world; but the French, who used to be nowhere in sea-painting, are beginning to find out something about it, and may be formidable rivals before long.

Pictures which mainly deal with human life and character are not very strong this year. Abbey's *Education of Isabella the Catholic* (unfinished) offers a rather striking contrast between the face and manner of the young girl, evidently full of delight in life, and the ascetic figures who accompany her; that is the point of the picture, and it is forcibly illustrated. Sir L. Alma-Tadema has moved from his usual place in Gallery III. to Gallery I., where he confronts us with *Preparations: in the Coliseum*; the Imperial box being furnished with flowers and refreshments; the figure is of little interest, the whole picture consists in the marble and silver details, the mosaic-laid floor of the box-lobby, and the numbered seats for the populace rising in the background;

but what is the construction of the balustrade separating the seats from the arena? It is rather puzzling, as it has always been said that the top member of the railing was a wooden round bar turning on a centre, lest peradventure some lion or tiger should get a clutch on the top rail. Of other contents of this room, Mr. Henry's sketch of a picnic in a forest is a fine piece of colour, and Mr. Hacker may be congratulated on his *Imprisoned Spring*, where the sunlight pours into the room which the cottage girl cannot leave. Mr. Sims's *The Shower* is too absurd; it may be maintained that the object of a picture is to be a decorative scheme and not to represent an incident; but we do want some kind of meaning and coherence in it. The large pictures of the year are very doubtful; Mr. Gow's scene in the House of Commons, 2nd of March, 1628, does not impress one as real; Mrs. Knight's *The Flower* is exceedingly clever, but who wants a picture of that size with absolutely no subject in it? Four figures against the sky doing nothing; though no doubt, like the House of Lords, 'doing it very well.' Mr. Wetherbee is charming in his *Butterflies*, a landscape with three figures in consentaneous movement down the ridge of the ground, in chase of the butterflies; that is not a subject picture, it is a painter's vision of a moment of delight, but its point is quite clear, and it is not, like Mrs. Knight's picture, too large for the subject. There are pictures in the Academy that make one wonder whether some painters ever think at all of what they are painting. Here is Mr. Waterhouse, who gives us *Penelope and the Suitors*; Penelope, a pretty, middle-class woman of five-and-twenty. Penelope was a middle-aged Princess with a grown-up son; the picture, under such a title, is absolutely ridiculous. If Mr. Beadle had been present when the 'forlorn hope' rushed up to the breach of St. Sebastian, he would have found them something different in action and expression from this group of stage soldiers; and here is another gentleman who paints a picture of *Hunting in the Midlands*, from which one would gather that the practice in the Midlands is to ride over the hounds. I should like to hear the M.F.H. on that picture.

The strong point of the Academy exhibition is really the portraits. We have no M. Humbert, but Mr. J. J. Shannon is not much behind him, and two or three of his portraits of ladies here might vie with most of the French portraits, in regard to style and colour. Mr. Orpen's portrait of a gentleman, in the second room, is exceedingly successful in making the head stand out light without the banality of a dark background; his portrait group in the third room is a very good example of his old method of portraiture, treating the sitter as a figure in the centre of a room which forms part of the subject of the picture. I prefer the portrait simply

much myself; but Mr. Orpen's method is an interesting variation of method.

In short, we are saved by our portraits this year, in what would otherwise be a very weak exhibition. There is plenty of room for new genius who would treat great subjects in a great manner. But we want the great subject as well as the great manner. The misfortune is that some people who can paint in something like a great style waste their talents on trivial subjects. Subject counts for something after all.

H. HEATHCOTE STATHAM.

THE SENUSSI AND THE MILITARY ISSUE IN TRIPOLI

EVENTS in North Africa have entered a phase the significance of which is not completely recognised. Although the last vestige of direct Ottoman rule is in process of effacement, there remains the *foyer* of Islam, which has been deeply stirred by recent European aggression. In so far as its power may be expressed by concerted military action, there are two opinions : first, that military resistance alone is involved and must speedily succumb to the forces of Italy; second, that the most fanatical element in modern Islamism, the Senussi confraternity, will determine the issue of the war in Tripolitania. Since I was responsible for introducing to the English public in 1899[1] the full significance and even the existence of the Senussi movement, I venture now to express my views on the political situation, which reacts intimately on the British Occupation in Egypt.

Our position in Egypt, in view of this war, is most delicate, particularly on the frontier of Tripoli (to revert to the popular rendering of Tripolitania). The 'ancient boundaries of Egypt,' as set forth in the *firmans* of the Suzerain, never have been accurately defined; but in regard to Egypt Proper these have not been the subject of dispute, if we exclude the protest of the Porte in 1899, based on the extravagant claims in Said Pasha's despatch of 1890. In the West, the Libyan Desert is a no-man's land, in which frontiers are lost in a sea of sand, although nominally the Libyan Desert falls within the Anglo-Egyptian sphere of influence, as recognised by the Anglo-French Agreement of 1899. The frontier between Egypt and Tripoli, on all maps published prior to the issue of my book *From Sphinx to Oracle* and on most maps since, is shown to include Jerabub, the sanctuary and fortress of the Senussi (or, more correctly, Senussia); and, doubtless, that was the ancient boundary of Egypt. But it is not the frontier recognised by the Egyptian Government, nor the frontier that would be acceptable to the Senussi, who, in the militant days of the late Senussi el-Mahdi (uncle of the present head of the sect),

[1] *From Sphinx to Oracle* : Through the Libyan Desert to the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon. (Hurst and Blackett.)

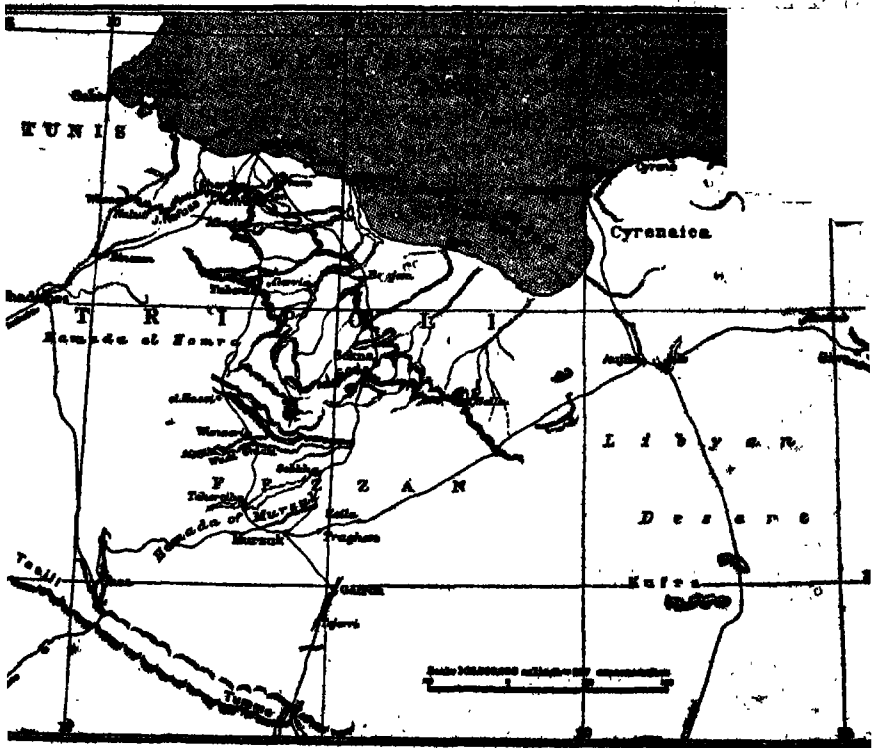
exercised an influence and a power transcending and technically infringing the sovereign rights of Turkey. As a result of my visit to the oasis of Siwa (the ancient Jupiter Ammon) in 1898, I was able to define the frontier which is tacitly recognised by the Egyptian Government and the local Senussi sheikhs, respectively. Starting from a point located at half-a-day's journey, or ten miles, to the west of Siwa town, the frontier extends northwards (roughly speaking, along the twenty-fifth meridian) to the Gulf of Solum, leaving the port of Jerjub in Egyptian territory and Jerabub in the vilayet of Tripoli. The caravan-road from Siwa to Jerjub, which Siwans (Siwaïs) regard as their natural port, would necessarily remain in Egyptian territory; but Jerabub—the Mecca of the Senussi—would lie outside the sphere of influence of Egypt, whose authority, for 200 miles to the west of the Nile Delta, was represented, until quite recently,[3] chiefly by the Coast Guard service, the oasis of Siwa being attached to the mudiria of Damanhur.

These dry details are an essential premiss to my argument. It is important to realise, at the outset, that, south of the oasis of Siwa, one enters the heart of the Libyan Desert, which renders almost impregnable the oases of Kufra, from whence, at the present day, the temporal power of the Senussi is said to be exercised. This region of the Sahara, in which desert conditions are more pronounced than in any other part of the world, although left, in principle, within the Anglo-Egyptian sphere of influence, has no natural boundaries. But, although its physical limits are undefined, its conventional boundaries are politically recognised. Tripoli and Cyrenaica in the north, Fezzan in the west, the ancient boundary (Firman, 1841) in the east, the highlands between Tibesti and Ennedi, and the open desert in the south—these may be said to delimit the Libyan Desert on all sides, from the political point of view. The principal Senussi settlements in the borderlands of the Libyan Desert (apart from Kufra and Cyrenaica) are Aujila (where the Mojabra slave-traders of Jalo are their copartners), Fezzan, Tibesti, Borku, Wanyanga, and Ennedi. Their domination over Kanem and Wadai was overthrown by France, and after the fall of Abeshr the heads of the confraternity

[3] Turkey, by agreement with the Egyptian Government, has withdrawn ('provisionally') her small garrison from the fort at Solum, which was occupied last December by 50 men of the Egyptian army under a British officer. In regard to this action, an official statement was made by our Foreign Office, in which the following passage occurs: 'The Turkish Government was informed as long ago as November 1904 that the line of the Egyptian western frontier ran up to and included Solum, and this was also communicated to the Italian Government. The present movement of Egyptian troops is merely due to the decision which has been come to recently by the Egyptian authorities to establish a frontier post at Solum within their own boundary.'

removed to Borku and Kufra—perhaps the least accessible ... of Africa. There is now an unconfirmed report of their ... Jerabub.

Any European Power attempting to occupy Tripoli (I stated in 1899, in *The Expansion of Egypt*, p. 396)

would inevitably find itself in opposition to the Senussi, whose line of communications is now established at Benghazi. Should any attempt be made to cut off their supplies of arms and ammunition, which freely enter at this port, under the averted eyes of Turkish officials, such an attempt would be in itself sufficient to rouse the Senussi to revolt, the consequences of which would injuriously affect every State holding territory in North Africa.

SKETCH-MAP OF TRIPOLI.[1]

And I went on to say:

It would be in the highest degree unwise, on the part of Italy or of France, to take any steps to change the *status quo* in Tripoli, which, anomalous as it may be, is fraught with serious issues to Egypt. *The settlement of Tripoli involves the solution of the Senussi Question*, which at present is dormant, though big with fate.

To that opinion I adhere, and for the reasons to be set forth. For, although since these words were written the power

[1] By kind permission of the Royal Geographical Society.

[illegible] has been broken up to some extent by the [illegible] in Wadai and Kanem, it has been enhanced to an even greater extent by their present co-operation (of which there is no longer any doubt) with the Ottoman Government—an alliance which would have been impossible in the lifetime of the late Mahdi, and which none could have foretold who believed in the unchanging intolerance of 'the way of the Senussi.' To what may this adjustment of policy be ascribed?

In the main, it may be ascribed to the logic of events. The policy of the Senussi is essentially pacific and self-accommodating; so long as it was controlled by the *modus vivendi* with the Ottoman administration of Tripoli, points of divergence were readily adjustable. Senussi el-Mahdi recognised the temporal authority of the Sultan of Turkey because the principles and politics of the Senussi were respected by him; the Senussi representative at Constantinople was among the most trusted advisers of the ex-Sultan. The Senussi claim that they are neither reformers nor innovators: they wish to expunge all idea of revolution from their doctrine. They profess to preach the 'primitive contract,' or original teaching, of the Korán, free from all heresies but developed by the various mystic orders of the orthodox rites. They therefore revert to the Korán as first expounded, and recognise the authority of the Sonna (or collection of traditional sayings of the Prophet), affirming the necessity of the Imamat (pan-Islamic theocracy) and the excellence of a contemplative and devout life. But in practice, as in theory, their doctrine—reinforced by their policy of conquest by colonisation—inclines to accommodate itself to circumstances. Now it is, what we would call, Lutheran; now Puritan; and again, particularly in its political propaganda, wholly Jesuitical. Its most vital characteristic is, however, its capacity for assimilation. Thus, the Senussi claim the support of no fewer than forty (or, as some authorities would hold, sixty-four) groups—religious orders, or branches of these—more or less allied to the Shadli school of philosophy, which embraces the majority of the Moslem orders. Amalgamation is undoubtedly aimed at, and is, in truth, progressing rapidly; because wherever the Senussi settle, there they eventually rule. That is the cardinal fact and political significance of the Senussi. Latitudinarianism constitutes the greatest cohesive force in their propaganda.

The 'way of the Senussi' embodies a triple protest: (i) against concessions made to Western civilisation, (ii) against innovations—the result of what we would call progress—in Eastern countries, and (iii) against all fresh attempts made to extend Western or European influence in countries still preserved by 'the divine grace.' All good Moslems are enjoined to expatriate

themselves from countries under Christian domination; that their fighting creed.

Convents (*zawia*) of the Senussi are found throughout length and breadth of North Africa, in Somaliland, Arabia, an in Mesopotamia. The most active centre is in the peninsula Barka (the tableland of Cyrenaica), where the Senussi administe their own code of justice, cheek by jowl with the Turkish official At Tobruk—the finest harbour and most secure port in Nort Africa except Bizerta, although the Italians appear to favou Derna—they imported, unhindered, arms and munitions of wa which were landed by ships specially engaged in this contraban traffic; at Benghazi, too, they had a free hand, under the Ottoma *régime*. In short, the Senussi possessed, and still occupy, in th most fertile and valuable district of Tripoli, a *pied-à-terre* of vit importance to their integrity and of essential value to the econ mical development of the vilayet. Any European Power takin possession of Tripolitania must come therefore into conflict wi the Senussi—a conflict of interest, if not of actual résistance.

Minor settlements are found in Morocco; in Algeria, which i honeycombed with Senussi intriguers; in Tunis, where they mair tain a precarious foothold; throughout Tripoli; in all the oas to the south of these regions up to Tuat and Ghat; in the hig lands of the Sahara, and in many parts of the Central Suda States. In Egypt there are some insignificant settlements apa from the Zawia at Siwa,[4] which was founded in 1843; there a probably, including Siwa, about 4,000 adherents in the country in the Fayum, at Dakla, and along the Mediterranean littora Though successive Khedives have shown them favour, the Senus never have had any hold on the Nile Valley, except in Darfu They have, however, opened up new direct routes: from Kufr

[4] Owing to its remote geographical position and desert surroundings, Siw though falling within the sphere of Egypt's political action, enjoys a lar measure of self-government, under recognised Sheikhs. The Berber populatio which is intermixed with Negro and other racial elements from the Central Sud States, maintains the ancient blood-feud between the Rharbyin and Sherk (Easterns and Westerns), the indigenous grouping of the tribes. These riv factions and the propaganda of the Senussia compose a situation difficult to re late, and, with the small police force at the disposal of the Egyptian Govern (Mamur), physically impossible to control. Thus, in October 1909 the Egypti Government despatched a punitive expedition against Siwa. The expedition w under Colonel Azmi Bey (Mamur of Siwa, when I was there), and consisted forty police soldiers, accompanied by two mountain guns and six artillery-m of the Egyptian army. Thirty-one persons were tried before the Siwa tribun for being concerned in the murder of a Government agent (Mitwalli Effendi, t Mamur) and three policemen, who had taken proper action in connection w alleged dealings in slaves and arms by the local agent (*wekil*) of the Senus Osman Habbun—my *bête noire*—subsequently was hanged, together with accomplices. Underlying that incident, however, was the significant and sali fact that Habbun had prevented Mitwalli from crossing the frontier into Tripo in his capacity as *wekil* of the Senussi.

to Jerabub, from Kufra to Siwa, from Farafra to Siwa, and from Kufra to Khargeh, the Egyptian oasis. Kufra comprises a group of at least five oases, with sand dunes intervening, and covers an extensive area of desert, in which vegetation exists almost everywhere.

It will thus be seen that, so far as Egypt is concerned, the storm-centre lies in the oasis which contains Jerabub and Siwa. The site of Jerabub was well chosen. Situated 160 miles southward of Tobruk, and less than 100 miles from Siwa, on the road to Benghazi (at least 300 miles distant) and to Jalo (about 200 miles away), it occupies a strategic position near the great caravan-route of North Africa. It is both sufficiently remote and conveniently accessible to safeguard and to serve the objects of its foundation as a sanctuary and a fortress. Walled in on three sides by high mountains, about eight miles distant, Jerabub is built on a nucleus of rock, somewhat higher than the surrounding *hamâda* (stony desert), on the southern slope and among the catacombs of the valley. It resembles all desert towns and villages in its character as a citadel, but differs from these by being built almost entirely of stone. A single road, and a very narrow one, leads past it, or through it, conducting to Siwa on the one hand, and to Benghazi on the other. A caravan, approaching or passing Jerabub, dare not leave this road, because, on either side, there lie *bidma*—desert-lands so impregnated with salt, that men and animals would be engulfed, should they stray (as once I strayed, but turned back in time) from the direct path and attempt to traverse such treacherous ground.

Jerabub is little more than a university town, in which the youthful Senussi receive their training, though it may serve also as an arsenal and fortress. Its importance as the Mecca of the Senussi confraternity is its chief significance for us. Under a fine cupola in the mosque, the remains of the founder of the sect, Sidi Mohamed ben Ali es-Senussi, are interred. The mausoleum bears the following epitaph :

> This refuge is a flowered garden watered by Divine Grace, and has become renowned by the presence of a descendant of the Prophet. The glory of the countenance of the Mahdi enmeshes it as with a rampart of light. He inaugurated its foundation with these words: *The sun of happiness projects its rays only through Ali Senussi.*[5]

This great and good man, scholar and saint, was succeeded, in or about 1859, by his son Sidi Mohamed el-Senussi, surnamed 'the moon,' on account of his beauty and popularity. Although he, himself, did not claim the title, his followers called him the Mahdi, in accordance with the prophecy of his father. Born near

[5] M. Labatut: *Bulletin*, Soc. de Géog. d'Alger, I, 1911.

Derna in 1844, he was carefully trained in the mysteries ... high office; and throughout his rule he evinced greater ... ance, more fanatical zeal, than his parent, who was bold ... words. He migrated to Kufra in 1895, accompanied by his ... cillors and a large following. In 1900 the confraternity m... Gouro, and in 1903 the Sheikh el-Senussi died in Borku.

His nephew and successor, Sidi Ahmed el-Sherif,* is now ... thirty-five years of age: the eldest son of Mohamed Sher... youngest son of the founder of the sect), who died at Jera... 1896. Of him little or nothing is known; but it is certain ... sent a mission to Constantinople, received from the Su... sword of honour and a jewelled order, and is now activ... operating with the Turkish forces in Tripoli.

The special correspondent of *The Times* lately in 1... contributed last September an article on 'Islam in Africa... which the following quotation is taken:

A few years ago Italian ambitions in Tripoli might, perha... been achieved without very much difficulty—whether morally justi... not—but their active expression now occurs at a time when two circum... have entirely altered the situation. I refer to the recrudescence of ... activity on the part of Turkey in Tripoli and its vast *hinterland* ... Central Sudan; and to the recognition by the Senussi of the ... authority of the Sultan, an event of the deepest significance. . . . the spring of this year [*i.e.* 1911] Turkish troops moved southw... occupied, almost simultaneously, Bardai in Tibesti, and Ain-Gal... Borku, the mountainous districts lying south of the Kufra oases, ... the Libyan desert, and immediately north of Wadai. And the... remain. [The Turks also installed, in 1910, a Resident at Kuf... subsequently appointed, as *Governor of Jerabub*, Sidi Radha, first ... of the Sheikh el-Senussi. The Cairo correspondent of *The Times* ... that the Ottoman Government granted Sidi Radha the rank of Sa... he was decorated with the third-class of the Osmanieh; whilst the ... flag, to the hoisting of which el-Senussi gave his consent, *since co...* was brought from Constantinople by special envoy.] By its ac... Turkish Government would seem to have definitely intimated to ... cerned that Turkey does not propose to remain a purely negativ... in the affairs of the Central Sudan. . . . The Turkish position ... regions has, of course, been immensely strengthened by the unres... permeates the whole of the Islamic world of North Africa, of the ... and perhaps to some extent the Eastern and Western, Sudan, by t... rences in Marocco, the fighting in Wadai, and the occupa... 'Mauritania' by the French. To the fears which these incide... generated, and, incidentally, to the anger at the decay in th... desert caravan trade from the Nigerian region with the north w... so impoverished Fezzan, must undoubtedly be ascribed the steps t... the Senussis to come to a political understanding with Consta... This understanding is, to-day an accomplished fact, and has bee... by the despatch of a Senussi mission to Constantinople. Its existe... make of the Ottoman flag a symbol and a rallying-point for the wh...

* M. Labatut (*op. cit.*) refers to the Senussi as Sidi Mohamed el-... believe he is mistaken in the name of the Grand Master.

> [illegible] Moslem elements in a vast region of North and Central Africa. . . . Although Senussi-ism is essentially a religious and spiritual force, preaching avoidance of the European rather than active hostility against him, the aggression of a European Power upon that region of Africa, where its adepts are most numerous and most powerful, could not fail to light a torch which might well set all North Africa and many parts of the Sudan ablaze.

The length of this quotation may be excused on account of its important bearing on my subject and its corroboration of views expressed by me after coming into personal contact with the Senussi at Siwa, where I was turned back in an attempt to reach Jerabub. It emphasises the true reason why the pacific policy of the Senussi has been converted into hostility against the activities and aggression of Europe in Africa.

The Senussi are fighting now *under the Turkish flag* for their very existence, for their faith, and for their country; and Italy must be well aware of the fact: it may be, even, that she shirks the issue and turns abroad for adventure. Whether their power be great or not (and I admit it seems to have been exaggerated in the past), it is at least the most vital element in the Turkish resistance against the invasion of Tripoli, and constitutes the most potent factor in the pacification of Tripolitania. Further south the prospect is no brighter. 'The Central Sudan,' say Dr. Carl Kumm, 'is at present [1910] in a state of religious solution, and should a fanatical rising take place there after the tribes have been won for the Crescent faith, such a rising may have very serious consequences. The German Government in Adamawa is directly and indirectly advancing and supportin[g] the spread of Mohammedanism. . . . The British Government in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan is also involuntarily advancin[g] *Mohammedanism among* the pagans *in the* Bahr-el-Ghazal Pro[-]vince. When Great Britain occupied that Province in 1899 th[e] land was entirely pagan. To-day it is being permeated by th[e] Crescent faith. The military in that province are recruited fro[m] the pagan tribes. As soon as the men enlist they have to swea[r] their oath of allegiance to the Khedive of Egypt; they are circum[-]cised and made Mohammedans.' (*From Hausaland to Egypt* pp. 268-9.)

The Sultan's suzerainty over Egypt always has been loyall[y] recognised by the Protectoral Power—in principle, if not in fact In principle, the Sultan might call upon Egypt * to send troop[s] to his aid; but, in practice, this act of fealty would be embar[-]

* The principle of Egyptian autonomy was laid down in the Separate A[ct] annexed to the Treaty of London of the 15th of July 1840. Art. VI. of th[e] Act (the stipulations of which the Great Powers and the Porte bound themselv[es] to observe) provides that the military and naval forces of Egypt 'shall alwa[ys] be considered as maintained for the service of the State'—i.e. Ottoman Empir[e]

rassing, more particularly in present circumstances. Clearly, the Sultan's suzerainty is a diplomatic fiction, substantiated merely by the fact of his receiving the annual tribute, which, virtually speaking, is now an indemnity, and by the continuance of the Capitulations, which are limitations to his sovereignty. The obligations of Egypt, under the Protectoral Power, are confined, therefore: (i.) to maintaining the integrity and neutrality of Egypt Proper; and (ii.), since the Tutelary Power is responsible for the territorial integrity of Egypt, as well as being the executive Signatory of the Suez Canal Convention of 1888, to police the Canal in accordance with International Law. There is, however, another aspect of the situation, which profoundly affects our *status* in the Mediterranean; the occupation of Morocco by France and the occupation of Tripolitania by Italy involve the *permanent* occupation of Egypt by Great Britain. That is the logical and inevitable sequence of events: *we can never evacuate Egypt*. That, too, is the reason why we must take more than an academic interest in the settlement of Tripoli and of the Senussi question, which are inseparably associated.

The invasion of Tripoli by an Italian expeditionary force, and the occupation of its seaports, is merely the initial stage in a campaign which, necessarily, must be directed to the conquest of Cyrenaica—the stronghold of the Senussi—before any active steps can be taken to pacify the tribes of the *hinterland*, or innerlands. It took France thirty years to pacify and effectively control the turbulent tribes in the *hinterland* of Algeria;[8] and the task which confronts Italy, in her present equivocal position, is no less formidable, owing to the desert character of the theatre of war, which is more inimical than hostile tribes. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the entire country is a desert, dotted here and there with oases; it is also a rainless region, up to within a few miles of the coastal zone. Except for the latter, too,

[8] The analogy is strikingly suggestive. The Arabs and Kabyles, though hereditary enemies, joined in their opposition against the European intruder: for the nonce they were united by the bond of a common religion. A Holy War was preached; a Mahdi, Abd-el-Kader (whose son is now serving at the front with the Turkish troops in Tripoli), appeared; a host of marabouts and other fanatics fanned the flames of the conflagration. It took three campaigns (1854, 1856, 1857) to subdue the hardy mountaineers of the Jujura: Kabylia was conquered for the first time in history. The French conquest of Algeria may be divided into four periods: (i.) the occupation of the Mediterranean ports (1830-1833); (ii.) the conquest of the Arab country, except that to the west (between Oran and Algiers) ceded to Abd-el-Kader (1835-1837); (iii.) the submission of Abd-el-Kader and of the Kabyle tribes of the Sahara (1847-1870); and (iv.) the establishment of French posts in the Sahara and the expansion of political influence southwards (1870-1894). Had France first conquered Tunis, the submission of Algeria would have been achieved more rapidly; but she had no such choice. For 'Tunis' read 'Cyrenaica,' in the task before Italy.

it is all but unexplored and unknown. Away from the seaports, wild nomads inhabit it. It is a stricken land.

The natural divisions of the country are Tripoli Proper (the coastal zone, from Tunis to the Gulf of Sidra), the limestone plateau of Cyrenaica, with gentle slopes towards the Aujila-Siwa depression in the south, and Fezzan (the southern province of Tripoli). A low-lying, rocky, and sandy coast, there are but few natural harbours. The Port of Tripoli, exposed to gales from the north-east, is unapproachable in stormy weather; Benghazi and Derna are not much safer; Bomba and Tobruk alone are secure and good natural harbours. Vegetation along the coast is confined to a very narrow strip of fertile land, where the rainfall is adequate; but in Cyrenaica conditions are more favourable. The cultivated area round Tripoli town, the Meshia, extends for about three miles inland; the remainder is invaded by sand dunes, between which are plots of cultivated land and camel-pastures. Wadis, sloping from south to north, intersect the plain and carry off the rainfall from the mountains to the sea in the winter (November to February). These mountains, situated at from forty to eighty miles from the coast, present steep ascents on their northern face, and slope gently towards the south. Gharian—one of the objective points of the Italian Expedition—is a mountainous region (in which the highest summit in the country, Jebel Tekut, reaches 2800 feet), supporting the best cultivated lands, with fig and olive trees, vines, and corn. The country southwards becomes more and more desolate and arid up to the vast rocky plateau of Hamada el-Homra. South of the *hamada*, the oases of Fezzan are first encountered. Perhaps we need go no further. Ample particulars, of which some are given here, are provided in an instructive article by Dr. Adolf Vischer in *The Geographical Journal* for November 1911.[9]

Professor J. W. Gregory, who visited Cyrenaica in 1908, says of this country: 'A section north and south across Cyrene shows that the country consists of three main levels; on the north is a low, narrow coastal plain, which ends inland at the foot of a steep cliff. The cliff is the front of a platform, the surface of which rises from 1000 feet above sea-level at its northern edge to 1300 feet further inland. This sloping platform extends inland for a width of five miles. Then follows another steep ascent to the height of Cyrene, of 1900 feet, and behind this cliff lies a wide undulating plateau, which gradually rises inland to over 2500 feet.'[10] Of the inhabitants, Dr. Adolf Vischer says:

[9] I am indebted to the Royal Geographical Society for the use of the sketch-map accompanying this article.

[10] 'Report on the Work of the Commission sent out by the Jewish Territorial Organisation,' &c. London, 1909.

'Most probably the number does not surpass 150,000; Benghazi, the capital, having about 12,000, and Derna half that number. They include both Berbers and Arabs. The products of the soil are barley, wheat, and maize, but more important are the products of cattle-rearing. There is little doubt,' he continues, 'that it forms the most valuable portion of the vilayet, and that which offers most advantages for permanent settlement.' He does not, however, refer to the large number of camels which the Senussi are said to possess in Cyrenaica, apart from their other resources for military action.

The sedentary Berbers who inhabit the Coast towns and the Jebel in Tripoli Proper number, according to Dr. Adolf Vischer, not more than 300,000. The nomad Arabs are more difficult to estimate, but can hardly exceed 50,000. A large number of Jews—about 11,000—live in the town of Tripoli and in Gharian; and there are (or, rather, were) some 4000 Maltese included in the 50,000 population of the capital.

The trans-Saharan trade, of which, in the past, Tripoli was the *entrepôt* and terminus, is moribund. The camel-caravans that crossed the Sahara traded in slaves, ivory, ostrich feathers, skins, metals, spices, gums, rock-salt, etc., which were exchanged for the manufactures of Europe. Fezzan was an important trade centre; Ghadames and other oases were also objective points for caravans. But with the settlement of Africa and the development of its resources, other and more practical routes from the Central Sudan to the nearest available ports have been opened up, more particularly by the natural highway of the Niger Basin. The great trans-Saharan slave-trade, though not extinct, no longer pays—and never did pay, apart from the trade in ivory, which gave rise to it. But the Senussi are active slavers, and people their oases with captured slaves; those for export were (before the war) taken to Benghazi, and some were smuggled through to the Mediterranean littoral. I, myself, saw and photographed a large number of slaves at Siwa, where they were being fattened up for the European market after their exhausting journey across the desert. Apart from the pilgrim traffic to Mecca, the caravan trade of the Sahara will soon be an affair of the past, so far as commerce is concerned.

The commercial resources of Tripoli Italiana are very meagre; and these are exclusively agricultural—esparto grass, fruits, and vegetables—but the Italians may possibly extend viticulture. Professor J. W. Gregory found no evidence of mineral wealth either in Tripoli or in Cyrenaica; and, in order to develop the agricultural resources of the country, an enormous outlay of capital must be sunk in irrigation works. As a colony of exploitation, Tripoli is all but worthless to a European Power;

... its administration will be very costly, far in excess of ... returns. There must be, then, other reasons why Italy has ... staked her national honour on the conquest of Tripolitania. ... What are the consequences?

The balance of power in the Mediterranean may be affected profoundly through the invasion of Tripoli by an Italian expeditionary force; whilst the seizure of Turkish islands may open ... questions of European interest. It shapes well for British ...olicy in the Mediterranean, because, if there be any logic in the ...ourse of history, it must detach Italy eventually from her sub... ervience to the interests of the Triple Alliance, which in the ...ain are continental. Apart from the integrity of her eastern ...nd western land frontiers—towards France and Austria-...ungary, respectively—the national interests of Italy, exposed ... attack along an extensive seaboard, lie 'on the water': under ...he present system of European alliances, the tendency of events ...nust trend more and more in the direction I have predicted, ...ince both France and Great Britain willingly accept Italy as a ...eighbour in North Africa. In spite of our protestations of ...ood faith and responsibility towards the Mohammedan world, ...e are disposed to regard benevolently the occupation of Tripoli ...y a Power with which we have many interests in common—...ot the least being the maintenance of *Pax Britannica* in the ...Mediterranean, to which she virtually subscribes. Whether ...taly herself can make any use of Tripoli as a naval base is, how...ever, another matter. Neither commercial nor naval considera...ions seem to hold out sufficient compensation for a campaign that ...nust encroach seriously on the resources of Italy. But this cam...paign of sentiment, for the realisation of national aspirations, ... not to be ascribed solely to State aggrandisement: it fulfils ... destiny that perhaps arose in the policy of the Italian Republics ...Venetian, Genoese, and Sicilian), which enjoyed a monopoly ...f the trade of Tripoli in the fifteenth century. In the modern ...partition of Africa, Italy always has been regarded as the resi...duary legatee of Turkish Tripoli. That circumstances forced her ...hand into a premature display of force is due to the accidents ...f *Realpolitik*, and, perhaps, in some measure to mistrust ...between the Allies. That the annexation of a country should ...precede its conquest is only one of the many Gilbertian incidents ...which characterised the opening scenes in the invasion of Tripoli. ...For good or ill, the Turkish vilayet of Tripoli is, and must ...remain, under the crown of Italy, whose national honour is ...pledged by the declaration of sovereignty. This rash step ...stands in the way of mediation or peaceful settlement: it is an *impasse*, more embarrassing to her friends than to her foe.

It is a strange spectacle: an army of occupation encamped on the seaboard, under the protection of the guns of a supporting fleet: an army, paralysed for the moment, in the absence of any definite objective save the seizure of strategic positions on its immediate front: an army forever on the alert, on the defensive, in expectation of sudden attack from the far-flung screen of desert, behind which the mobile enemy can deliver 'bolts from the blue': an army flanked by a fanatical foe—the Senussi of Cyrenaica—whose country is a natural citadel and the most fertile in the vilayet!

Is it not obvious that, before any advance into the desert can be made with safety, Cyrenaica must be reduced to submission, must be conquered and held? Why, we well may ask, is there talk of postponing the campaign of conquest until the autumn, on account of unfavourable climatic conditions, when the most obvious and urgent objective lies on the coast? Passive resistance will not impair the fighting power of nomad Arabs and hardy Turks inured to life in the desert; supplies may fail them—though they need relatively few—and reinforcements of arms and men may be cut off; but, of the two belligerents, Italy must be the greater sufferer through a policy of inaction. The *moral* of the Army—passive under constant strain, in the heats of summer—will be injuriously affected; and sickness may decimate the camps. Sea-borne supplies run up a big bill; and, meantime, the Italian Peninsula is depleted of an appreciable proportion of its military and naval powers of defence, whilst time is given to the enemy in Africa to prepare all sorts of unpleasant surprises, not excluding the possible proclamation of a Holy War against the infidel. Why this truce of God? Can diplomacy win what the arms of Italy cannot immediately exact? It may be so: but time is all on the side of the Turk, who is past-master in passive resistance and masterly inactivity. The evacuation of Tripoli would be a serious blow to the popularity of the Young Turk party; but if defeat in the field be their *bach*—their fate—they would bow to the decree of Providence. Moreover, European prestige in Africa loses by every day of delay in vigorous offensive action: word has gone forth that Italy is impotent in the accomplishment of her design, and reinforcements are flocking to the standard of Islam.

'The boundaries of Tripoli Italiana,' remarks a correspondent of *The Times*, writing from Tripoli on the 16th of March, 'have not been appreciably widened since the final clearing of the oasis; not a yard has been gained since the occupation of Gargaresh on the 20th of January.' Commenting on this lack of initiative, he says, further: 'The idea of Gharian as an immediate objective would seem to have been abandoned, and

the question now exercising the lay mind is whether any less ambitious operations will be undertaken before the sun makes desert campaigning unduly risky. In Italian interests it appears desirable that some offensive action should be taken, and it is difficult to understand the reasons for the policy of masterly inactivity, which has immobilised a large, keen, and efficient army for more than three months, and is reported to contemplate an indefinite prolongation of the preparatory period.'

No doubt the plan of campaign is influenced by that of the re-conquest of the Egyptian Sudan; of advance by railway construction, step by step, until the Italians find their Omdurman somewhere in the outlying desert. The line of advance—eventually, one presumes, towards Fezzan—is already indicated: the Tripoli-Gargaresh line, and the extension of the Ain-Zara line to Homs. The recent attack in force, by sea and land, on Zwara, though a strategic gain (Zwara being the base of the enemy's line of communication, west of Tripoli), was mere *Kriegspiel*; whilst naval operations, beyond the immediate objective in Tripoli, only exasperate Turkey and alienate neutrals. So that, when all is said, the only true objective likely to influence the broad issues of the war seems to be, as I have suggested, the occupation of the tableland of Cyrenaica, which is within striking distance of the Coast. It may be noted, too, that Cyrenaica is a sub-province of Tripolitania, under the direct administration of the authorities in Constantinople. In every respect, *it is the key to the situation.* It is the Turco-Arab base, the nodality of highest resistance. The best ports are there; the enemy is there, in his strongest position and perhaps greatest force; whilst not far off (160 miles south of Tobruk, the best naval base) is the *foyer* of the Senussi sect, Jerabub—the Omdurman, in my opinion, of this war. Fezzan can wait—for years, if necessary—but unless Italy can come to terms with the Senussi (which to me seems to be out of the question), the sooner she occupies Cyrenaica the better it will be for her cause.

Fighting the desert is like fighting a swarm of bees in flight: the enemy is too elusive, and the sun is in one's eyes. Cyrenaica is a beehive. One cannot advance into the desert, leaving an enemy-country on one's left flank.

ARTHUR SILVA WHITE.

HOME RULE AND FEDERALISM

Concessions on the part of the friends of the plan, that it has not a claim to absolute perfection, have afforded matter of no small triumph to its enemies. 'Why,' say they, 'should we adopt an imperfect thing? Why not amend it and make it perfect before it is irrevocably established?' This may be plausible enough, but it is only plausible.—Hamilton: *The Federalist*, No. lxxxv.

The true law-giver ought to have a heart full of sensibility. He ought to love and respect his kind, and to fear himself. It may be allowed to his temperament to catch his *ultimate* object with an instinctive glance; but his movements towards it ought to be deliberate. Political arrangement, as it is a work for social ends, is only to be wrought by social means. There mind must conspire with mind. Time is required to produce that union of minds which alone can produce all the good we aim at. . . . By a slow but well-sustained progress, the effect of each step is watched; the good or ill success of the first gives light to us in the second; and so, from light to light, we are conducted with safety through the whole series. We see that the parts of the system do not clash. The evils latent in the most promising contrivance are provided for as they arise. One advantage is as little as possible sacrificed to another. We compensate, we reconcile, we balance. We are enabled to unite into a consistent whole the various anomalies and contending principles that are found in the minds and affairs of men. From hence arises not an excellence in simplicity, but one far superior, an excellence in composition.—Burke: *Reflections on the French Revolution.*

THE Bill to amend the provision for the government of Ireland is a singular triumph of empiricism. It defies the frontal attacks of the theorist, for the simple reason that there is nothing theoretical about it. It is not 'Federalism,' it is not Dualism, still less is it to be compared with a colonial constitution of the usual type. That it is 'unsymmetrical,' as Mr. Balfour complains, may readily be conceded. That, perhaps, is not the least of its merits. There is no such thing as 'stock sizes' in constitutions except in the ingenious brain of a Sieyès, and the political exigencies of no two countries in the world are exactly alike. There are critics who seem to contend that the Bill violates some law of nature as to the progress of society, and Mr. Balfour, in his most speculative mood, has laid down five propositions as to such progress, and finding the Bill fails to conform to each and all of them, can find nothing more to say for it. This political rationalism would have been in place in the eighteenth century, but in an age

in which legal and economic history has taught us to beware of the *a priori* method, and to consider each case on its merits, it has a curious air of unreality. One might as well condemn the Bill out of Aristotle's *Politics*. It is the method of a schoolman, not of a statesman. To argue, for example, from the creation of a new State, such as that of the American Republic, to the readjustment of an old one like the United Kingdom, and to condemn the Home Rule Bill of 1912 because it fails to conform to the principles of the American Constitution of 1787 is, indeed, to exhibit a wonderful agility of mind, but it is not a sound application of the method of analogy. It is quite true that the Federal Constitution of 1787 was a step towards 'closer union'; it is conceivable—though not indisputable—that the Home Rule Bill is a step towards looser union. But the union between Ireland and Great Britain after the Home Rule Bill has been placed on the statute-book will still be closer than the bond which unites Massachusetts with the United States to-day. There is all the difference in the juristic world between the surrender of certain powers by a group of sovereign States like the American 'colonies' to a new Federal Government and the delegation of certain powers by a single sovereign State like the United Kingdom to a provincial Legislature.

The difference will be apparent to anyone versed in constitutional history or constitutional law. Until 1861 it was contended—not without considerable show of authority—that sovereignty in the American Republic remained with the States; but no one would seriously contend that under the Government of Ireland Bill sovereignty will be anywhere but where it is at present—viz. in the Imperial Parliament. Even to-day the Federal franchise in the United States is completely under the control of the individual States;[1] under the Home Rule Bill the franchise for the Imperial Parliament will remain after the appointed day, as it was before it, governed by the laws of the Imperial Parliament. There will then, as now, be a common citizenship throughout the United Kingdom; but there is no Imperial citizenship in Germany, and in the United States the sphere of citizenship has not yet been wholly nationalised, despite the pious hopes of the men who framed the famous Fourteenth Amendment.[2] Between the United Kingdom and the United States there is just this difference: that the former has a sovereign Government and the latter has not.

No one has any doubt where sovereignty resides in the United Kingdom, but the utmost perplexity exists among jurists as to

[1] Cf. Cruikshank's Case. 92 U.S. Rep. p. 555. The Fourteenth Amendment has made but little difference.

[2] Cf. The Slaughter House Case. 16 Wall. 36.

where it resides in a Federal system. It may reside in 'the people,' as Webster argued in the case of the United States, or in the group of State Governments as Laband argues in the case of Germany, though each theory has any number of dissentients in both countries; or it may be conceived of as residing in the Federal Constitution.[3] But we have yet to find anyone who will contend that under Home Rule sovereignty will reside in the Irish Constitution, unless he is prepared to 'kick the Crown into the Boyne.' The Crown—its supremacy, its perpetuity, and its indivisibility—is a juristic fact which opposes a stubborn obstacle to those who try to treat Home Rule as a case of federation.[4] Nor is the distinction mere pedantry. The veto of the Crown on Irish legislation—a veto for which there is no parallel in a Federal system such as that of the United States or Germany—is a fact which at once puts the Irish Parliament entirely out of the category of the State legislatures in a Federal system. Their large residuary powers can only be controlled by stretching the 'sovereignty' of the Federal Constitution to its utmost limits by judicial interpretation of it. On the other hand, the veto of the Crown has always been present to the minds of their lordships of the Privy Council as decisively distinguishing the subordinate Legislatures within the British Empire from all Federal analogues.[5] So long as that veto exists the Irish Legislature will never have the powers of a State Legislature of the United States. Or turn from this executive veto of the Crown to its legislative veto in the Imperial Parliament. Wherever an Irish statute conflicts with an Imperial statute, the rule of construction will be in favour of the latter. But wherever a Federal statute conflicts with the statute of a State in America, there is no such rule in universal operation: the Federal statute must be shown to come within the powers expressly surrendered by the States under the Constitution, or else it is null and void. Or, again, there is a third aspect of sovereignty—the supremacy of the common law in the United Kingdom,[6] and of the Supreme Courts of Appeal. In a Federal system it is not always easy to determine

[3] 'The original Thirteen States made the Constitution, but *it* in turn made the other States'—Landon: *The Constitutional History and Government of the United States*—a statement of fact which furnishes a crushing commentary on Mr. Balfour's theory that every federal constitution has from the beginning been 'round and perfect and self-contained.'

[4] Bacon, in his opinion in *Calvin's Case* (State Trials, Vol. II., p. 559, etc.), shows a perception, remarkable in those days of the infancy of political theory, of the juristic importance of this distinction. In monarchies, he points out, sovereignty is in the Crown, but in 'the busy and curious frames' of other commonwealths it subsists by 'a law precedent,' written or unwritten.

[5] Cf. *Bank of Toronto* v. *Lambe*, 12 App., Cas. 575.

[6] I should say England and Ireland. Scotch law is, of course, to be distinguished.

[illegible] law for the whole nation. Is there [illegible] [illegible]? Doubtless the Supreme Court when it has to [illegible] the Federal Constitution and Federal statutes assumes [illegible] interpretation of the law, and interprets them by [illegible] law of its own.[1] But supposing it has to decide in a suit by a citizen of one State against another State, it has to follow the interpretation based on the law by the highest court of that State. Now the Judicial Committee in the case of an action by an Englishman against the Government of Ireland—we will suppose a case of petition of right for breach of contract by an Irish department—will itself determine the principles by which it decides the case; it is not bound by the principles laid down by the Court of King's Bench in Dublin. Again, if a statute of an American State Legislature is challenged in the Supreme Court on the ground that it deprives a subject of his property 'without due process of law,' due process of law will be defined by reference to the law and constitution of that particular State. But if subject of the Crown challenges an Irish statute on the ground that the Irish Government have, in acting under it, infringed his common law rights, the Judicial Committee in Whitehall wil apply the rules of the common law of the United Kingdom ir laying down that no common law rights can be taken away except by express statutory words. Nay, to go further, not only will the Imperial Court decide such cases as come before it by its own principles of interpretation, but its jurisdiction will itself be equall unrestrained. In the United States no appeal lies from the State courts on matters of State law; it is only when a question of in fringement of Federal statutes or the Federal Constitution arise that an appeal will lie. Otherwise the State courts are supreme The Irish courts are not supreme, and will never be—the appellat jurisdiction of the House of Lords over all causes will be exercise in all its plenitude by the Judicial Committee.

It will be apparent, therefore, that from whatever aspect w regard the new Constitution—executive, legislative, judiciary— is a flagrant abuse of terms to call it Federalism and to brand i as some of its critics are inclined to do, with all the vices of th Federal type and none of its virtues.

The argument that the tendency of all political unions towards closer union is therefore seen, on closer examination, resolve itself into the question: 'What is meant by union?' Tha confederations tend to become federal is perfectly true, b

[1] There was a remarkable example of this in the case of *Dorr* v. *Unite States*, 195 U.S., 138, when the Supreme Court, in deciding that trial b jury did not extend to the Philippines, had, *motu proprio*, to determine wh was a right fundamental in its nature. See the *Harvard Law Review*, xi 547.

federal unions do not tend to become unitary. The States of America have never shown the slightest inclination to grant to Congress the supremacy which is possessed by the Imperial Parliament, and which will continue in its possession after the grant of Home Rule to Ireland. There is, indeed, a kind of ebb and flow in the current of 'Unionism' in the constitutional history of the United States; one generation of judges, represented by Marshall's famous decision in the *McCulloch* v. *Maryland* case, stretches the Constitution in the direction of closer Federalism, another generation represented by the decision in the *Dred Scott* cases relaxes it in the direction of State autonomy; a revolution, largely precipitated by the decision in the *Dred Scott* case, imposes restrictions on the State Legislatures by changing the text of the Constitution, and another generation of judges set themselves to work to modify those restrictions.[8] Not movement but equilibrium[9] is characteristic of the history of that great archetype of Federal Constitutions. The equipoise of the Constitution is, perhaps, never quite restored to its earlier position; it seems to describe through history not a circle but a parabola. Machiavelli may have been wrong in his theory that history repeats itself, and that mankind moves through the ages in great cycles; but, in looking at the rise and fall, the ebb and flow, the continual mutations, of political forms throughout history, one seems to see no universal law except the law of a Heraclitean flux. The appeal to history should be one of emancipation, not of servitude. History, as a great legal writer[10] reminds us, 'sets us free'; it teaches us when we may discard the ancient usage by showing us what was its original purpose and to what extent it has outlived it. To critics of Mr. Balfour's school *Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht.* But this is to exchange statesmanship for fatalism. And history shows that nothing is stationary. Were Alexander Hamilton alive to-day he would hardly recognise some parts of that Constitution of which he was the godfather.

Not content with his theory of a universal law of closer union, Mr. Balfour would fain have us believe that all political unions are from their very commencement 'round and perfect and self-contained,'[11] and that they are built up on an equality of parts.

[8] Cf. The Slaughter House Case, *supra*, and the liberalising use by the Supreme Court of the 'police power.'

[9] And cf. the recent decisions of the High Court of the Australian Commonwealth.

[10] Mr. Justice O. W. Holmes in the *Harvard Law Review*, xii. p. 452.

[11] The nimbleness of mind exhibited by this fluent generalisation is truly astonishing. It vaults over some five centuries of Swiss history, half a dozen years in the diplomacy of the North and South Bünde in Germany, and 120 years of American constitutional development. The decisions of the Supreme Court at Washington in the 'Annexation Cases' in 1905 show that the 'perfection' of the American Constitution is still to seek.

Now it is very doubtful if this could be said of any Constitution that has stood the test of time. On the face of it, a political organism which, like the lowest organisms in biology, is made up of a perpetual repetition of rudimentary parts must be in a very backward stage of development. Differentiation is the law of all progress. It is quite true that the Constitution of the United States provides for the equal representation of the States in the Senate; it is also true that as regards the power of the Federal Legislature over each State there is uniformity—that is to say, the Federal Legislature cannot legislate for one State more than another. But in so far as this is used as an argument against granting Ireland greater legislative powers than Scotland or England it is singularly illusory.

No study of the American Constitution is complete unless we also take into consideration the constitutions of the individual States, and the moment we do this we shall find that the powers possessed by each State Legislature are anything but uniform. In theory each State has the same residuary powers —*i.e.* all the powers not granted to Congress—as every other State, but that does not mean that the State Legislature has them. In many States the legislative powers are, under the State Constitution,[13] reserved to the people, whether by a referendum, or a convention, or otherwise, and in them the State Legislature is little more than a place for drafting Bills for submission to the electorate, or for enacting Private Bill legislation. Here all is heterogeneity. The conditions of an advanced State, like New York, may allow of a high development of representative government; those of another, like Oregon, may admit of the primitive forms of a *Landsgemeinde*. The 'equality' of the State Legislatures *inter se*, and from the point of view of the Federal Legislature, is therefore very illusory. It would, doubtless, be better that Congress should have larger powers of legislation over some States—especially the more backward States, whose Legislatures, as their peoples have found, cannot be trusted—than over others, but that is impossible owing to the contractual character of the original Constitution, and the referendum and the convention are a kind of desperate escape from this undiscriminating uniformity. The uniformity of the legislative power of Congress and the equality of State representation in the Senate are not a political ideal but a political compromise—a compromise between the jealousies of the original contracting States, each of which, whether large or small, was unwilling to surrender less or more of its legislative power than the others. This is a defect, not a virtue, of the Federal system, and the draughtsmen of the latest

[13] It must be remembered also that the States possess the power—which Ireland will not possess—of changing their own Constitutions.

experiment in Federal Constitutions[13] have been at pains to avoid it.

Fortunately for us we *start* from the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament; and it is one of the great virtues of that Parliament that it can and does legislate more for one part of the kingdom than for another; that it can differentiate between Ireland and Scotland and England and Wales.[14] Any student of the statute-book can discover for himself how far this differentiation has already been carried. A friend of the writer, Mr. H. de R. Walker, has, after a careful estimate, come to the conclusion that in no fewer than 49.8 per cent. of the Public General Acts of the United Kingdom for the last twenty years has Parliament legislated separately for the separate countries of the United Kingdom; in only 50.2 per cent. has she legislated for the whole.

Nor is this the whole story. Even the latter category bears within it evidence of legislative separation. Bills relating to the whole of the United Kingdom have, owing to the differences between Scottish, Irish, and English law and administration, to be drafted as composite Bills with what are known as application clauses, which define and vary how much or how little of the Bill is to apply to Scotland and Ireland as the case may be. Such a Bill is a kind of skeleton-key designed to fit three different locks, but it requires an expert locksmith to forge it, and the process does not make for the participation of the untutored private member in its construction. Nor does it make for simplicity, and yet one of the first canons of legislation is, as Bentham long ago pointed out, that it should, in the language of the Prayer Book, be easily understanded of the people. We have recently had in the case of the Insurance Bill an example of how difficult it is to draft a great measure for the whole of the United Kingdom, involving large questions of administration, without raising difficulties such as those that are forced to the front by the position of the Health Committee under the Scottish system of local government. All this amounts to saying that we already have legislative devolution in a state of arrested development.

Few people who have not studied parliamentary procedure realise how much our present 'Unionism' conceals a process of legislative disintegration. We are faced with a kind of incoherent devolution—executive devolution and legislative devolution—but unfortunately the one stands in no logical relation to

[13] In the Australian Commonwealth the equality of States representation in the Senate may be overborne, through the agency of a joint session, by the numerical preponderance of the more populous States in the House of Representatives.

[14] There is a remarkable clause in the Scotch Act of Union (Article XVIII.) providing that changes in Scotch law shall only be made by the Imperial Parliament where it is 'for evident utility of

Ireland. Putting on one side the almost complete administrative separation which already exists between Great Britain and Ireland—Ireland, which, in the words of Grattan, was left by the Act of Union with 'all the appanage of a kingdom except a Legislature,' and which has a Chief Secretary who is a kind of Prime Minister without a Cabinet, presiding over some forty-two more or less irresponsible departments—we have a growing administrative separation between England and Scotland. Every day the powers of the Secretary for Scotland are increasing, but he is not thereby brought under the control of the Scottish Standing Committee. To create a new Scottish or Irish Department does not thereby increase parliamentary control over Scottish or Irish administration—rather it diminishes it. The heads of the Scottish Education Office, Local Government Board, and Department of Agriculture have been made responsible not to the House of Commons, but to the Secretary. Like the Chief Secretary for Ireland, he is a Prime Minister without a Cabinet and without a Legislature, and his policy is apt to be determined primarily not by Scottish opinion but by the alien issues of Imperial politics.

The Act which restored the Secretaryship of Scotland to life after a hibernation of 140 years conferred on him the functions of half-a-dozen great departments of State, and as time goes on those functions tend to increase rather than to diminish. It is beyond the capacity of any one man to be responsible for a Scottish Local Government Board, an Education Office, a Crofters' Commission, and a Congested Districts Board, to say nothing of excursions into Private Bill procedure. These great and manifold powers, and those of the departments subordinate to him, may be enlarged without any exercise of parliamentary authority. A departmental minute, supported by a Treasury grant, has sufficed to confer large powers in regard to secondary education upon the Secretary, and by the exercise of his right of supervision over Scottish Private Bill procedure he has contrived to confer upon the Scotch Office executive powers such as should only be conceded by a public Bill with the full and explicit consent of Parliament. I am far from saying that these extensions were in themselves undesirable; all I am concerned to show is that the Imperial Parliament does not and cannot control the government of Scotland. Moreover, Scottish Private Bill procedure has got into an *impasse*; we have set up in Scotland committees without a Parliament, just as we have established an Executive without a Legislature. It has been found impossible to concede final and exclusive control over Scottish Private Bills to the itinerant Commissioners—a right of appeal (with considerable restrictions) lies to the House of Commons, a power of reservation of such Bills is entrusted to the Chairman

of the two Houses at Westminster, and a considerable degree of supervision is exercised by the Scottish Office in Scotland. The appeals are expensive, the reservations are apt to be invidious, and the supervision is bureaucratic. Yet there is no denying that the Scotch Office, owing to its acquaintance with Scottish law and administration, has far better qualifications for such supervision than the Imperial Parliament. I think it is obvious that all these considerations point to the necessity either of a Scottish Parliament or of the enlargement of the powers of the Scottish Committee, to perfect this procedure. If this be true of Private Bill procedure, it is no less true of that procedure in regard to public Bills by which the latter are referred to a Standing Committee of the House of Commons composed predominantly of Scotsmen. Such a Committee can never be its own master at Westminster, because, as Mr. Balfour remarked in his evidence before the Select Committee of 1906, the House views with extreme jealousy the delegation of its powers to these committees, and is apt to insist on turning the Report Stage into a second Committee stage, with resulting delay, confusion, exasperation, and, not infrequently, failure. He might have added that his own party have opposed the institution of such committees for no better reason than the deplorable one that when a Liberal majority in Scotland co-exists with a Unionist majority in the Imperial Parliament, a Unionist Government cannot afford to delegate such autonomy to the Scottish members within the walls of the House—a singular commentary on the extent to which local legislation is sacrificed to alien considerations of party warfare. If such Bills are in charge of private members the Government will not find time for their Report stage; if they are in charge of the Government, the Opposition will oppose that stage in order to embarrass the Ministry.

To talk therefore to-day of the necessity of safeguarding the supremacy, and still more the unity of the Imperial Parliament, may be important for the jurist (and we do not propose to neglect an examination of it), but for the political student it has lost much of its meaning. The legal supremacy of Parliament is still unimpaired, but its legislative freedom is seriously diminished. We have something like devolution in a state of arrested development. It is therefore possible—and indeed essential—that, without losing sight of the special claims of Ireland, we should treat the problem of Home Rule as but one aspect of a larger problem—namely the restoration of Parliamentary control over the Executive. The growing volume of complaint against the arbitrary action of Government departments in the interpretation of statutes and the exclusion of both the courts and the House of Commons from control over them,

the secretive character of our foreign policy, the unchecked growth of expenditure, will all be found in the last resort to arise directly or indirectly from the increasing congestion of business in the House of Commons. Sir William Anson has gone so far as to speak of legislative sovereignty having passed from Parliament to the Cabinet. The remedy for this state of things may or may not be found at Westminster. Devolution of legislative business upon Committees of the House itself has perhaps been carried as far as is compatible with the preservation of that House in its existing form. Exigencies of time of themselves set a limit to the scope of Grand Committees; concurrent sittings of the whole House and of Committees of the House are fatal to the activity of the one or the other. The autonomy of a Committee is limited by the necessity of securing within it something like a representation of the distribution of parties in the House.

Such is the 'unity' of the United Kingdom. Can we speak of all this process as conforming to Mr. Balfour's law of a tendency towards closer union? The only tendency I can discern is towards a growing renunciation of legislative power on the part of the House of Commons and its displacement by an autocratic Executive upon which are devolved powers of legislation so large as to be quite unprecedented.[15]

Is it not obvious that if we are to associate ourselves with the law of tendencies the obvious line and the line of least resistance is to bring these incoherent attempts at devolution, which have been forced on us by the inexorable pressure of facts, into something like an ordered system of constitutional development? To do so is not to 'break up the Constitution'—it is to restore it. Our Constitution is, in the language of Burke, 'a permanent body composed of transitory parts,' and 'the whole moves on through the varied tenour of perpetual decay, fall, renovation, and progression.'[16] So long as we maintain its two fundamental principles—'the rule of law' and the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament—we have little to fear from changes of adjustment to new conditions. The real danger to be apprehended is not from such a tentative, empirical, and limited devolution of legislative power as is contemplated by the Government of Ireland Bill, but from the final, logical, and extravagant 'Federalism' of our new *a priori* politicians. The Conservative party seems to be infected by the same spirit of violent revolution as animated them in the controversies over the Parliament Bill. Then they must have a new Senate; now they are content with

[15] See the issue of this Review for April 1911, in which I traced the growth and attempted to indicate the dangers of this tendency.

[16] *Reflections on the French Revolution.*

nothing short of a new Imperial Constitution. But this is not the way in which the English people have been accustomed to meet their political difficulties. They have wisely sought to deal with each contingency as it arises, using the means which experience has taught them to be the best, instead of roving the world of political speculation for far-fetched analogies and model Constitutions. We could not, if we would, deal with each part of the United Kingdom as if all were exactly alike. The case of Scotland, although it presents many resemblances, is not exactly analogous to that of Ireland, and the geographical fact of the insular position of Ireland, the political fact of her intense Nationalism, and, most of all, her differential treatment in the pages of the statute-book, put her in a different category.

It may be found possible to limit devolution of legislative powers in the case of Great Britain to an alteration in the procedure of the House of Commons. The one difficulty I see is the responsibility of the Executive for legislation. Can a Liberal Government with a majority in the whole House afford to allow legislative autonomy to a Committee of English members in which it is in a minority, and conversely can a Unionist Government in a similar position in the whole House afford to allow legislative autonomy to a Committee of Scotch members in which it is in a minority? Possibly. There can be no doubt that the doctrine of the responsibility of the Cabinet of the day for legislation has been carried much too far—it was almost unknown at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the private member was as powerful as to-day he is impotent. A system of 'national' committees in legislation might restore to the House the autonomy of which it has been deprived, and one might then see something of the legislative initiative, activity, and independence which Deputies exercise in the committees of the French Parliament.

One thing is quite certain—however many 'Legislatures' we may have in the House of Commons, we cannot have more than one Executive; and therefore, unless we have separate Parliaments we must make some distinction as to what kind of legislation the Government of the day is to be responsible for. There are no precedents to guide us. It is true we have a Scotch Standing Committee in the House legislating in exclusively Scottish affairs, but this proves too little or too much; too little because that Committee has only been in existence when the majority of Scottish members have been of the same party as the majority in the whole House; too much because the Scotch Committee is not really autonomous—all its measures have to be submitted on Report to the whole House. The present Lord Chancellor did

[illegible] forward, in an article written in 1892 and re-published [illegible] in the *Contemporary Review* for March 1911, the [illegible] suggestion that there might be two Executives existing concurrently in the House of Commons—an Imperial Cabinet consisting of four Secretaries of State, the First Lord of the Treasury, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, these being, in his opinion, purely 'Imperial' Ministers; and a British Cabinet consisting of such Ministers as (among others) the Home Secretary, the Presidents of the Local Government Board, Board of Education and Board of Trade, and the Secretary for Scotland. The classification will not bear a very close examination; the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Home Secretary, and the President of the Board of Trade would not easily find an exclusive place in either category. Moreover, the scheme involves some strange complexities and readjustments of the 'conventions' of the Constitution. What would be the position of the British Executive if defeated in the House of Commons on British affairs? Would it resign or would it be entitled to call for a dissolution confined to Great Britain alone? If it could only do the former, its authority in the House would be precarious; if it could command the latter, the position of the Imperial Cabinet would be intolerable. Nor could the distinction between the two Cabinets really be maintained. What, for example, would be the position of such 'Imperial' Ministers as the Secretary for War or the Home Secretary, if a vote of censure were passed on either or both by the British members, for the employment of troops in an industrial dispute in Great Britain? The position of Ministers under such a system would be worse than precarious, it would be servile—they would be like the mediæval villein, the legal test of whose servitude was found by the common law in the definition that 'he knows not to-day what he may have to do to-morrow.' A scheme such as this represents a kind of inchoate devolution—a differentiation in the Executive without a corresponding differentiation in the Legislature. Two distinct Executives are only possible if there are two distinct Legislatures.

It seems to me that this is eminently a case for experiment under the Standing Orders of the House of Commons. The great advantage of such a procedure is that it is experimental, and in no sense final. By delegating business to a Grand Committee by a Standing Order the House never entirely renounces its control over such legislation, and it can decide in each individual case whether it will dispense with the Report stage or not. The flexibility of such a procedure is obvious. The Government of Ireland [illegible]

legislatures for the United Kingdom, has confined itself [illegible] as a special case, and leaves open the possibility of [illegible] treatment of the other parts of the kingdom. This [illegible]. As for the provisions of the Bill itself, as distinct from its [illegible] principles, I have no space to discuss them in detail in the [illegible] article, but I think it may be truly said of them that they follow the line of historical development. Here is no repeal of the Act of Union. The Bill recognises that Ireland has been bound during the last hundred years by innumerable legislative ties, pre-Union statutes and post-Union statutes. *Litera scripta manet.* These ties are never likely to be seriously relaxed. History has done its work. Grattan's Parliament may have been premature, and it is possible at one and the same time to defend the Act of Union and to plead for its modification. Of this Bill, and of its whole method of approaching the subject of constitutional reconstruction, I think it may justly be said that the men who framed it have laid to heart the wise words of Burke: 'I would make the reparation as nearly as possible in the style of the building.'

J. H. MORGAN.

The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY *cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*